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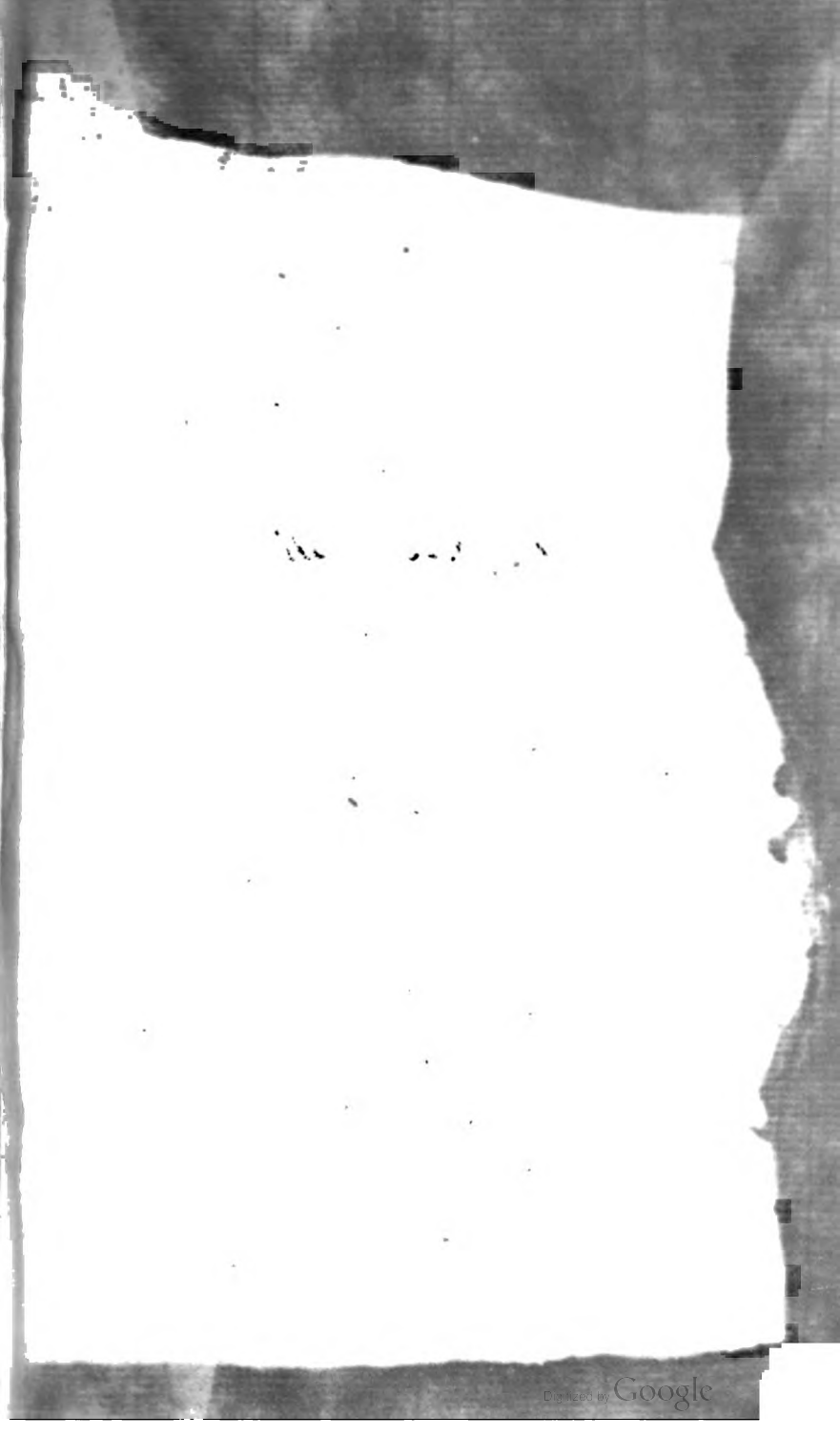
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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. VIII.

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A. MILLAR, JOHN RIVINGTON, S. [illegible]
P. DAVEY and B. LAW, T. LONGMAN, an[illegible]

M.DCC.LIX.

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A NEW
GENERAL
Collection of Voyages and Travels

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

BOOK XIII. *

CHAP. I.

The Empire of China.

SECT. I.

A general View of the Chineſe *Empire.*

THIS vaſt and opulent empire is ſituate on the moſt eaſtern verge of *Aſia*; and comprehends, as hath been already hinted, the kingdom of *China*, properly ſo called, and the *Chineſe*, or, as it is ſometimes ſtyled, *Great Tartary*. We have formerly given a ſhort account of its foundation, antient ſtate, extent, religion, laws, *&c.* as far as it could be attained from antient authors and records [a]; and have brought down their hiſtory to their ninth monarch *Shun*; in whoſe family the crown being become hereditary, we thought it the propereſt period to begin the modern one [b]. In thoſe early days this monarchy *Antient ſtate.* *Its ſituation, extent, &c.*

[a] See Univ. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 109, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. p. 150.

* The reader is deſired to obſerve, that, by miſtake, Book I. is inſerted in the title line of the even pages of this volume, from page 4 to page 512 incluſive, inſtead of Book XIII.

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Growth.

was confined within narrow bounds, or perhaps within the compass of one single province [c]; whose first colonies, having once planted themselves in it, seem to have taken such care to bar all the avenues to it from the rest of mankind, as never to be opened to any but ambassadors from other states; by which means they had not only all possible opportunities of extending their dominions, founding their government, and improving arts and sciences from the earliest times; and have so far spread themselves, as to become the noblest and largest monarchy hitherto discovered [d], and to be justly esteemed the richest, largest, and most populous, of any that is now governed by one prince. Its whole extent, from the fortress of *Cay-pim*, in the province of *Pe-king*, situate under the 41st degree, to the most southern part of the island of *Hay-nan*, under the 18th degree of north latitude, is 23 degrees, from north to south. There are several other ways of extending its length and breadth to more advantage, which the reader may see in the margin (A). However, according to the best and latest

Form and extent.

[c] Univ. Hist. p. 124. (K).

[d] Du Halde, vol. i. p. 1.

(A) To compute the whole extent of this large country in length and breadth, the former must be taken from the north-eastern frontier-town of *Kay-yuen*, in the province of *Lyau-tong*, unto the last city of that of *Yun-nan*, called *Chyen-tsyei*; and then its greatest length will be about 400 *German*, or 1600 *English* miles; to which if we add the island of *Hay-nan*, which likewise belongs to *China*, and lies south of *Quang-tong*, or *Canton*, two degrees, or 120 miles, more must be added to its length. Its breadth may be also stretched to a greater extent, by measuring it from the town of *Nimpo*, a sea-port town in the province of *Che-kyang*, to the utmost boundary of that of *Se-chuen*, or *Su-chuen*; by which it will amount to about 315 *German*, or 1269 of our miles. And if it be measured from the town of *Tau-chwan*, situate on the utmost eastern verge of *Lyau-tong*, on the frontiers of *Korea*, quite to that of *Tsing-tau*, on the most western part of the province of *Shen-si*, it will be still considerably wider (1).

Father *Le Compte*, who supposed the *Chinese* empire to be circular, gave it still a more extensive breadth; tho' he agreed, in the main, as to its length. But it hath been fully proved by new surveys to be of an oval form, and, consequently, that its breadth, where broadest, came short of its length by somewhat above a fourth part (2); that is, that it extends itself so much farther from north to south, than from east to west (3).

(1) *See La Martiniere, Geogr. Dict. sub voc.* Chine. *Du Halde, Magillan, & al.* (2) *Id. ibid. Du* (3) *Du Halde, p.* 2.

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surveys, it is found to be not of a circular, but oval figure, extending most from north to south, as was hinted in the note; and that its least extent, which way soever measured in a strait line, amounts to 360 leagues, of 20 to a degree, or to 60 of our miles [e]. The most recent writer gives it still a greater extent; *viz.* 34 degrees from north to south, or 680 leagues; and considerably above 300 from east to west, even where it is narrowest; so that, according to him, the whole circuit of it extends above 1800 leagues †; but upon what new discoveries he founds his dimensions, we are not told.

Boundaries.

CHINA is bounded on the north by *Tartary*; from which it is parted by the famous *Chinese* wall, of which we shall give a fuller account in its proper place; and, on the east, by the eastern or *Chinese* ocean; on the south, by the southern or *Indian* sea; and, on the west, by a vast sandy desart, and a long ridge of inaccessible mountains, which divide it from western *Tartary* and the kingdoms of *Tibet*, &c.

Provinces.

It contains fifteen provinces (exclusive of that of *Lyau-tong*, which is situate without the great wall, tho' under the same dominion); each of which might, for their largeness, fertility, populousness, and opulence, pass for so many distinct kingdoms. Their names and site are as follows: 1. *Shen-si*; 2. *Shan-si*; and, 3. *Pe-cheli*; which extend themselves on the north, along the *Chinese* wall. Four more are situate along the eastern ocean; viz. 4. *Shan-tong*; 5. *Kyan-nang*; 6. *Che-kyang*; and, 7. *Fo-kyen*. Four others stretch themselves towards the south and west; *viz.* 8. *Quang-tong*; 9. *Quang-si*; 10. *Yu-nan*; and, 11. *Se-chuen*. The four last, *viz.* 12. *Ho-nan*; 13. *Hu-quang*; 14. *Quey-chew*; and, 15. *Kyang-si*; take up the middle part: of all which, as well as of that of *Lyau-tong*, we shall give a fuller account in a proper place, according to their order (B).

As

[e] Du Halde, vol. i p. 2. See also Magaillan, Lecompte, Martiniere, & al.

† Hist. de la Chine, vol. i. p. 52.

(B) It will not be improper here to apprise our readers, once for all, that in the orthography of these provinces, and all others, proper names of men, cities, &c. (which are so differently spelt by all the authors who have written of this country) we have followed the judicious *English* translater of Father *Du Halde*, who hath taken no small pains to reduce it, as near as was possible, to the *English* idiom (4), both in the maps, and in

(4) *See his preface to that work, p. 2, & seq.*

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Climate. As *China* extends so far from south to north, as from the second to the fifth climate, so must its temperature vary accordingly. The difference of the length of its days is little more than four hours; the longest, in the most northern parts, being about fourteen hours and three quarters; and the shortest, in the most southern, about ten hours and three quarters; and the nights proportionably [f]. It is, however,

[f] Vid. MAGAILLAN, LECOMPTE, MARTINIERE, & al. GORDON gram. part ii. ch. 2. sect. 2.

the body of the work. The power and sound of the *Chinese* letters, vowels as well as consonants, differ so vastly from those of *Europe*, that those authors have split themselves into an almost irreconcileable, as well as unintelligible, dissonancy, in endeavouring to convey those sounds, which can only be taught by the ear, by such letters of their respective alphabets as they thought came nearest to them: so that, considering the vast difference of pronunciation between most *European* nations, it was impossible for them to convey those sounds, without spelling them each according to the peculiar pronunciation of his own country: and hence proceeds that vast difference of writing the same name between the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *English*, *French*, *Italians*, *High* and *Low Dutch*, &c.

What adds still more to this variety, is the number of letters, or sounds, peculiar to the *Chinese*; to which none of our *European* alphabets afford us any thing equivalent, or even approaching to. This peculiarity, moreover, extends itself not only to vowels and consonants, but much more with respect to some of their gutturals and compound letters; instances of which the reader may see in great numbers in the preface above-mentioned. But, with respect to the gutturals, we shall beg to subjoin a singular one, which that ingenious author hath not taken notice of, but which hath been a pregnant cause of this variety of spellings.

The *Chinese* language abounds in gutturals, which few of our polite *Europeans* have. One of them, in particular, is so deep and harsh, that neither the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Greek*, or any other tongue, except perhaps the *Arabic*, have any thing answerable to it. This the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* expressed, as well as they could, by their X, which, with them, is pronounced gutturally, tho' nothing so deep. But as that letter hath a quite different sound among other *European* nations, each of them was forced to substitute some other to it, such as seemed to them to come nearest to the original; some by a *k*, others by a *c*, others by *ch*, &c. And hence, to prevent all confusion and misunderstanding, as much as possible, we shall not only confine ourselves to the orthography above-named, as the most adapted to our *English* pronunciation; but shall likewise, whenever it differs so much from any other authors quoted in the sequel, give those names according to their own way of writing it, that there may be no doubt about our meaning the same person or place.

generally

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generally reckoned very moderate, except only towards the north, where the cold is extremely piercing, not so much from its northern site, as from the ridges of mountains that inter-those parts, and are vastly high, and mostly covered with deep snows. Even in those parts which run under the tropics, the winds that blow thither from the large and mountainous parts of *Tartary*, make the cold weather exceeding piercing and severe during the three, and sometimes four, winter months (C). The southern parts, on the other hand, must be supposed to be exceeding hot and dry, the nearer they draw towards the tropic, or extend beyond it; but those heats are the more easily borne by the help of their fine cooling grottoes, groves, cooling shades, and other refreshing retirements, to which they repair during the heat of the day; at which time there is the same universal silence, and cessation from business, as if it was midnight. These southern parts have indeed neither frost nor snow; but they are much troubled with storms, and violent rains, about the time of the equinoxes, especially the autumnal, which is all the winter they have; all the rest of the year being crowned with a serene sky, and a most delightful verdure. Upon the whole, it is universally owned by those who have visited that large empire, that where nature hath been most unequal in the distribution of her gifts, the *Chinese* industry hath so far supplied that defect, by levelling whole ridges of mountains in some provinces, and raising of artificial ones in others; by providing proper fences against excessive colds in some, and heats and droughts in others; and by varying their agriculture, their manuring, planting, and sowing, according to the different soils and climates, that every spot almost of that vast territory produces more than enough to make its inhabitants rich and happy, and the whole country delightful and fertile, populous, healthy, and opulent; all which is farther improved by the vast number of canals cut from one river to another, and the innumerable

How improved.

(C) This would hardly be credited, were it not confirmed to us by most travellers that have visited those parts at the cold season, and particularly by Father *Le Compte*; who, in the relation he gives of his journey from *Nimpo* to *Pe-king*, assures us, that the frost was so severe in *January* and *February*, that he was forced to lie by till the ice could be broken for his passage over the river *Hoambo*; which, though one of the largest in *China*, was then almost frozen over (5).

(5) *Letter 1st, ad fin. Vid. & Martini, Magaillan, Du Halde, & al.*

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carriages they keep up by land, by which each canton may easily communicate its own peculiar product to all the rest, as we shall see more fully in the sequel.

UPON all these accounts, the *Chinese* entertained such extraordinary notions of themselves and country, that they looked upon all the rest of the world, and its inhabitants, with the utmost contempt (D), especially till they became better acquainted with the *Europeans*, or even till their last conquest by the *Tartars*. We have formerly spoken of the various names which antient authors, and the neighbouring nations,

Various names.

(D) The advantages which they had over those neighbouring nations they knew or heard of, appeared so considerable to them, that they looked upon themselves as the only favourites of heaven, and all the rest of mankind as barbarians, whom they represented as dwarfs, monsters, and contemptible creatures. They looked upon their country to be placed in the centre of the earth; and themselves as the only people who had a human form, size, and shape: whilst all the other nations, or kingdoms, which they made to amount to seventy-two, were scattered about in small islands, without any order; the biggest of which, according to their maps, was not so large as the least of the *Chinese* provinces; and these were stuck up round their empire (to which they gave a quadrangular form), as so many nut-shells, or small satellites attending on their great planet, and designed only to serve and adorn it. They gave indeed the preference to their four neighbouring kingdoms of *Tartary*, *Japan*, *Tong-king*, and *Korea*; whom, though they still styled barbarians, they imagin'd to have received some considerable improvements by their vicinity to *China*; but as to the rest, they were looked upon as outcasts into the extreme parts of the earth, as the dross and refuse of nature; and characterised them accordingly, in their maps, with such emblems as were aptest to inspire their nation with disdain and contempt of them (6).

It was therefore no small matter of wonder to them, when, upon their coming acquainted with the *Europeans*, they not only found them as polite and rational as themselves, but far superior to them in all kinds of learning: neither could they conceive how it was possible for them to have arrived to such a perfection in all sciences, without the assistance of their own writings; so that they, who, till then, had looked upon themselves as the only people whom heaven had blessed with eyes, whilst all the rest of mankind were left to grope in the dark, were now forced to allow the *Europeans* to have one eye at least (7).

(6) *Martini, Magaillan, Du Halde, & al. Vid. et Le Compte, letter 5. Navarette, La Martiniere sub voc.* Du Halde, *& al. mult.* (7) *Le Compte, ubi sup. & al. sup. citat.*

gave

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gave to this country[z], that of *Chong-qua*, by which they themselves style it, signifies *the kingdom of the middle*, they supposing it to be situate in the centre of the world: to this they not only joined the names of the head of each dynasty, as often as the government passed from one family to another, an account of which the reader will see in the following note (E); but added likewise some pompous title to the *qua*, which signifies a kingdom; such as, *Tum-ming-qua*, the kingdom of brightness, or perfection; *Tayn-chin-qua*, the kingdom of purity; *Tyen-hu-qua*, or the kingdom which contains all that is under heaven; and others of the like import. The *Pompous titles.*

[z] Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 120, & seq.

(E) We have formerly given a short account of the first dynasty, from *Fo-hi* and his eight successors, down to *Shun* (8). The others, in number, twenty-two, together with the number of emperors belonging to each family, and the number of years they reigned, may be seen at one view in the following table:

Dynasties.	Emperors.	Years.
1. *Hya*	17	458
2. *Shang*	28	644
3. *Chew*	35	873
4. *Tsin al Chin*	4	43
5. *Han*	25	426
6. *Hew-han*	2	44
7. *Tzin*, or *Chin* 2d	15	155
8. *Song*, or *Soun*	8	59
9. *Tzi*, or *Chi*	5	23
10. *Lyang*	4	55
11. *Chin, al. Kin*	5	32
12. *Swi, Soui*	3	29
13. *Tang, Tam*	20	89
14. *Hew-lyang*	2	16
15. *Hew-tang*	4	13
16. *Hew-tzin*	2	11
17. *Hew-han*	2	4
18. *Hew-chew*	3	9
19. *Song*, or *Saum*	18	319
20. *Yuen*	9	89
21. *Ming*, or *Mim*	17	276
22. *Tzin, Chim*	2	53

this last now reigning. So that *China* had to its original name of *Chong-qua* the appellative of each one of those dynasties added to it, whilst the government continued in it; as *Chong-qua-hya, Chong-qua-shang, Chong-qua-chew*, &c. (9).

(8) *Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 135—150. p. 145, & seq. & al. sup. citat.*

(9) *See Du Halde in English.*

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Tartars, though they naturally hated the pompous pride of the *Chinese*, are yet fond of those swollen titles, since they have made themselves masters of that noble kingdom, and become less and less averse to the softness, ease, and luxury, of their new subjects. As to the name of *China*, which some derive from *Cina*, or *Tsin*, one of their antient monarchs; and others from their silk, which is called *Chin* [h]; it is most likely the *Europeans* brought it first from *Persia*, or *India*r whither that commodity was first imported, and where it is called *Chin*, or *Tsin* [i].

China, *whence so named.*

What imperfect notion the antients had of this vast empire, and what commerce they had with it, we have elsewhere endeavoured to shew [k]. The first *European* traveller that we know of, who visited it, was *Fra. Paulo*, a *Venetian*, more commonly known by the name of *Paulus Venetus*, or *Paul* the *Venetian*, about the end of the thirteenth century. But his swollen account of the great cham, or emperor; of his capital, which he calls *Cambalu*; and other extraordinary particulars which he related of that country; not only led his readers to imagine, that he there described the empire of *Tartary*, but that the greatest part of it was too exaggerated to deserve any credit, or a better character than that of a fine romance. The whole, however, was afterwards sufficiently verified by the discovery of *China* by the *Portuguese*; when it plainly appeared, that it was this noble empire he had been describing; and that *Cambalu*, by the particular account he had been giving of it, was no other than the *Chinese* metropolis, now called *Pe-king* (F). Since which

When first discovered by the Europeans.

[h] Navaretta Martini Hist. Sinic. lib. vi. sub init. Vid. et La Martiniere, & al. sup. citat. [i] See the English translation of Du Halde, p. 1. not. (E). [k] Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 120, & seq.

(F) It is now generally acknowleged, that *Cathai* is the northern part of *China*; and *Cambalu*, the capital of it, to be the same city as is now called *Pe-king*; which name, signifying the northern court, in opposition to *Nang-king*, which is the southern one, was doubtless given it when the *Chinese* monarchs were obliged to remove their court from the latter to the former, in order to be more at hand to suppress the inroads which the *Tartars* were continually making upon them from that side. It appears moreover, from the relation of the *Russian* ambassy to *China*, *Anno* 1653, that the *Muscovites* still call that northern part of it *Chatai*, or *Kathai*, and its metropolis *Cambalu*, or, according to some others, *Cambalet*, which names

which time, the more they have become acquainted with *China*, the better they have been satisfied of the faithfulness of that *Venetian* traveller.

The Chinese surprised at their learning and politeness.

ACCORDINGLY, when the *Portuguese* first discovered this country by sea, above 200 years ago, they were so surprised at the beauty and opulence of it, as well as at the ingenuity and politeness of its inhabitants, so far beyond what they had observed in any other country they had hitherto met with, they scarce knew whether they ought to believe their own eyes: and indeed they had so much more cause to be surprised at it, as they found them a people that lived wholly within themselves, and who consequently had received no helps or improvements from any other nations: neither could their first accounts of them meet with any greater credit here in *Europe*, than those of *Paulus Venetus* had done before, till they were confirmed by a cloud of other eye-witnesses, whom either curiosity, commerce, or religion, invited into this new and surprising world; especially since the year 1580, when the pope began to send, and hath continued pouring, a great number of jesuits and other priests into it, in order to bring as many of that polite nation as he could into the pale of his church. Nor were the relations of these last so universally credited (especially as many of them appeared not only exaggerated, but even in a great measure romantic, at least in whatever related to religion, or their numerous conversions), till we had them, or at least a great part of them, further confirmed by persons of other nations and religions, and less liable to be suspected. So that, upon the whole, it was no less matter of wonder to the *Europeans*, than to the *Chinese*, to find a part of the world, at such a distance from them, so like themselves in learning and politeness; while all the vast tracts that lay between them, are still so far inferior, not to say opposite to them, in both respects. It must be owned, however, that the *Chinese* found us much superior to them in the liberal sciences; witness those vast improvements they have made to them by the assistance of the missionaries, and of that vast apparatus of instruments which have been sent to them from *France*, and other parts: but, in point of richness, opulence, sundry manufactures, handicrafts, and, to say nothing of their excellent agriculture lately mentioned, and

The Europeans no less so at that of the Chinese.

names signify the city of God (11). We shall have further occasion to speak of them both, when we come to the division of that empire, and the description of the city of *Pe-king*.

(11) *Texeyra, & al. Vid. et hist. de Tartar. D'Herbelot sub Khathai, & Martiniere sub Cambalu.*

the

the many excellent ways they have of fertilizing and improving even their most barren lands, it will be hardly denied that they exceed any country in *Europe*; all which will more fully appear in the sequel.

China, *how divided*; THE *Chinese* empire hath been long since divided into northern and southern; the former of which, commonly known among the *Indians*, *Persians*, *Russians*, &c. by the name of *Chatai*, or *Katai*, contained six of its provinces; and the latter distinguished by the name of *Mangi*, which contains the other nine. *Cambalu*, or, as it hath been since called, *Pe-king*, was the capital of the one, and *Nang-king* that of the other [1]. We have already given the name and situation of those provinces which compose this vast territory; and shall only observe here, that, as they divided the whole heavens into 28 constellations, so they did their provinces; each of which latter they placed under one of the former, without leaving any of them for the rest of the globe. To each province they allowed not only an unreasonable length and breadth; but likewise dignified them with some swollen title, answerable to those which they gave to the empire in general. They have indeed been taught since, by the *Europeans*, a better sort of astronomy and geography, and how to judge more truly of the rest of the world; but it must be owned, that, till then, the great advantages they enjoyed above those few nations they knew, might naturally enough inspire them with that partial value and opinion they had of their own.

and constellated.

Their great advantages over other nations.

How defended. THEIR country is so divided by art and nature from the rest of the world, as if designed to have been still contained within its own limits; being bounded, as was lately hinted, on the east and south, by the ocean; on the west, by desarts and inaccessible mountains; and, on the north, by a wall of such length, height, and strength, that it is justly esteemed the greatest piece of art that the world can boast of: so that the coasts along the sea being defended either by prodigious high rocks, shelves, and small islands, or by a vast number of sea-ports equally strong and commodious; and their frontiers on the west and north by fortified towns, castles, and other fortresses, and large garrisons; it seems as if the *Chinese* monarchs had had no other view than to secure themselves from all foreign invasions, without any design of enlarging their dominions beyond those limits. Their history hath however shewn us, that they were mistaken in both their reckonings; since they have not only been more than once conquered by the *Tartars*, under whose dominion they now

[1] Vid not. (F), & auct. ibi citat.

are,

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are; and themſelves have alſo been obliged to extend their conqueſts into ſome of the *Tartarian* provinces, in order to prevent the frequent and dreadful incurſions they made on them from that ſide, notwithſtanding their ſtrong barrier; all which ſufficiently ſhews the ſhortneſs of human forecaſt; ſince it was their too great confidence in theſe, and ſome other advantages we are going to mention, that lulled them into that ſtate of luxury and indolence which made them fall ſo eaſy a prey into the hands of their warlike neighbours, when they the leaſt thought of it, or were leaſt able to make head againſt them.

Vaſt number of inhabitants.

ANOTHER advantage, for which this country has been famed from the earlieſt times, was, the vaſt number of its inhabitants. It doth not indeed appear to us to have been ſo ſoon peopled as the *Chineſe* records affirm; much leſs to have been ſo immenſely populous ſo few ages after the flood as is there pretended; the contrary of which we have, we think, fully proved in a former volume[m]: but, that it became ſo in proceſs of time, there is not the leaſt doubt to be made, if we conſider either the vaſt quantity and largeneſs of their cities, towns, and villages, which, in moſt provinces, are ſo thick, and cloſe to each other, that the whole ſeems but one continued town, and all of them ſwarming with inhabitants; every one employed in ſome manufacture, trade, or ſome kind of traffick or work; or their roads from place to place, which are crouded with paſſengers night and day, with coaches, carriages, waggons, and ſometimes with whole caravans, all of them employed in carrying on ſome uſeful commerce, and in conveying all ſorts of merchandizes, proviſions, and other wares, from one end of the kingdom to the other; or the vaſt ſtanding armies that are kept in conſtant pay, and the numerous garriſons they are forced to maintain on their frontiers and ſea-ports; or, laſtly, from the regiſters that are regularly kept both of their forces, and of the reſt of the nation.

Army.

ACCORDING to theſe, we are told by ſome authors, that the number of families, excluſive of ſoldiers, and thoſe that pay no taxes to the government, amounted to 11,502,872; but, including the army, the whole number of males was computed to amount to 59,788,364: the army, then, conſiſted of 902,054 men, who guarded the frontiers, and 989,167 horſes, always ready for auxiliary forces, beſides

Horſe, &c.

[m] See Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. xx. p. 210, & ſeq. & 252, & ſeq.

767,970

767,970 men kept in their garrisons [n] (G), To these *Niewhoff*, quoted in the last note, adds 564,200 horses more, maintained by the emperor, to supply his troops, or to serve for posts and messengers on public and extraordinary occasions. For these, as well as for the accommodation of the mandarins, and other officers of the court, that are sent to different parts of the empire, there are reckoned 1145 inns, or places of entertainment: so that, upon the whole, to speak in the style of one of their natives (H), *the* Chinese *empire is so immensely populous, that its inhabitants are not to be computed by thousands, but by millions*; and, if we may believe the accounts of some of the Jesuit missionaries, some of their capital cities contain little less than two millions of inhabitants [o].

Barges that supply Pe-king.

THE very number of barges, and those very capacious ones, appointed by the government for the conveyance of provisions, silks, rice, and other necessaries, from the southern provinces to the metropolis of *Pe-king*, amount to 9999; which number is strictly kept up, not so much out of a superstitious fondness for that number, if we may believe those writers, as because it carries a much greater sound, than if, by the addition of one more, they were to make it a complete 10,000. Thus much may suffice to give our readers an idea of the populousness of this vast empire: we might indeed add to it the many myriads of families which live almost continually on the water along the coasts, on the rivers and canals; and carry on a considerable traffick on their large flat-bottom boats, or, as they call them, floating villages; and are resorted to from those that live at land in such vast crouds, that they appear like

Vast numbers living on the water.

[n] MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, LA MARTINIERE, & al. [o] NAVARETTA, DION-KOO, GEMEL, MARTIN. & al. sup. citat.

(G) This prodigious account is in a great measure confirmed by *Niewhoff*, who attended the *Dutch* ambassy into *China*; and who tells us, that, at that time, the registers made the number of families to amount to 10,090,792; and that of the fighting men to 55,416,476, including horse and foot, garrisons, &c.

(H) The writer here meant was called *Dionysius Kao*, a *Chinese* convert, who had been employed by some of the court mandarins to write an accurate survey of the then state of *China*. His account was since brought into *Europe* by his excellence Mr. *Izbrands Ides*, who was sent ambassador from the late czar, *Peter the Great*, to the court of *China*, *Anno* 1694, and is highly recommended by him (12).

(12) *Russ. ambass. p.* 115, *& seq. Lond. edit. 4to*, 1706.

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so many fairs kept on that element: but these we shall find a more proper occasion to speak of in the sequel.

Number of their cities and fortresses.

We lately hinted, that this country doth so abound with cities, that a man is scarcely got out of one, but he enters into the suburbs of another. We shall defer, however, the further description of them, till we come to speak of the several provinces they belong to: in the mean time, as we are now upon the subject of the strength and populousness of this vast empire, it will not be amiss to give our readers the sum of them at one view, and according to their rank: together with their other fortresses and strong-holds, as they are scattered through the whole; some within the heart of the provinces, to guard the roads; others on the mountainous parts, to suppress the robbers and freebooters; and a third sort to guard the frontiers on the west and north side, especially on the latter, against the *Tartars*. The number of them, as it was taken by father *Magaillan*, out of a *Chinese* book, compiled by an expert mandarin for the use of the government, is as follows: Walled towns, 4402; and these are divided into two orders, *viz.* civil and military, of which 2045 belong to the former, and 2357 to the latter. The civil are again divided into three different ranks, stiled by the *Chinese Fû* (or, as they pronounce that word, *Foo*), *Chew*, and *Hyen*; of which, 175 are reckoned of the first rank, styled *Fû*; 270 of the second, or *Chew*; and 160 of the third order, or *Hyen*.

Their different ranks.

Military ones.

The military ones are distinguished into seven different ranks; of which, 629 are reckoned of the first, 560 of the second, 311 of the third, 300 of the fourth, 150 of the fifth, 100 of the sixth, and 300 of the seventh. Father *Le Compte* tells us, that 1000 of these only are reckoned of the first rank; and that their strength rather consists in their situation, and numerous garrisons, than in the stoutness of their outworks [p] (I). Some of those military cities are assigned to

[p] Le Compte, ubi supra, letter 3.

(I) It may not be amiss to observe here, that *Kao* the *Chinese*, mentioned in the last note, doth differ from our mandarin in the number of these cities, and makes the whole number of them to amount to but 1700; and *Navaretta* only to 1536, that is, 148 of the first rank, 239 of the second, and 1149 of the third. Other authors differ still more from him, and from each other; which shews either that they took their account from different surveys, or perhaps from report, or that there may have happened some changes in the ranks of those cities.

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Castles. to the soldiery; together with a quantity of land in their neighbourhood, for their maintenance. As to the castles on the coasts, which are computed at 439, several of them are very large, and come little short of walled cities for the number of their inhabitants; and all of them strong by nature and art, and defended by good garrisons: besides which, they reckon no less than 2920 towns, or boroughs, along the sea-coasts, most of them equal in bigness to walled towns. The inland towns and villages, we are told, are almost numberless, and every-where crouded with inhabitants. From all these the emperors receive an immense income, as will be seen in the sequel; there being but thirty-two that are wholly exempt from taxes; and these, being governed by their own lords, or petty kings, are however obliged to pay a kind of homage, or perhaps some small tribute, to the court [q].

Towns, &c.

Signal advantages of the Chinese *monarchy.*

To this vast number of their cities and fortresses, and the immense one of its inhabitants, if we add their prodigious wealth, brought in by such a vast quantity of hands continually employed either in a foreign or domestic commerce, in a great variety of rich and curious manufactures, and ingenious handicraft trades; in the cultivating of the most fertile, or improvement of the most barren, lands; in digging up of gold, silver, copper, and other metals and minerals, from the bowels of their many rich mines, besides a great variety of diamonds, and other precious stones; if to these we add the excellent situation of it for commerce, the richness and vast extent of it abroad, the many navigable rivers and numberless canals for carrying it on at home; the infinite variety of their carriages both by land and water; the healthiness and serenity of their climate, and industry of the inhabitants, the encouragement given to it as well as to the arts and sciences, by its politic government, and the happy genius of the nation for promoting and improving every kind and branch of them; or, lastly, the vast power and riches of the sovereign, the excellence of their laws and government, and the remarkable fondness of the people for that as well as for antient laws, customs, religion, *&c.*; it will no longer appear surprising,

[q] Le Compte, ubi sup. & p. 2. lett. 1. Magaillan, Kao, & al.

cities. We have followed that of the mandarin above mentioned, on the authority of Father *Magaillan*, as being the most likely to be authentic, and being the most agreeable to the newer accounts published by *Du Halde*; as will further appear, when we come to give the number of them belonging to each distinct province.

that,

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that an empire, which enjoyed such a vast number of advantages, should have maintained itself in such a height of wealth and splendor during such a long series of ages. The wonder will rather be, how they came, after so long and glorious a continuance, to degenerate so far from their valour and politics, as to suffer their whole country to be over-run and conquered, and their monarchy overturned, in almost as few years as it had stood thousands. But, before we come to speak of that strange event, and the changes it hath wrought in that vast empire, it will be necessary, according to our usual method, to give a general description of the country, and of every thing that is most remarkable in it.

SECT. II.

A topographical Description of the Fifteen Provinces of China.

Fifteen provinces described.

THE situation, limits, extent, and division, of the *Chinese* empire, hath been shewn at the beginning of the last section; where we mentioned its being divided into fifteen provinces, *viz.* six styled northern, and nine southern (exclusive of that of *Lyau-tong*, which, being situate without the wall, will be spoken of in a more proper place); the other fifteen are reckoned in the following order:

1. *The province of Pe-cheli.*

1. THE province of *Pe-cheli*, alias *Lipa-fu*, but most commonly called, from its great metropolis, *Pe-king*, which is now the seat of the empire, is bounded on the east by the yellow sea; on the north, by the great wall which divides it from eastern *Tartary*; on the west, by the province of *Shan-si*; and, on the south, by those of *Shang-tong* and *Ho-nan*. It is now the first and chief of the whole empire; and extends itself, in a kind of triangular form, from the 36th to the 41st degree of latitude, and from the 113th to the 119th of east longitude. It is divided into nine districts, each of which is under its capital city, styled by the *Chinese Fu*, or city of the first rank; from which a number of other cities depend (A), *viz.*

(A) It will be necessary here to observe, once for all, that every province in the *Chinese* empire is divided into a number of districts or jurisdictions, called by the *Chinese Fu*, or city of the first rank. On these depend a lesser sort of districts, named *Chew* and *Hyen*, because each of them depend on their respective *Fu*, as here our bailiwicks, or inferior courts, do on the superior ones. The president of the supreme court is styled *Chi-fu*, or governor of a city of the first rank, the next in order

viz. 20 of the second rank, or *Chew*; and 120 of the third, or *Hyen*; besides a great many large towns, and villages without number[a].

The climate, soil, and product.

THIS province, though the most northern next to that of *Lyau-tong*, in the whole empire, is blessed with a very clear air; and, tho' excessive cold in winter, enjoys a very serene sky, which is seldom overcast with any clouds, even during that hard season. The rains are not very frequent; but that defect is amply compensated by the fruitful dews. The country affords but little rice; but abounds with other grains, pulse, and variety of cattle. The inhabitants are stout and warlike; but are more unpolished and ignorant than in the southern provinces. The rivers are often frozen, more or less, here, from *November* to *March*; and yet the weather is nothing so piercing as it is in *Europe*, under the same climate.

Its cities.

THIS province reckons about 140 cities, amongst which those styled *Fŭ*, or of the first rank, are, *Pe-king*, *al Shun-tyen-fŭ*, the metropolis of the whole, under which are twenty-six districts, or cities of the second and third rank; *viz.* six of the former, and twenty of the latter; whose names we shall not trouble our readers with, much less with their description, which would swell beyond our bounds. It will be sufficient to add here, to what we have said of their largeness, opulence, and populousness, that they are for the most part built of a square or oblong-square form, as much as the ground would permit. Their walls are high, thick, and

General view of them.

[a] LE COMPTE, ubi sup. letter 3. DU HALDE, p. 65, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

order *Chi-chew*, and the last *Chi Hyen*. Hence in every *Fŭ* there is always a *Tyuan-fŭ*, or mandarin with the title of *Chi-fŭ*, and at least another with that of *Chi-Hyen*. But in the great cities of all, whose territories are so large as to be divided into two inferior districts, each of these have their particular *Chi-Hyen*.

When mention is made here of a *Hyen*, or city of the third rank, the reader must not suppose it to mean a district of a small extent, there being many of them of 60, 70, or even 80, leagues in circuit, and which pay several millions into the emperor's treasury (1). Neither must it be imagined, that those other towns, which are excluded from any rank, are inconsiderable ones, there being many of them as large as cities; the reason of their being denied that title, is, because they are encompassed with neither walls nor ditches, as the cities are (2).

(1) *See Du Halde in English, p. 2. lett. 3. & al.*

(2) *Id. p. 67. Vid. et Le Compte,*

strong,

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ſtrong, adorned with lofty towers. The gates are ſpacious, deep, and ſtately; and the great ſtreets ſtrait and broad, and interſected with others which croſs them at right angles, and both ſides filled with houſes. The ſquares, or piazzas, are wide, and adorned with noble ſtructures; and ſome of them, as well as ſome of their ſtreets, with triumphal arches, and other decorations, particularly with ſtately towers, ſome round, others octogonal, from ſix to nine ſtories high, embelliſhed with galleries, carvings, gilding, and variety of other ornaments (B).

THE city-walls are moſtly high and ſtrong, and encompaſſed with broad ditches, ſome dry, and others filled with water. As for their edifices, eſpecially their public buildings, ſuch as their temples, palaces, monaſteries, *&c.* they are more remarkable for their vaſt extent, than for their magnificence. Their private houſes are likewiſe large, but low, few of them exceeding one ſtory in height, and without any windows towards the ſtreet. The ſhops are delightfully ſet out with all their rich merchandizes, ſuch as china-ware, ſilks, japan cabinets, ſcreens, and other ſuch goods, with great variety of gold and ſilver work, jewels, and all other commodities both domeſtic and foreign. Before each door ſtands a pedeſtal, to which is faſtened a board, from 20 to 22 feet high, on which is either carved, painted, or gilt, the ſhopkeeper's name, his ſign, and ſome of his principal wares, with theſe words at the foot, *Pû-hû*, in large characters, that is, he will not cheat you. This double row of pilaſters, ſet up at equal diſtances, yields likewiſe a very agreeable proſpect [b]. The misfortune is, that thoſe ſtreets that are not paved (and few of them are ſo in *China*) prove ſo duſty in dry and windy weather, that it is not only very offenſive to the vaſt crouds that continually throng them, but hurtful likewiſe to the fine merchandizes

Shops finely ſet out.

Streets duſty and dirty.

[b] LE COMPTE, ubi ſup. letter 3. DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 64.

(B) We ſhall, for the ſatisfaction of our readers, find a proper place for giving them a ſketch of one or two of the moſt curious of them, by way of ſample, when we come to ſpeak of their artificial rarities; as likewiſe for deſcribing ſome few of their moſt conſiderable cities, public ſtructures, *&c.* in the courſe of this ſection, ſo as to give them a ſufficient idea of the reſt; as they, generally ſpeaking, obſerve pretty much the ſame ſymmetry in their form, buildings, *&c.* That of *Pe-king*, eſpecially, which is the metropolis of this province, and the preſent ſeat of the empire, deſerving a more particular notice, will be deſcribed at the cloſe of this article, and the others in their courſe.

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that are expoſed; inſomuch that they are obliged to cover them with ſome ſort of cloths, to prevent their being ſpoiled. Theſe clouds of duſt, which are ſtill increaſed by multitudes of horſes, chaiſes, carts, waggons, and other carriages, not only ſtick upon their ſilken clothes, and ſpoil the fine luſtre of them, eſpecially thoſe made of ſattin, which they commonly oil, to give it a better gloſs; but penetrate even into their very houſes and cloſets, though they have no windows towards the ſtreets: ſo that, take what care they will, their furniture is quite covered, and the people almoſt choaked, with it. They do indeed endeavour to prevent it as much as poſſible by frequent watering of the ſtreets; but they are either ſoon dried up again, or elſe become dirty and miry. In rainy weather they are ſtill more incommodious on that account; ſo that, winter or ſummer, they are very troubleſome, and even unhealthy, to walk in. This great inconvenience is not confined to their inferior cities, but runs thro' all their moſt conſiderable ones, and even to the very capital itſelf [c], as the reader may ſee by the deſcription we are going to give of it.

Cities of the firſt rank.

THE cities of the firſt rank in this province are, 1. *Shun-tien-fû*, ſince called *Pe-king*; 2. *Pau-ting-fû*; 3. *Ho-kyen-fû*; 4. *Ching-ting-fû*; 5. *Shun-te-fû*; 6. *Quang-ping-fû*; 7. *Tay-ming-fû*; 8. *Yung-ping-fû*; 9. *Swen-wha-fû*.

1. Pe-king *deſcribed.*

1. *SHUN-TYEN-FU*, ſince ſtyled *Pe-king*, or the northern court, on account of its being become the imperial reſidence, and metropolis of the whole empire, is pleaſantly ſituate on a large and fertile plain, under the 40th degree of north latitude, and 117° 30′ of eaſt longitude, about twenty miles ſouth from the great wall. It was formerly of a ſquare figure, and about four leagues in compaſs: but, ſince the conqueſt of the empire by the *Tartars*, the *Chineſe* being excluded out of it, and permitted to build a new one adjoining to it, it is now of an oblong ſquare form, and about ſix leagues of 3600 paces in circuit; or rather is become two cities, the old one of which is called the *Tartar*, and the other the *Chineſe*, town; and this laſt, though the leaſt, is reckoned the moſt populous (C).

Old and new city.

THE

[c] LE COMPTE, ubi ſup. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

(C) Father *Le Compte*, who meaſured it by the emperor's order, reckons it to be about four times as big as *Paris*: but, as the houſes are but one ſtory high, the ſtreets very wide, and the imperial palace in it, together with its parks, gardens, canals,

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THE walls of both cities are ſtately and ſtrong, being computed by ſome 40, by others 50, cubits high, which quite obſtruct the ſight of their fineſt and ſtatelieſt edifices, and are thick enough for ſeveral men on horſeback to ride abreaſt upon them: they are moreover flanked with ſtately towers, at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot from each other, and all kept in good repair; a horſeman may aſcend thoſe of the new city by means of a ramp, or ſlow aſcent; and in ſeveral places there are houſes built to ſerve for a corps de garde; and ſome of the towers are capacious enough to lodge a corps de reſerve. *The city walls.*

THE gates are nine in number; three on the ſouth front, and two on the other three ſides. Their ſtructure is altogether magnificent, and beyond any thing we ſee in *Europe* (if we except the architecture). They are of a ſurpriſing height; and incloſe a ſpacious court within four ſtout walls; over two of which, *viz.* on the city and country ſide, are built ſtately lodgings, or rather caſtles, which yield a very noble proſpect, being about eight or nine ſtories high, each ſtory being perforated with windows and loopholes. The loweſt ſtory is a large hall for the officers and ſoldiers, who are either upon duty, or going to be relieved; and before ſome of thoſe gates, in the city of *Ching-ting-fû*, is ſeen a ſpacious area, or parade, about 360 feet, encompaſſed by a ſemicircular wall of the ſame height with thoſe of the city. *Stately gates.*

THE ſtreets are ſpacious and beautiful to a great degree, being all laid out with the line, and moſt of them at leaſt a league in length, and about 120 feet wide, with ſhops for the moſt part on both ſides; but the houſes, which are but one ſtory high, bear no proportion with the largeneſs of the ſtreets: however, they are very ſpacious within, and ſo crouded with inhabitants, that it is ſurpriſing to ſee what a number of families they hold. This makes the city to be ſo thronged with people, *Noble ſtreets.* *thronged with people.*

nals, *&c.* take up a vaſt extent of its ground, he doth not take it to lodge a much greater quantity of inhabitants than that *French* capital; though he owns, at the ſame time, that the inhabitants of *Pe-king* hardly take up half the room in their lodgings that the *Pariſians* do: he computes, however, upon the whole, that each of thoſe capitals contain about two millions of people (3); which, if true of *Pe-king*, is near double the number at leaſt of what will be found either in *Paris*, or even in *London*, which is allowed the bigger, and more populous, of the two (4).

(3) *Le Compte, ubi ſup.*

(4) *See Maitland's and other Surveys of London.*

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as well as horſes, mules, camels, aſſes, carts, waggons, *&c.* that many of our great cities in *Europe* are ſaid to look like ſolitudes, in compariſon with them: inſomuch that people of quality are forced to have men on horſeback to clear the way before them; and the very tradeſmen chuſe to ride in their chaiſes, not only to break through the crouds, but likewiſe to avoid the duſt and dirt of the ſtreet (D). What is more ſurpriſing,

(D) We lately took notice, that moſt cities in *China*, for want of being paved, labour alternately under theſe two inconveniencies: which is not a little ſurpriſing in a country ſeemingly ſo well regulated in every thing elſe, and much more ſo to ſee ſo noble a metropolis as this is more plagued with them than any other; at leaſt this was the condition in which Father *Le Compte* found it when he was there (5). However, we are informed that it hath been reſtified ſince (6); and that not only every citizen is obliged to ſweep before his door, but that the very ſoldiers are employed to keep the new city clean, even when the emperor is abſent; ſo that it is chiefly the old city, which, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of its ſtreets, is more neglected, and left to lie in mud and dirt.

As to the city in general, there may indeed be many cauſes aſſigned for its being more crouded and thronged than any of the reſt, beſides the vaſt number of its inhabitants.

For, 1. Great multitudes of people daily reſort thither from all the adjacent parts for many miles round, who bring all manner of proviſions to its market.

2. As no river comes up to the city, all kinds of merchandizes, and all manner of other neceſſaries, that are pouring into it from morning to night, muſt come thither by land carriage, which fills their ſtreets with continual droves of carts, waggons, and beaſts of burden; inſomuch that, at the opening of the city gates in the morning, they are ſo thronged with them, that many of them muſt wait ſome hours before they can get in.

3. The great concourſe of quality that flock to the court, and the great retinue that attends them, the mandarins, and other officers, in their formalities, the princes of the blood, and other perſons of diſtinction, who are always eſcorted with a numerous train of horſemen and ſervants, do all contribute more or leſs to fill up the ſtreets, ſo as to make the city appear more full of inhabitants than it really is.

To all theſe we may add the vaſt numbers of carmen, porters, chairmen, and other people, that ply the ſtreets; and a much greater of handicraftſmen, ſuch as taylors, ſmiths, braſiers, carpenters, *&c.* who are obliged to go about in queſt of buſineſs; for, as few of them work at home, but at their cuſtomers houſes, great crouds of them muſt be ſuppoſed to turn out daily in

(5) *See Le Compte's third letter.*

(6) *See Du Halde, p.* 67.

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priſing, is, that, among thoſe vaſt throngs of men, there is not a woman to be ſeen. The ſtreets, as every-where elſe, have all their proper names, and the great ones of all ſome pompous one; ſuch as, the ſtreet of the king's relations, of the white tower, and the nobleſt of all is ſtyled the ſtreet of eternal reſt. *Their names.*

THIS laſt, which runs from eaſt to weſt, is terminated at the north end with the walls of the imperial palace; and, on the oppoſite ſide with the city tribunals, and the palaces of men of quality. Its breadth is computed about ſixty yards, and its length above a league and a quarter; and is adorned on each ſide with the fineſt edifices. All the great ſtreets, which run in a ſtrait line parallel with the walls from gate to gate, have their corps de garde; where the ſoldiers, with ſwords by their ſides, and whips in their hands, keep watch day and night; and chaſtiſe, without diſtinction, all that cauſe any diſturbance, and confine ſuch as make any reſiſtance. There is the ſame watch kept in the leſſer or croſs ſtreets, which terminate in the great ones, and are ſhut up at each end in the night with wooden croſs-bar gates, through which the watch in the greater ſtreets may ſee all that paſs in the leſſer: and both cities are kept under ſuch ſtrict regulations, that, except the great hurry of the day, occaſioned by the throng lately mentioned, which ends with or ſoon after it, every part of the town is kept under the greateſt diſcipline and quietneſs, peace and ſafety (E). *Form.* *Guard.*

BESIDES

ſuch a city as this, and help to increaſe the throng; eſpecially as many of them, either for want of better employment, or natural indolence, will ſtand ſtaring in large groups at every juggler and mountebank they ſee; or liſtening to fortune-tellers and ballad-ſingers, which are to be met with in every part of the town.

(E) Each watch is obliged to patrole all the night in their reſpective ſtreets, as ſoon as the ſignal is given for the ſhutting of them up at night; ſo that no quarrel or diſturbance can happen, or even people paſs unperceived. None are ſuffered to walk in the night, except they can give a good account of their errand; ſuch as fetching a phyſician, ſurgeon, or midwife, or being ſent about the government's buſineſs. Even theſe laſt, if their anſwer is ſuch as gives the officer any cauſe of ſuſpicion, when queſtioned by him, are confined in the guard-room till the next morning, and then brought before a proper judge. The officer of the guard likewiſe, that is kept on the high pavilions over the city-gates, and beat the watch on large kettle-drums, having full view of all the ſtreets, is obliged to ſend ſome of his ſubalterns to examine the quarters belonging to the gates where they are

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Suburbs. BESIDES the old and new city above-mentioned, every ſide hath likewiſe a capacious ſuburb without the walls, of which that on the weſt ſide is the largeſt. The ſtreets in theſe are built much after the ſame manner as thoſe within, being parallel to each other, and to the city-wall, and croſſing each other at proper diſtances: ſo that, if theſe be added to the reſt, the circuit of *Pe-king* may be computed to extend about 25 miles. The private houſes, both within and without the walls, are low, but deep and long, and moſtly built with brick, and covered with glazed tiles; which, when the ſun ſhines upon them, make ſuch a glittering as is painful to the eye. They make but an indifferent ſhew without, except in their fine ſhops; but are exceeding neat and convenient within, though neither richly nor elegantly furniſhed, and moſt of them crouded with families.

Houſes.

Plenty of all things. WHAT is the moſt ſurpriſing of all, in this great city, is the plenty and cheapneſs of all ſorts of commodities and proviſions; eſpecially conſidering its vaſt concourſe and number of its inhabitants, and that it is ſituate in one of the moſt barren ſpots in the empire. But it muſt be remembered, that all the merchandizes and treaſures of the *Indies*, &c. are tranſported hither from all parts by means of the eaſtern or yellow ſea, and of the royal canals: that ſeveral thouſands of the emperor's veſſels, beſides a much larger number of others belonging to private perſons, are continually employed in ſupplying both court and city with every thing that can be wiſhed for, either for the ſupport or pleaſure of life; ſo that it is a common ſaying among the *Chineſe*, that, though nothing grows about *Pe-king*, it never knows the want of any thing. The governor of the city is the perſon who has the direction not only of the ſoldiery and guards; but his juriſdiction extends over all the people, in whatever concerns the civil ſtate, and the public peace and ſafety (F).

How ſupplied.

The governor's office.

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poſted. All theſe are kept under ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, that the leaſt neglect of duty is ſeverely puniſhed the next morning, and the officers broken for it; and what keeps them ſtill more on their guard, is, that the governor of the city, who is likewiſe obliged to go the rounds, often comes upon them when they leaſt expect him (7).

(F) This grand officer, who is a *Manchew Tartar*, is ſtyled *Kyu-men-ti-tu*, or general of the nine gates, and hath a quantity of miniſters under him, anſwerable to his great poſt. And ſuch ſtrict diſcipline is obſerved under

(7) *Le Compte, ubi ſup. Du Halde, ubi ſup. p.* 67. *& al.*

him,

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Public edifices.

IT is time now to ſpeak of ſome of the public buildings which adorn this metropolis; ſuch as the imperial palace, temples, monaſteries, *&c.* We begin with the firſt of them, as being the moſt ſpacious and magnificent of all, and one of the greateſt curioſities in the whole empire.

The imperial palace deſcribed.

IT is ſituate in the very heart of the *Tartar* city, fronting the ſouth, as all the public buildings there generally do; and is, properly ſpeaking, a prodigious group of edifices, vaſt courts, gardens, parks, ponds, *&c.* all ſurrounded with a ſtately brick wall, of an oblong ſquare form, and conſiderable height; and about twelve *Chineſe* li's, or furlongs, in compaſs. This wall hath battlements along the curtains, and is adorned at each angle with little pavilions; and over each of the gates is another pavilion, ſtronger and more lofty than the former, and ſurrounded with a gallery ſupported by pillars reſembling our periſtyles; and this laſt is properly the palace, becauſe it contains all the apartments of the emperor and his family.

The outer incloſure, and its apartments.

THE outward wall which ſurrounds the incloſure above-mentioned, is fifteen li's, or furlongs, in circuit; and the ſpace between it and the inner is chiefly taken up with the houſes or apartments of the chief officers of the emperor's houſhold, with the ſeveral tribunals, treaſury, ſtorehouſes, wardrobes, and eunuchs belonging to it. Theſe laſt, in the time of the *Chineſe* monarchs, we are told, amounted to 10,000; and were at length become ſo powerful and corrupt, that they proved the main cauſe of their ruin: for which reaſon the wiſer *Tartars* have ſo ſuppreſſed them by degrees, that there is but an inconſiderable number left of them, who are now looked upon as an uſeleſs and dangerous weight to a court.

Eunuchs ſuppreſſed.

To ſome of theſe officers is committed the care of providing neceſſaries for the ſervice of the prince; while others are to preſerve good order, decide the differences, or even puniſh offences committed by the domeſtics of the imperial family. Theſe apartments are ſpacious and ſtately; but thoſe of the inner incloſure much more ſo, being adorned

Inner apartments deſcribed.

him, both by the ſoldiery and citizens, that one ſhall hardly hear, in ſeveral years, of an houſe being broken open, or a man murdered; which is ſo much the more to be admired among ſuch an infinite multitude and mixture of *Tartars* and *Chineſe*; all which is owing to the excellent order which is kept under him, which makes it next to impoſſible for any ſuch crimes to be committed, and the authors eſcape their due puniſhment (8).

(8) *Le Compte & Du Halde, ubi ſupra.*

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with parks, gardens, sumptuous baths, pleasure-houses, halls of state; the whole embellished with every thing that is delightful and magnificent; particularly an artificial lake, of about a mile and quarter in compass, full of variety of fish, and surrounded with sumptuous buildings, gardens, baths, &c. In the middle of it is the imperial, and a number of other barges, for the court to take the diversion of fishing. Each facade of the double inclosure hath a lofty gate, or rather three gates, one in the middle, and one at each end; the former of which is the most lofty and rich, and is only opened to the emperor; and the others stand open from morning till night, to all comers and goers. Each gate hath a draw-bridge, and a proper guard (G); and none are admitted to go over them but mandarins, officers in the highest posts, or such as bring an ivory ticket from them, specifying the business they are sent thither for.

An artificial lake.

The gates strictly kept.

Hall of audience.

THE great hall of audience, or, as it is styled by them, *the hall of the great union*, is a lofty building, about 130 feet long, and of an almost square form; the cieling of which is all of carved work, varnished with green, and adorned with gilt dragons in bas-relief. The pillars that support the roof are about six or seven feet in compass, and embellished with a kind of raised work made of paste, and japanned over with vermilion. The pavement is covered with a kind of tapestry, and the walls are washed with a fine shining white, but without hangings, looking-glasses, branches, or any other sort of ornament. The throne stands in the centre of the hall; and consists of a lofty alcove, very neat, but neither magnificent

The throne.

(G) Some authors have affirmed, that the emperor's elephants stand guard at these gates; which custom, we are since told, hath been left off, or, which is perhaps more likely, was only a mistake: for these creatures are lodged within the palace, in two very noble apartments, or courts, the one for the summer, and the other for the winter; these last are not only smaller, but are kept warm like stoves, without which they could not bear the rigour of the season.

As for the guards of the palace, they have no other arms than their broad scymetars, and are nothing so numerous as they were in the time of the *Chinese* monarchy, the *Tartars* seeming to despise a great deal of that pomp and political grandeur. However, they have always a vast number of mandarins, and other officers of distinction, attending the emperor at all audiences, and other solemn occasions; and who pay him such a profound respect by their awful distance, gestures, and prostrations, as come very near to a kind of adoration of him (9).

(9) *Le Compte & Du Halde, ubi supra.*

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in ornaments or inscriptions, except that it bears the word *Shing*, which some writers have translated *holy*, tho' it more properly signifies *excellent*, *most wise* or *perfect*. On the platform before it stands a very large and thick vessel of brass, wherein are burnt some fine perfumes during the whole ceremony; and candlesticks, cast in the shape of birds, are made to hold a number of lighted flambeaux. On this platform, which is continued northward beyond the hall of audience, are reared two lesser halls, which are hid by the former; one of them is a handsome rotunda, with windows all around, and shining with varnish of divers colours; and here they say, the emperor reposes sometimes, either before or after the audience, and changes his clothes [r]. *Lesser halls behind the great one.*

But the most magnificent of all is, that which they style the innermost court of all; and in which the emperor and empress, his wives of the second rank, and some of his favourite concubines, live, in all imaginable splendour and delight. This court is not only the most magnificent, but the loftiest of all; as the others are raised one higher than the other, the nearer they approach to this. The ascent to it, from the next, is by a flight of six steps on all sides, surrounded by a noble balustrade, adorned with lions, dragons, and other embellishments. In this last quadrangle, amongst other insignia of the *Chinese* magnificence and luxury, stands a tower of gilt brass, fourteen or fifteen feet high, finely wrought, in which were constantly burnt the most costly gums and perfumes, the smoke of which came out at a great number of little holes or windows of curious workmanship, and dispersed itself all over the palace: but whether the *Tartarian* monarchs keep up this custom constantly, or only in times of audience, and on other solemn occasions, we cannot be certain. And thus much shall suffice for this superb edifice: those who want a fuller description, may read it in the authors last quoted.

Next to the imperial palace, the pagods, or temples, are the most splendid and magnificent, and in the greatest number, both in the city, suburbs, and parts adjacent: and, indeed, both *Chinese* and *Tartars*, nobles and people, are so superstitious, that they rear and adorn these structures, at immense charges, and with vast numbers of costly statues. The roofs are particularly remarkable, for the lustre of their yellow tiles, numberless figures of dragons, lions, and other creatures, curiously wrought, painted, and gilt, and other de- *The pagods, or temples.*

[r] Le Compte, letter 2. Martiniere, sub voc. Pe-king. Du Halde, p. 67, & seq. & al. plur.

corations

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corations, after the *Chineſe* taſte, and ſome of them ſumptuous and coſtly, beyond deſcription. It is obſervable, however, that ſome of thoſe that belong to the *Tartars* are abhorred by the *Chineſe*, and *vice verſa* (H). Thoſe that are in the country about, commonly ſtand on eminences, either natural, or reared up artificially, with a great deal of coſt and labour, and, by their height, and ſumptuous ornaments, yield a moſt delightful proſpect. As it would be endleſs to dwell upon a deſcription of them, we ſhall give a ſketch of one of the laſt ſort in the margin (I), and content ourſelves with deſcribing here that of the Sun; which is a very curious edifice, not only on account of its richneſs and grandeur, but as it is that to which the emperor repairs once a year, at the entrance of that planet into the winter ſolſtice; not with that pomp, ſplendor, and numerous retinue, that uſually attends him on other ſolemnities,

(H) This is partly owing to the difference of their deities, ſtatues, and way of worſhip. But what is moſt ſhocking to the *Chineſe*, is, that the *Tartars* have ſome of their idols carved, or painted, naked; for the former profeſs an utter averſion to all ſuch nudities, either in temples, houſes, or in any other way; and, upon that account, were highly offended at the dreſs of the *Europeans*, as diſcovering too much of the nakedneſs of the body, which they, on the contrary, ſtrive to conceal, by their long gowns, wide ſleeves, breeches, and boots. Much more, conſequently, muſt thoſe naked idols, ſo common among the *Tartars*, appear ſhocking to them. There is, among the reſt, in this metropolis, a ſtately *Tartarian* temple, in which the Deity is repreſented in the figure of a naked man, of an extraordinary bigneſs, and which it would be a ſcandal for any *Chineſe* to ſet his foot into.

(I) This ſurpriſing edifice is built on an artificial mountain, raiſed in the form of a ſugar-loaf, of ſuch a height and bigneſs, and with ſuch tranſverſe perforations, or chaſms, that it looks like a huge parcel of mountains thrown one upon another, with horrid caverns between the interſtices, and the whole ſo rough, that it can hardly be beheld without dread. But the *Chineſe*, it ſeems, are fond of ſuch monſtrous curioſities of art.

On the top of the mountain ſtands the temple above-mentioned, which is likewiſe very lofty and ſpacious, and richly built. Near it is reared a ſtately tower, of moſt curious workmanſhip, of a round form, twelve ſtories high, with galleries, windows, and other decorations, like thoſe that are commonly ſeen in ſome of their cities, a taſte of which we ſhall give our readers, in a proper place. Round the uppermoſt gallery of all, are hung, by long chains, or wires, fifty bells, which are ſo eaſily moved, by the leaſt blaſt of wind, that they keep a continual tinkling night and day, and are ſeen and heard at a great diſtance.

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but in a plain homely dreſs; without gold, jewels, or even the yellow garments, which colour is peculiar to the imperial family.

THIS vaſt and noble pile of building ſtands about half a mile from the eaſt gate of the city, and is ſurrounded with a wall, near a mile in circuit. Within this incloſure, are reared ſeveral ſtately apartments, and groups of lofty trees, and in the centre a ſpacious round hall, of a conſiderable height. The dome, or roof, is ſupported by eighty-two columns, curiouſly painted with gold and azure, repreſenting the ſky. Hither the emperor repairs, at the ſeaſon, and in the homely garb, above-mentioned, and ſacrifices a great number of bullocks, rams, goats, hogs, *&c.* The whole ceremony is performed in a proper manner, to expreſs the deepeſt humility. The three other temples, for the other cardinal points, are no leſs curious and rich, and ſtand at the ſame diſtance without the wall, each at it proper point of the compaſs from it; and in theſe are likewiſe performed ſome particular ceremonies, at the ſun's entrance into each of thoſe cardinal ſigns. Beſides theſe, they have alſo a number of others, for the ſun, moon, the ſeven planets, twelve ſigns, twenty-eight conſtellations; and an infinite variety of others, both public and private, which we have not room to mention; and ſhall conclude this head with a remarkable ceremony, which is performed yearly, at that which is called the temple of the Earth, and by every new monarch, upon his acceſſion to the throne; and is as follows:

The temple of the Sun.

of the Earth.

IMMEDIATELY after his coronation, he is conducted, with all the royal formality, to this temple, which ſtands on the weſt ſide of the city, and at a ſmall diſtance without the wall. Here he diveſts himſelf of his imperial robes, and cloaths himſelf in the habit of a common ploughman, and, in this humble guiſe, proceeds, with his numerous retinue, to a ſpot of ground, kept for that purpoſe, within the cincture of the temple. Here he finds a plough, finely varniſhed and gilt, to which two oxen, with gilded horns, are faſtened; and taking the plough in his hand, drives it the length of two or three furrows. Whilſt he is at this laborious exerciſe, his empreſs, attended with her ladies, prepare ſome homely diſh for his dinner, and bring it to him, into ſome private apartment, in the moſt ordinary veſſels, and ſit down and eat with him. This excellent cuſtom is of *Chineſe* extract, and great antiquity, and was deſigned to put their new monarch in mind, that his revenue was owing to the ſweat and labour of his ſubjects; and that he ought to abſtain from all ſuperfluous expences, and eaſe them of all needleſs burdens [a]. And thus

A remarkable ceremony performed by the new monarchs.

[a] LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, ubi ſup.

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much may serve, to give an idea of the pagods in this city; their statues, and other representations of their deities, monasteries, &c. will be best seen, when we come to speak of their religion.

Noblemen's houses mean. As to the palaces of the noblemen, mandarins, and other officers of distinction, they have nothing worth describing, being all but one story high, and rather convenient than sumptuous. We are even told, that it would be a crime in any of them to excel in this way (K). Neither are they more curious in furniture, and household ornaments: and, indeed, considering how liable they are to be deprived of their dignities, upon the least suspicion, or dislike, it would be imprudent for them to do otherwise; because these palaces belonging properly to the emperor, whatever additional furniture they bring into them must remain there, for the use of those that succeed them.

The imperial observatory. BEFORE we leave this metropolis, it will not be unacceptable to our readers, if we give them some short account of its so much boasted imperial observatory. The *Chinese* had such an opinion of it, we are told [t], that they thought nothing in the universe could come up to it; and some *European* travellers, upon their credit, had cried it up to such a height, that one of the most celebrated mathematicians of the royal academy of *Paris*, hath made no scruple to represent it as one of the greatest prodigies of art and ingenuity, of beauty and magnificence (L): and yet, when this cele-

[t] LE COMPTE, letter 3. DU HALDE English, vol. ii. p. 138, & seq. & al.

(K) Our author (10) gives us an instance of it, in a chief mandarin, who having built him an house something more lofty than the rest, was accused for it before the emperor, by those whose province it was to take notice of such crimes. Whereupon the nobleman, fearful of the event, made haste to pull down the house, while the business was under examination, and before it was decided against him.

(L) His words are to this effect: "Nothing in *Europe* is to "be compared to it; whether "for the magnificence of the "place, or the largeness of these "vast brazen machines, which, "having been, during these "700 years, exposed on the "platforms of those large tow-"ers, are still as fair and intire "as if they were but newly cast. "The divisions of these instru-"ments are most exact, the dis-"position most proper for their "design, and the whole work "performed with an inimitable "neatness. In a word, it seemed "that *China* insulted her fifter "nations, as if, with all their "learning and riches, they could "not come up with her in that "point (11)."

(10) *Le Compte, letter* 3.

(11) *Id. ib.*

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brated ſtructure came to be viewed, by more proper and unbiaſſed judges, it appears to have been of little worth as to its antient machines, and leſs as to its ſituation; and that all that it is now valuable for, is owing to the improvements which were made to it by Father *Verbieſt*, a *Flemiſh* Jeſuit, in high repute there, and who cauſed a new ſet of inſtruments to be made, with extraordinary care, neatneſs, and exactneſs. The difficulty was to get them introduced into the obſervatory; and ſuch was the *Chineſe* fondneſs for their old defective ones, above the moſt perfect new ones, that they could never have been prevailed upon to admit them, if they had not been forced to it, by an expreſs order from the emperor *Kang-hi*.

improved by Father Verbieſt.

THIS fabric ſtands in a court of a moderate extent, and is built in the form of a ſquare tower, ſuch as were formerly uſed to fortify the city walls, and is contiguous to that of the city on the inſide, and raiſed but ten or twelve feet above its bulwark. The aſcent up to the top is by a very narrow ſtair-caſe; and on the platform above were placed all the old inſtruments, which, though but few, did yet take up the whole room, till Father *Verbieſt* introduced his new ones, which he diſpoſed in a more convenient order. Theſe are large, well caſt, and embelliſhed with repreſentations of dragons, *&c.* and, was but the neatneſs of the diviſions anſwerable to the work, and the teleſcopes faſtened to them, according to the new method, inſtead of pins, they would be equal to thoſe of *Europe*: but the *Chineſe* artificers were, it ſeems, either too negligent, or incapable of following his directions. The reader will form a better idea of their diſpoſition, as well as of the whole platform, by the draught here annexed, and by the deſcription of the chief inſtruments, which he will find in the following note (M). As to the old ones, they were, by order

deſcribed.

(M) Theſe are;

1. An armillary or zodiacal ſphere, ſix feet in diameter (marked *a* in the plate), and ſupported by four dragons heads, whoſe bodies, after ſome windings, are faſtened to the ends of two braſs beams, laid acroſs, that bear the whole weight of the ſphere. Theſe beams are ſupported by four lions, of the ſame metal, whoſe heads may be raiſed, or lowered, by ſcrews. The circles are divided, both in the in and outſide, by croſs lines, into 360 degrees, and each degree into ſixty minutes, and theſe laſt into portions of ten ſeconds, by ſmall pins.

2. An equinoctial ſphere, of ſix feet diameter (marked *b*), ſupported by a dragon, caſt in a ſleeping poſture, whoſe claws extend to the four corners of the pedeſtal. This laſt, like the preceding, conſiſts of two croſs beams, borne by four ſmall lions, which ſerve to level it. The deſign is grand, and well executed.

3. An

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order of the emperor, ſet aſide, as uſeleſs, and laid in the hall near the tower, where they may be ſeen through a croſs-barred

3. An azimuthal horizon (marked *c*), ſix feet in diameter, which conſiſts of one large circle, placed horizontally. The double ruler, which is juſt its diameter, and ſlides over the whole limb, carries round along with it an upright triangle, the upper angle of which is faſtened to a perpendicular beam fixed in the centre of the horizon. Four twiſted dragons bend their heads underneath the great circle, to keep it firm, whilſt two others, winding round two ſmall pillars, raiſe themſelves on either ſide, in almoſt a ſemicircular form, as far as the top of the axis, to which they are firmly fixed, in order to keep the triangle ſteady and upright.

4. A large quadrant (marked *d*), of ſix feet radius, and graduated at every tenth ſecond. The lead, which fixes it in a vertical poſition, weighs a pound, and hangs from the centre by a very fine braſs-wire. The alhidada, or ruler, eaſily ſlides round the limb; and a dragon, folded in ſeveral rings, holds the parts firmly together, leſt they ſhould ſtart from their due poſition. The whole body of the quadrant hangs in the air; and an immoveable axis runs thro' its centre, by which it may be turned towards any part of the heavens. And, to prevent its weight ſhaking it out of its vertical poſition, two other beams are raiſed, one on each ſide, and firmly fixed below upon two dragons, and faſtened to the middle axis by carved clouds, which ſeem to deſcend from the ſky. The whole work is firm, and well-contrived.

5. A ſextant, of eight feet radius (marked *e*), repreſenting the ſixth part of a great circle, ſupported by an axletree, whoſe baſis is concave, and is held ſteady by dragons, and croſſed in the middle by a braſs pillar; on the end of which is fixed a machine, with wheels, which facilitate the moving of the inſtrument. To the middle of this machine is faſtened a copper bar, which repreſents one of the radii of the ſextant, and keeps it immoveable. Its upper part terminates in a thick cylinder, which is the centre round which the ruler turns; and the lower part reaches about two feet below the limb, for the engine, which ſerves to raiſe and lower it, to take hold on. Theſe unwieldy machines, however, are ſo difficult to be moved, that they are rather an ornament to an obſervatory, than of any uſe to an obſerver.

6. The laſt is a celeſtial globe, of ſix feet diameter (marked *f*), which is the handſomeſt, and beſt made, of all the reſt. The body of it is caſt exactly round in braſs, and neatly poliſhed; the ſtars are well formed, and in their true places, and the circles of a proportionable breadth and thickneſs. It is likewiſe ſo exactly hung, that the leaſt force will turn it round; inſomuch that a child may elevate it to any degree, though it weighs above 2000 pounds. A large concave braſs baſis, with a chanel round its edges, is ſupported by four

miſ-ſhapen

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barred window, all covered with ruſt, and buried in oblivion.

OUR author tells us, however, of a gnomon of *Chineſe* invention, which is pretty well contrived, and might be of uſe to a careful aſtronomer. It is placed in a lower room of the fabric, and the ſlit which lets in the ſun's rays, and is made of two copper-plates ſuſpended, which, by being moved to and fro, do make the entrance larger or ſmaller, is horizontally placed, about eight feet from the ground. Under it lies a table, trimmed with braſs, in the midſt of which there is ſtruck, lengthwiſe, a meridian line, fifteen feet long, divided acroſs by other lines, which are neither exact nor fine. On the ſides they have alſo cut a number of ſmall holes, wherein to put water, in order to ſet the table exactly horizontal. This, and the inſtruments above-mentioned, is all that is remarkable in this famed obſervatory, in which there are five mathematicians employed night and day, each in a proper apartment on the top of the tower, to obſerve all that paſſes over their heads. One of them is gazing towards the zenith, and the others towards the four points of the compaſs, that nothing may eſcape their notice. Their obſervations extend themſelves not only to the motions of the heavenly bodies, but to fires, meteors, winds, rain, thunder, hail, ſtorms, and other phænomena of the atmoſphere; and theſe are carefully entered in their journals, and an account of them is brought, every morning, to the ſurveyor of the mathematics, and regiſtred in his office [u]. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for the

A meridian gnomon.

Five perſons employed in making obſervations.

[u] See LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, and others above cited.

miſ-ſhapen dragons, placed at equal diſtances, whoſe briſtly hair ſuſtains a magnificent horizon, of a conſiderable breadth, and curiouſly wrought and ornamented. The meridian, which ſupports the axis of the globe, is upheld by clouds iſſuing out of the baſis, and ſlides eaſily between them; its motion being facilitated by hidden wheels, by which the whole globe is eaſily turned to any elevation: beſides this, the horizon, the dragon, and the braſen beams which croſs each other at the centre of the concave, are all moved at pleaſure, without ſtirring the baſis, which ſtill continues fixed. This makes it eaſy to place the horizon level, ſo as to interſect the globe juſt in the middle. The whole is as well finiſhed as if it had been done by the beſt *European* artiſt; and, as moſt of theſe ſix machines are ten feet high, they are, for the convenience of the obſervers, encompaſſed with marble ſteps, in the form of amphitheatres, as the reader may ſee by the plate (12).

(12) *Le Compte, ubi ſup. Du Halde, vol.* ii. *p.* 138, *& ſeq. & al.*

city

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city of *Pe-king*; in describing which, we have been the mor diffuse, as it is the metropolis of this vast empire, and is, a it were, the soul of it, which puts in motion, and keeps i order, every part of it. All that needs be added is, that i hath jurisdiction over six cities of the second, and twenty o the third rank, besides the general one which it hath over th whole realm, by its six supreme courts which sit in it; an ac count of which will be given, when we come to speak of thei government. The other head cities of this province, and their inferior ones, are as follow:

2. *The city of* Pau-ting fû.

2. *PAU-TING-FU*, the residence of the viceroy; which hath three cities of the second, and seventeen of the third rank. It hath a lake in the middle of it, which is chiefly famed for producing vast quantities of a sort of flowers, called by the *Chinese lyen-wha*; and which the reader will find described in the margin (N).

3. Ho-kyen-fû.

3. *HO-KYEN-FU*, so called, because it is seated between two rivers, is near four miles in compass; and hath two cities of the second, and fifteen of the third rank, under its jurisdiction.

4. Chin-ting-fû.

4. *CHIN-TING-FU*, seated near a fine river, is of an oblong figure, well walled, and near four miles in circuit. It

(N) This flower seems to be the same with our *nymphea*, or water-lily, which, tho' little valued by us, is much admired and esteemed by the *Chinese*, both for its beauty and medicinal qualities. The truth is, they bestow so much pains in improving it, particularly in their artificial fishponds, that it grows large, double, and very lively in its colours, which are commonly a mixture of white and violet, or red and white.

This flower shoots up about a yard or more above the water, not unlike our tulip, and consists of a little ball supported by a small filament, much like that which is found in a lily; its smell is pleasant, and its fruit of the bigness of a hazel-nut, and contains a white kernel, very grateful to the taste; the root is knotty, like that of reeds, its pith and substance very white. There is nothing in this plant but what is of some service; and they make even a meal of it, which they use upon several occasions. The leaves are long, and float upon the water; they are fastened to the root by long strings, and are used by gardeners to wrap their ware in.

The virtues which the *Chinese* physicians attribute to this plant, are, that it is a great refresher and nourisher of nature and a great restorer of decayed constitutions. But, as to what *Kercher*, and some other authors, add, that its root will soften copper, by being put into a man's mouth with it (13), it hath been since exploded by those who tried the experiment with less prepossession

(13) *Kircher. Du Halde, p.* 12. *&* 80.

hath

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hath thirty-two cities under it, *viz.* five of the second, and twenty-seven of the third rank. North of it are mountains which produce a great variety of medicinal herbs; and upon which are seen several stately monuments reared to their heroes, and one in particular consecrated to the memory of the first emperor of the dynasty of *Han*.

5. *SHUN-TE-FU* hath but nine cities under it, all of the third rank; but which are very considerable, and well peopled. The whole territory is fertile, and well watered; and, among other things, produces a fine sand, which is used for polishing of precious stones, and the best touchstones for gold in the whole empire. 5. Shun-te-fû.

6. *QUANG-PING-FU*, situate on the southern part of the province, hath only nine cities of the third rank under its jurisdiction, and nothing particular worth mentioning. 6. Quang-ping-fû.

7. *TAY-MING-FU* hath one city of the second, and eighteen of the third rank, under it. 7. Tay-ming-fû.

8. *YUNG-PING-FU* is advantageously situate, being encompassed by the sea, by rivers, and by mountains covered with very fair trees. It hath only one city of the second, and five of the third rank. 8. Yung-ping-fû.

Not far from it is the fort of *Shang-hay*, which is as it were the key of the province of *Lyau-tong*, and is situate near the great wall, which extends itself, from the bulwark built in the sea, for the space of a league, in a plain country, before it ascends the hills.

9. *SWEN-WHA-FU* is a large, well-built city, full of inhabitants, and seated among the mountains, not far from the great wall. It hath two cities of the second, and eight of the third rank: besides some forts along the wall, strongly garrisoned, to guard the entrance between *China* and *Tartary*. Its mountains produce fine crystal, marble, and porphyry, and a sort of yellow rat, larger than those of *Europe*, whose skins are in great request among the *Chinese*. 9. Swen-wha-fû.

II. *The Province of* Kyang-nan.

THE next province in dignity (for, in such historical works as this, we think it much more proper to mention them according to their rank, than as they stand contiguous to each other, as is done in geographical ones) is that now called *Kyang-nan*, or *Nan-king*, and is the most fertile, trading, and wealthy, of the empire. It is bounded on the west by those of *Ho-nan* and *Hû-quang*; on the south by *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-si*; on the north by *Shan-tong*; and, on the east, by the gulf of *Nan-king*. It extends itself from the 29th 1. Kyang-nan.

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to the 25th degree of latitude, and from the 112th to the 121th of east longitude; so that, for its extent, as well as opulence, it justly deserves at least the second rank, though the *Chinese* writer *Kao*, in his survey, places it but in the ninth. We have already observed, that the antient emperors kept their constant residence at its metropolis of *Nan-king* till, for reasons of state, they removed it to *Pe-king*; notwithstanding which considerable loss, it hath, by the advantage of its maritime commerce, as well as the richness of its soil, and vast number and industry of its inhabitants, been enabled to keep up its antient splendor and rank; insomuch that the yearly tribute it pays to the emperor in rice, silks, cotton, salt, *&c.* amounts, *communibus annis*, according to *Martini*, who had it from the then governor of the province, to near 32 millions of taels (O), or ducats, exclusive of the duties arising from all that is imported or exported, for the receiving of which there are proper officers assigned [a]. The number of families in it is computed, according to the *Chinese* registers, to 1,969,816; and the men to 9,967,429, or near ten millions; among whom, the city of *Shang-hay*, and villages belonging to it, are said to contain 200,000, employed in weaving of callico.

Vast tribute to the crown.

Jurisdiction.

Manufactures esteemed.

KYANG-NAN hath fourteen fu's, or cities of the first rank; under which are ninety-three of the second and third, besides towns and villages without number, all of them large, populous, and wealthy; for all the commodities that come from any of the cities, but especially from the capital of this province, such as those of japan-work, ink, paper, and other

[a] See Le Comte, Martini, Du Halde, and others above cited.

(O) Equivalent to a *Chinese* ounce of silver, or to about eight shillings and seven pence sterling (14).

Perhaps it will not be unacceptable to the reader, if we subjoin here a fuller account of this tribute, by way of specimen; seeing all the other provinces pay the same, and the difference is only in the more or less of each commodity. That of the rice here amounts, *communibus annis*, to 5,995,034 sacks; raw silk to 6863 pounds; wrought ditto, 28,452 pieces; linen to 2,077 pieces; that of cotton is paid in silver, and is no less considerable; and the rest of their commodities bears a proportion to their affluence; but that of the salt, which is here made in vast quantities along the seacoasts of the province, is the biggest of all (15).

(14) *See Du Halde. English, p. 73. sub not. La Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.*

(15) *See Martini,*

manufactures,

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manufactures, in which they drive a vast trade, are more esteemed, and bear a greater price, than those of any other provinces. The inhabitants of *Kyang-nan* are polite and courteous, and have a more than ordinary disposition for the sciences; insomuch that it is famed for the great number of doctors it produces, who, by their merit, attain the highest posts and dignities of the empire. It hath but few mountains, except towards the south; all the rest is a fruitful champain, abounding with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life. It abounds with convenient sea-ports, resorted to by an innumerable quantity of vessels from most parts of *Asia*; and a great number of canals, and some navigable rivers, for the convenience of import and export. The most considerable of these are the *Yang-tse*, which runs quite thro' the middle of it; and the *Whang-ho*, which bounds it on the north. *Learned men.* *Great trade.*

This province, besides its fourteen districts, each under its proper capital, is divided into two governments, the eastern and western, each under a respective viceroy; the former of whom hath his residence at *Sû-chew-fû*, and the latter at *Ngang-king-fû*. The order in which they stand is as follows: 1. *Nan-king*; 2. *Sû-chew*; 3. *Song-kyang*; 4. *Chang-chew*; 5. *Chin-kyang*; 6. *Whay-ngang*; 7. *Yang-chew*; 8. *Ngan-king*; 9. *Whey-chew*; 10. *Ning-que*; 11. *Chi-chew*; 12. *Tay-ping*; 13. *Fong-yang*; 14. *Lyu-chew*.

To these may be added the island of *Tsong-ming*, which likewise belongs to this province, and of which we shall speak at the end of this article, after we have given a short description of what is most remarkable in those fourteen capitals, and especially in that of *Nan-king*.

NAN-KING, alias *Kyan-ning-fû*, capital of the whole province, and once styled the spacious, stately, opulent, nonesuch, &c. stands in latitude 32, and east longitude 116, or two degrees 38′ east from the meridian of *Pe-king*. It is by far the largest city in the whole empire, though much reduced of its antient extent; of which the *Chinese* tell you, that if two horsemen set out in the morning at one of the gates, and galloped around it at different ways, they would not meet till the evening (P). The figure of *Nan-king* is one of the Nan-king *described.* *Extent.*

(P) The survey of *Dionysius Kao* gives it between sixteen and seventeen *French* leagues, that is, about forty-eight miles, in circuit: but it appears, from the ruins of its old wall, to have been considerably larger; insomuch that some writers have computed it to have been thirty leagues, or ninety miles. How much it hath shrunk from that time, may be reckoned from the

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the most irregular in the whole province, if not in the whole empire; for which *Du Halde*, who hath given us a sketch of it, gives this reason: that the hills within it, and the nature of the ground about it, could not well admit of a more regular form. Its decay not only from its antient extent, but from its pristine grandeur, was owing to the removing of the imperial residence, and supreme tribunals (on which account it had the title of *Nan-king*, or southern court), to that of *Pe-king*, since which the *Tartars* have given it the name of *Kyang-ning*; and tho', in common discourse, it be still called by its old one, yet it is never suffered to be used in any public instruments. It hath not only lost its antient name, but all the other monuments of its royal grandeur. The imperial palace, once a most magnificent structure, hath nothing now left but its ruins. The stately monuments of its antient monarchs, and other public buildings, are all run into decay; and even its once so famed observatory lies now neglected, and almost demolished; most of those superb edifices being destroyed by the avarice of the *Tartars*, who first invaded it, and out of hatred to the *Chinese* dynasty then reigning.

Palace, and other buildings, destroyed.

Number of vessels.

About one third part of the city hath since lain waste; the rest, however, is not only well built and inhabited, but drives on a very considerable commerce by means of the *Yang-tse* above-mentioned, which, being a large navigable river, is ever bringing in a prodigious number of barges; some of which, especially the imperial ones, are nearly as big as, if not exceeding, our middling vessels. All these come into that river, from other parts of the empire, by the help of a good number of canals; and in such quantities, that a stranger cannot forbear being surprised at the vast hurry that reigns through the whole city; nor at the prodigious number of these barks, which, we are told, were thought by some of the Jesuits, and first *European* adventurers, to have been sufficient to form a bridge between that capital and *Europe*. What adds to the wonder, is, the richness of those vessels, not only in their costly lading, but in their fine paintings, carvings, and gilding, and the vast crouds that are seen upon them, and make it appear like a great fair kept upon the water

last survey which *Du Halde* tells us was taken of it, which gives its wall no more than sixty-seven *Chinese* li's, or five leagues and half, of twenty to a degree, and about 466 fathom over, which is short of eighteen miles (16).

(16) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 72.

The

THE ſtreets of the city, though narrower by much than thoſe of *Pe-king*, and other *Chineſe* towns, are however curiouſly paved, and conſequently freer from duſt and dirt. Some of them are covered in the middle with large marble ſlabs; and in the ſides with variety of pebble and other ſtones, ſo neatly inlayed, that it would be a delight to walk thro' them, if they were not ſo greatly thronged from morning to night. The city-gates, ſome of the pagods, palaces, arches, towers, and other public buildings, appear quite ſplendid, eſpecially the palace of the viceroy, who always reſides here. But the moſt curious and ſtately fabric in this city, is its octagon tower, which will be more properly deſcribed in the ſequel, among the artificial rarities of this country. The number of its inhabitants is no leſs ſurpriſing; and hath been computed by *Dionyſius Kao*, Father *Le Compte*, and others, to amount to two millions of ſouls, excluſive of its great garriſon (Q). The tribute which it pays to the crown, and the cuſtoms for imports and exports, come to an immenſe ſum: but, beſides theſe, the city ſends every year to *Pe-king* five large veſſels laden with the fineſt ſilks, clothes, and other rich commodities, in order to ingratiate itſelf with the *Tartar* monarchs (R), and to ſecure the protection of its commerce. *Preſent grandeur.* *Public buildings.* *Number of inhabitants.*

NOTHING is more pleaſant than the territory about this city, which not only abounds with all neceſſaries, but is *Territory about it.*

(Q) We muſt, however, obſerve, that ſome later writers have ſtruck off near half that number, excluſive of its garriſon, which conſiſts of 40,000 men, and which the governor or lieutenant-general of the ſouthern provinces is obliged to keep up here (17). *Du Halde* hath ſaid nothing preciſely about it; ſo that the reader is at liberty to believe which ſide he will; but to us it ſeems, upon the whole, as if this laſt calculation came as much too ſhort as the other may be ſuppoſed to go beyond the real mark.

(R) Theſe veſſels, which are ſtyled *lung-y-chew*, or the ſhips of the dragon's cloathing, becauſe the emperors bear the dragon in their arms, are ſo reſpected, that every veſſel is obliged to lower their ſails to them. There is likewiſe another ſett of them, which go from *Nan-king* to *Pe-king* every *April* or *May*, with great quantities of a peculiar ſort of fiſh caught in this neighbourhood, and which are covered with ice to keep it freſh. And, tho' theſe two cities are above 600 miles diſtant from each other, we are told theſe veſſels muſt perform the voyage in eight or ten days, under ſevere penalties, that fiſh being moſtly for the emperor's uſe (18).

(17) *Corneille diction. La Martiniere, & al.* (18) *Idem ibid. Du Halde, & al.*

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moreover adorned with the greateſt variety of villas, pleaſure-houſes, turrets, gardens, orchards, and other embelliſhments, that can heighten the proſpect of it. The moſt delightful object of all theſe is a wood of about twelve miles in compaſs; and planted with ſtately pines, in the heart of which is raiſed a mount of a ſufficient height to overtop them, which is covered with temples, and other ſepulchral monuments of the antient *Chineſe* monarchs. It ſtands about ſix miles from the city; and about the ſame diſtance from it, on the ſame plain, is another mount, upon which is raiſed a ſpacious terrace of large ſquare ſtones, with four flights of marble ſteps, and, on that, a temple truly royal and magnificent. The roof is ſupported by two rows of marble pillars, finely carved and poliſhed, twenty-four feet high, and of a proportionable thickneſs: every thing elſe, both within and without the ſtructure, is anſwerable to it. The gates are lofty, and curiouſly carved in bas-relief, and inlaid with gold and ſilver. The windows are fenced with a ſmall kind of wire-net, of the ſame metal; and ſo ſurpriſingly fine, that it can hardly be perceived. Within-ſide are ſeveral ſtately thrones, inriched with pearls, and other precious ſtones of immenſe value, and the moſt excellent workmanſhip. We omit many other curious things belonging to this city, both within and without it, for want of room [x]; and ſhall only add, that it abounds with men of learning in all ſciences, and with many noble libraries, as well as rich bookſellers ſhops, furniſhed with the greateſt plenty and variety of valuable books. The paper, ink, and other inſtruments for writing and printing, do here excel all others in the empire. *Nan-king* hath only eight cities of the third rank under its juriſdiction.

Charming proſpects.

Learned men.

HAVING dwelt ſo long on the deſcription of theſe two celebrated capitals of the *Chineſe* empire, we ſhall be much more brief in the remainder not only of this, but of the other provinces, and content ourſelves with juſt mentioning what is moſt curious in every one; referring our readers, for a fuller account of them, to the authors laſt quoted in the margin.

Sû-chew. 2. THE ſecond city in the province of *Kyang-nan* is *Sû-chew*, the capital of the eaſtern diviſion called *I-tong*, and is not only large and populous, and rich enough to vie with *Nan-king* laſt deſcribed, but is, for its commodious and pleaſant ſituation, eſteemed an earthly paradiſe. It is compared to *Venice*, on account of the many canals that run through its ſtreets; but with this difference, that the one ſtands on the

[x] De hac vid. LE COMPTE, CORNEILLE, MARTINIERE, ATLAS Sinenſ. Dutch ambaſſ. to China, DU HALDE, & al. plur.

ſea,

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sea, and this in fresh water. The canals are capacious enough to carry the largest barges, and are continually crouded with them. *Sú-chew*, like some others in *China*, may be reckoned three cities; one of which, within the walls, is computed above four leagues in compass; another in the suburbs, which extends a great way on both sides of the canals; and a third in the barks, which are so many floating houses, ranged on the water in several rows, above a league in length, many of which are equal in bulk to our third-rate ships[y]. *Site on fresh water.* *Vast number of vessels.*

THE territory about it, and of the cities under its jurisdiction, is fertile and delightful, rich and opulent; and all carry on a considerable commerce not only with other parts of *China*, but with *Japan*, from which this province is divided by a narrow chanel, which the trading vessels commonly cross in two or three days, with a fair wind. The chief manufactures here are brocades and embroidery, which are the finest and cheapest in proportion in the whole empire. The city hath six stately gates towards the water-side, and as many towards the land; and a jurisdiction over one city of the second, and seven of the third rank, all of them beautiful and rich, and about one and an half or two leagues in compass[z]. *Commerce.* *Manufactures.*

THE other cities of this province have nothing more remarkable than what hath been already observed, except that of *Whay-chew*, whose mountains have mines of gold, silver, and copper, and whose territory is said to produce the best tea. That of *Fong-yang-fú*, the birth-place of *Hong-vû*, the first emperor of the preceding dynasty, was once designed by that monarch for his imperial residence, and a plan was drawn for making it one of the noblest cities in the empire: but the unfitness of the ground, scarcity of water, and other reasons, made him exchange it for that of *Nan-king*, to which he removed his seat. It retains, however, some marks of the royal magnificence, such as a stately temple, some pagods, and monuments, which the reader may find in the author last quoted. *Mines of gold, &c.*

THE last thing to be mentioned of this province, is the island of *Tsong-ming*, separated from it by a small chanel of five or six leagues. It is about twenty leagues long, and five or six in breadth; and was formerly a barren desart, to which robbers and banditti were banished, and left to starve: to avoid this, necessity soon drove them to cultivate it; after which, some poor *Chinese* families came over, and helped to improve it, as far as the ground was capable of it; so that *Island of Tsong-ming described.*

[y] DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 74. LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE CORNEILLE, sub voc. & al. [z] Id. ibid.

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Its produce. now ſome ſpots of it yield wheat, rice, barley, and other coarſer grain; cotton, limons, and other fruits: but the greateſt product is ſalt; which is here made in ſuch plenty as to ſerve the inhabitants, and is tranſported in vaſt quantities into the continent. This ſalt is made out of a ſort of greyiſh earth, which grows diſperſed in ſpots here and there on the north ſide of the iſland, and of the largeneſs of an acre or two.

ANOTHER part of the iſland, towards the north, produces naturally a great plenty of reeds, of which they drive a conſiderable commerce: with ſome of them they build very handſome country-houſes; and the reſt is ſold to ſerve for fuel not only to the inhabitants, but likewiſe along the coaſts. Their other lands yield them two harveſts, the one in *May*, which is of corn, rye, barley, and rice; and the other in *September*, which chiefly conſiſts of cotton and rice; which laſt is here moſt curiouſly cultivated.

City and towns. THERE is but one city in the whole iſland, which is of the third rank, and encompaſſed with high walls ſupported by good terraces, and ſurrounded with a ditch full of water: but there are in the arable lands ſuch a vaſt number of villages, that they ſeem contiguous to each other. The air is wholſome and temperate; and the country pleaſant, but interſected with a great number of canals, to prevent its being laid under water [a].

III. *The Province of* Kyang-ſi

Kyang-ſi deſcribed. IS bounded on the north by *Kyang-nan*; on the weſt by *Hû-quang*; on the ſouth by *Quang-tong*; and, on the eaſt, by *Fo-kyen* and *Che-kyang*. It extends itſelf from the 24th degree and one-half to the 30th of latitude, and from the 110° to the 115° 10′ of eaſt longitude. The mountains which part it from *Quang-tong* and *Fo-kyen* are almoſt inacceſſible and barren (S); but, being once paſſed over, diſcover

[a] DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 78, & ſeq. Lettres cur. & edif. vol. xi. p. 234, & ſeq.

(S) The vaſt ridges of mountains which run between this province and thoſe of *Fo-kyen* and *Quang-tong*, or *Canton*, are inhabited by a rude and ſavage ſort of people, who pretend to be independent from either the *Chineſe* or *Tartars*, and keep themſelves ſo by the inacceſſible height and ruggedneſs of their habitations, which are for the moſt part in deep caverns on the tops of thoſe mountains. From theſe they come frequently down in

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cover very fruitful vallies, and plains exceedingly well improved. The whole province is well watered and fertile; but is so populous withal, that the lower lands can scarce suffice to furnish them with a sufficiency of corn and rice; so they are forced to live very parsimoniously; and are, on that account, become the subject of scorn and raillery among their neighbours (T): yet they commonly are endowed with an excellent genius; and many of them advance themselves to the highest posts by their learning and merit. The number of people are computed to amount to 1,363,629 families, or 6,549,800 men [b]. *Its populousness the cause of scarcity.*

THE country abounds with lakes, brooks, and rivers; some of the last very large and navigable, particularly the *Can*, or *Kan*, al. *Kyang*, which runs through the whole province, and receives a great number of others in its course. All these yield a great plenty and variety of fish [c], particularly salmon, trout, and sturgeon; and the mountains which encompass it are either covered with woods, or are famed for their minerals and medicinal herbs. The lake called *Po-kyang-hû* is particularly remarkable for its largeness and depth, it being 300 miles in circuit, and navigable by the largest ships: *Lakes, rivers, &c.* *Lake of* Po-yang.

[b] LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, CORNEILLE, & al. [c] MARTINI, CORNEILLE, & al.

in bands to plunder the lower grounds; but dare not venture far from their dens, for fear of falling into the hands of some of the garrisons, which are here kept in strong castles in good numbers, and from whom they can expect no mercy.

Great pains have been taken at different times by the government, either to subdue or extirpate these wild freebooters, but as yet without success; tho' their reduction would be so much more advantageous, as the vallies between them are very fruitful; and some of the mountains have mines of gold, copper, and lead (19).

(T) The neighbouring provinces despise them for their frugality, which they style foridness, and for which they give them the title of mice. There are indeed vast numbers of them; who, not being able to subsist at home, wander about the empire under the notion of fortune-tellers, jugglers, conjurers, *&c.*; and some of them, who have had a learned education, are taken into families, and serve as tutors to their children. It must be owned, however, that the generality of the people of this province are much given to superstition, and hold the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; observe a number of heathenish fasts, and many other such superstitious fooleries, above any other province (20).

(19) *Corneille dict. La Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.* (20) *La Martiniere sub voc.*

it

it is said to receive all the rivers in the province; and hath its borders covered with large towns and villages, which drive a considerable trade upon it. There grow likewise great quantities of the lyen-wha, or water-lily, upon the surface of it; which plant we have described in a former note [d]. What renders this lake most famous, is, the fine china-ware that is made in some of its neighbourhood, particularly in the town of *King-te-sim*, or, more properly, *King-te-ching*, in the district of *Zhau-chew-fu*; and is the finest, most in request, and made in the greatest quantities, of any in the whole empire. The cause of its extraordinary beauty is supposed to be some peculiar property in the water; since we are told, that the same materials and workmen will not produce the like in any other place [e].

Fine porcelain manufacture at King-te-ching.

That noble town described.

THIS justly-famed borough, which is as populous as most cities in *China*, and only wants the walls to merit the name of one, is computed to have above a million of inhabitants, mostly employed in that manufacture; the rest being the merchants who deal in that ware, whose houses take up a great deal of room, and who employ a vast number of workmen (U). The town extends itself along the banks of a fine river, a league and half; the streets are long and strait, tho' rather too narrow, crouded, and noisy; and interfect each other at certain distances in a very regular manner, and not one scrap of waste ground is to be spared in it. They reckoned antiently but about 300 porcelain furnaces in the place, which, we are told, are now increased to above 500 [f]; the clouds of smoke and flames of which, ascending in different parts, shew at once the length, breadth, and circumference,

Number of furnaces.

[d] See before, p. 32. note (N). [e] NAVARETTA, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al. [f] DU HALDE, p. 80, & seq.

(U) They are reckoned to consume in this place, one day with another, 10,000 loads of rice, and one thousand hogs a day, besides other animals, fish, fowl, &c. which makes provisions much dearer than in other parts of this province; notwithstanding which, it is become the refuge of an infinite number of poor families, who could subsist no-where so well; for here is employmen found for young and old, strong and weak, and even the lame and blind, may get a living by grinding of colours, &c. There is likewise a vast number of hands kept employed in the barges that ply to and from this place, and extend themselves in two or three rows on the river, some miles in length (21).

(21) *La Martiniere sub. voc. Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.*

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of it; which, in the night, appears like a large city all on fire, or like a huge furnace, with its vaſt number of vent-holes. Strangers are not admitted to ſtay, or even lodge at night, at *King-te-ching*, unleſs ſome reſponſible perſons of the town will anſwer for their good behaviour. This regulation, joined to that which is obſerved day and night in it, and which is the ſame as in the great cities, keeps all things in good order, and ſecures the place from the attempts of an infinite number of robbers §.

THIS province hath 13 fû's, or capitals, which, with the diſtricts of the ſecond and third order, under them, are as follow: *Capital cities of Kyang-ſi.*

1. *NANG-SHANG*, the metropolis of the whole; which hath one city of the ſecond, and ſeven of the third rank, under its juriſdiction. 1. Nang-ſhang.

2. *ZHAU-CHEW* hath only ſeven diſtricts of the third order, beſides towns and villages in great number. 2. Zhau-chew.

3. *QUANG-SIN*, which, though ſituate in the midſt of high mountains, is yet well cultivated and inhabited. It manufactures a good ſort of paper, and the beſt candles in all the empire; and hath only ſeven diſtricts of the third rank under its juriſdiction. 3. Quang-ſin.

4. *NANG-KING*, or *Nan-king-fû*, is pleaſantly ſituate on the lake *Po-yang* lately mentioned; and abounds with fiſh, corn, rice, *&c.*; and a kind of hemp, of which they make a good ſummer cloth. Its juriſdiction extends only over four cities of the third rank. 4. Nang-king.

5. *KYEW-KYANG* is ſituate about four miles on the north-weſt ſide of the lake *Po-yang*, and on the ſouth ſide of the famed river *Yang-tſe*, which, though here at the diſtance of near 100 leagues from the ſea, furniſhes it with plenty of ſalmon, dolphins, trout, *&c.* The river, which runs along the walls of it, ebbs and flows at the new and full moon; and runs ſo ſlowly thence into the ſea, that its courſe is hardly perceived. Our author doth not tell us what juriſdiction this city hath. 5. Kyew-kyang.

6. *KYEN-CHANG* hath but three cities of the third rank under it; and is only noted for a good ſort of wine made of rice, and a kind of linen much eſteemed, and worn during the ſummer-heats. 6. Kyen-chang.

7. *FÛ-CHEW*, or *Vû-chew*, hath ſix cities of the third rank. Its walls are of a large extent; yet it hath hardly 50,000 inhabitants, it having been ſacked, and almoſt de- 7. Fû-chew.

§ DU HALDE, ubi ſup. LE COMPTE, & al.

ſtroyed,

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ſtroyed, by the *Tartars* in the late wars; and a great par of its antient buildings lying in ruins.

8. Lin-kyang. 8. *LIN-KYANG* hath no more than four cities of the third rank under it. Its chief traffick conſiſts in oranges, with which the ſurrounding mountains, which are cut into terraces, are covered, and from whence they are ſent into the neighbouring provinces.

9. Kingan. 9. *KI-NGAN* hath nine cities of the third rank. The *Kan*, or *Kyang*, river, on which it is ſituate, runs there ſo rapid, among a number of rocks which are even with its ſurface, that it requires all the ſkill of a good pilot, as well as ſtrength of hands, to paſs the current ſafely.

10. Shwi-chew. 10. *SHWI-CHEW* is divided into two parts, or cities, by the river *Kan*, which have a communication with each other by two ſtout bridges; one of ſtone, with ten arches; and the other of boats, which riſes and falls with the water. The north ſide is ſtyled the mandarin city, becauſe both the great and ſmall of that dignity dwell in it; whilſt the other is chiefly inhabited by burghers and tradeſmen. How far its juriſdiction extends, we are not told; but it is ſo happily ſituated both for health and fertility, that it is ſtyled the happy.

11. Yven-chû. 11. *YVEN-CHU* hath only four cities of the third rank under it; but is bleſſed with every convenience of life, and furniſhes the reſt of the empire with vitriol and alum, with which the country about it abounds.

12. Kang-chew. 12. *KANG-CHEW* hath twelve cities of the third rank under it; and is, beſides, a place of great traffick, as it is ſituate on the river of its name, which receives another at a ſmall diſtance; at the confluence of which is a large bridge built with boats; and, near it, the cuſtom-houſe, where veſſels are ſearched, and examined whether they have paid duty. The country about it abounds with thoſe trees from which the gyran, or varniſh for japanning, diſtils, and is ſome of the beſt that *China* affords.

13. Nan-ngan. 13. THE laſt and moſt ſouthern capital of this province is called *Nan-ngan*, and hath four cities under it. It is large, populous, and rich, on account of the great reſort of veſſels to it, becauſe all the merchandizes that go to, or come from, the province of *Quang-tong* are obliged to land here: and thus much may ſuffice for this third province [h].

[h] De his, vide LE COMPTE, CORNEILLE, LA MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

IV. *The*

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IV. *The Province of* Fo-kyen

IS bounded on the east by the sea; on the west by *Kyang-si*, last described; on the north by *Che-kyang*; and, on the south by *Quang-tong*. It is one of the smallest provinces in the empire; and extends itself only from the 23° and an half to the 28° 20′ of latitude, and from the 114° to the 118° of east longitude; but it is so advantageously situate for navigation and commerce, as to be esteemed one of the richest; and hath a great many forts built along the shore, to defend its coasts. These are so irregular, by reason of the number and variety of its bays, that it gives the inhabitants an opportunity of carrying on an illicit trade with strangers, in spite of all the *Chinese* prohibitions, of diamonds, and other precious stones, gold, quicksilver, spices, amber, and other commodities, of which they make a vast traffick and gain. They maintain such a vast number of ships, that, when the emperor of *China* was threatening a war against that of *Japan*, this province is said to have offered to furnish him with such a number of them as should be sufficient to make a bridge that should reach from one country to the other. And indeed most of their mountains, which are here in great number (W), are covered with forests full of large and lofty trees, fit for building of ships. Some of them have rich mines of iron and

IV. Fo-kyen *described.*

Site and commerce.

Vast number of ships.

(W) The *Chinese* have an excellent way of improving these mountains, by cutting those that are of a soft nature into the form of amphitheatres and terraces, one above another, and sowing them with corn, rice, *&c.*; and, as the latter only grows in water, they take care to supply each such spot with it, either from the springs that come down from the mountains, or from those of the plains, which they have the art of raising up to the highest mountains, and of conveying from one mountain to another, by pipes made of bambo, which this province takes care to cultivate in great quantities for that purpose; so that every stage or terrace from the top to the bottom is plentifully supplied with water to nourish whatever grain is sown upon it.

And here it must be observed, that the mountains which are formed in this shape, are commonly of a soft nature: but, where the rock is too hard to be so cut, or where the water cannot be easily conveyed in the manner above mentioned, they content themselves with planting such mountains with variety of trees for building, fuel, *&c.* according to the nature of the soil, or their own exigencies; so that no spot of ground on them is left uncultivated (22).

(22) *De his vid. Navretta, Martini, Le Compte, Martiniere, Du Halde, & al. mult.*

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tin, and others of gold and silver; but these two last are so bidden to be opened, under pain of death.

Chief commodities. THE commodities with which this province abounds, besides those already named, are, musk, silks, hempen and callico cloths, steel, and all sorts of utensils curiously made &c. Those that are imported, are, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, sander-wood, coral, amber, and such-like. The countries that trades with, are, *Japan*, *Formosa*, the *Philippine Islands*, *Siam* and others, along those eastern coasts. The climate is hot and sultry in summer, but serene and healthy; so that it produces the same grains, fruits, &c. with the other parts of the empire, and some in greater perfection; particularly oranges which are here much larger, and of a more beautiful red and have, besides, a fine muscadine taste and flavour.

Distinct language. THE people of this province not only speak a language quite different from the *Chinese*; but, what is still more incommodious to those that travel through it, every district hath a dialect of its own: even the mandarin language, which is the only one that is generally spoken through the empire, is understood but by few of them. But it must be observed, that *Fo-kyen* was formerly a separate kingdom; though whether tributary to *China*, or no, we cannot learn; and the prince who governed it at the time of the *Tartaric* invasion, who was no less potent than courageous, held out against those invaders long after the rest of the provinces had submitted to their yoke. We shall speak more fully of that war when we come to the historical part; and only hint here, that they were at length subdued, not by superior strength or valour, but by downright treachery; and to this day brook their subjection very unwillingly; and hence that difference of language, and their aversion to the *Chinese*. They have, however, many learned men among them, who are not a little fond of the sciences. The rest of the people are generally industrious, witty, and affable; but, according to common report, given to all manner of vices; and notorious, above all the *Chinese*, for cheating those they deal with.

Formerly a separate kingdom.

FO-KYEN hath nine fû's, or cities of the first rank (amongst which they reckon *Tay-wan*, or *Tayovan*, the capital of the island of *Formosa*, of which we shall speak at the end of this article), and sixty hyens, or cities of the third rank.

Capitals of Fo-kyen. THE fû's, or cities of the first rank, are, 1. *Fû-chew*, the metropolis; 2. *Tswen-chew*; 3. *Kyeng-ning*; 4. *Teng-ping*; 5. *Ting-chew*; 6. *Hing-wha*; 7. *Shau-û*; 8. *Chan-chew*; 9. *Tay-wuan*; to these may be also added *Hya-men*, or the port of *A-muy*, or *Amoy*; and the island of *Pong-hû*, which doth likewise belong to this province.

THESE

THESE cities are remarkable chiefly for their largeness, richness, and populousness, and such other general advantages, not worth, however, a further description; what is most worth notice in some of them, is as follows: *Tsweu-chew* is famed for a fine temple, adorned with two stately towers built of stone and marble, seven stories high; each story hath a gallery on the outside, around which one may walk, and view the beauties of the city and country. It hath likewise a bridge of extraordinary length and breadth, built with a blackish stone, and supported, not with arches, but with 300 stone pillars, ending on the two sides with an acute angle, to break the force of the stream. It is said to have cost the governor that built it 1,400,000 ducats. Tswenchew's two stately towers.

CHANG-CHEW, the eighth and most southern city in this province, is situate on a river which ebbs and flows; over which it hath a stately bridge, of 36 very high arches, and broad enough to admit of shops on both sides, which are stored with all sorts of rich merchandizes, both of *China* and the *Indies*. Its vicinity to *Amoy*, a place of vast commerce, occasions a constant traffick to be continually carried on between them. The neighbouring mountains produce the finest crystal, of which they make buttons, seals, figures of animals, &c. [1]. A noble bridge.

HYA-MEN, or the island and port of *A-muy*, *Emoy*, or *Amoy*, is one of the most convenient and safe harbours in all *India*, on account of the road which is formed by that island between it and the continent; which is so deep and capacious, that it can receive 1000 ships of the largest size, which can come as near to land as they please, and ride safe from all winds; on which account its commerce hath increased to such a degree, that there is constantly a vast number of *Chinese* transports that trade from thence to other parts of *India*; and the emperor keeps there a garrison of 6000 or 7000 men, under the command of a *Chinese* general. Our *East India* company had once a factory in this island, which hath been since removed to *Quang-tong*, or *Canton*, where the merchants are better treated. *Amoy* stands in about 25° 33′ of latitude, and 115° 50′ of east longitude. There is a number of other small islands, not worth mentioning here, except that of *Pong-hu*, and the more large and considerable one of *Formosa*. Port of Amoy described.

PONG-HU is rather a group of small islands, lying under the 23d degree and half of latitude, and 117° of east Islands and Port of Pong hû.

[1] De his vid. DIONYS. KAO apud Isbrandz Ides, p. 148, & seq. MARTINI Atlas, LE COMPTE, LA MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

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longitude, and forming a kind of *Archipelago* between those of *Amoy* and *Formosa*. They are all rocky and barren, and obliged to have all sorts of necessaries, and even firing, from *China* or *Formosa*: however, the port is good, and secure against all winds, and from twenty to twenty-five fathoms deep. The *Dutch*, when they were masters of *Tay-wan*, built a kind of fort at one end of the isle of *Pong-hú*, to guard the entrance of it; of which nothing now remains but a few ruins, which the *Chinese* call *Hong-mau-chay*, or the fort of the red-haired men. However, this port of *Pong-hú* is thought absolutely necessary for the preservation of *Formosa*, or rather *Tay-wan*, which at present, it seems, draws but seven or eight feet of water, and is unfit for large vessels; and therefore there is a literary mandarin now residing in it, to watch the ships that pass and repass from *China*, and bring a considerable revenue to the state [k].

Island of Formosa.

BUT the most considerable of all the islands belonging to *China*, is that commonly styled by the *Europeans Formosa*, or *Hermosa*, and, by the *Chinese*, *Tay-van*, or *Tay-wan*, which is situate over-against the province of *Fo-kyen*, and is severed from it by a chanel of about twenty leagues, where narrowest; and stretches itself from south to north somewhat above three degrees and a half, that is, from the 22d to the 25° 40′, being crossed a little south of the middle, by the tropic of *Cancer*. It spreads itself in breadth a little more than one degree, or sixty miles, that is, from the 117° 25′ to 118° 36′ of east longitude, where broadest; but is much narrower at each end. The land lies high, and is very mountainous; notwithstanding which, and its nearness to *China*, it doth not appear to have been known to them till the dynasty of *Ming*, that is, about *A. C.* 1430; nor to have been in the possession of the *Chinese* till above two centuries after, even by the *Chinese* historians; it being then looked upon as a barren uncultivated country, inhabited only by barbarians, and not worth their regard (X), especially as *China* was then miserably rent by their intestine wars.

When discovered and subdued.

ABOUT

[k] See DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 90, & seq. DION. KAO apud Isbrands, p. 148, & seq. CANDIDIUS NIEWHOFF, & al.

(X) The account which the *Chinese* historian gives us of its first discovery, is, that one of the emperor's eunuchs, called *Wan-san-pau*, returning home from the west, was driven upon it; where, finding the country as delightful as the inhabitants were barbarous, he staid some time, in hopes of making some discoveries, which might be worth carrying to his master; tho'

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About the end of the year 1620, a *Japanese* squadron landing on the island, the commander, thinking it worth conquering, left part of his men there, with orders to get what intelligence they could to forward his design. Not long after, a *Dutch* ship was driven into it by a storm, in its course to and from *Japan*; and landed in it, the *Japanese* being in no condition to oppose them; and, finding the country to their liking, and very commodious for trade, did, by a subtle stratagem, obtain leave of them to build a house, which was not to contain more ground than an ox-hide would include: but, having cut the hide into very narrow thongs, gained ground enough to build a large fort, which they called *Castel Zelandia*, *Anno* 1634. The *Japanese* highly resented the treachery, when they found that the fort made them masters of the only passage by which a large ship could enter the island: but, whether they found themselves too weak to resist them, or whether they heard no more of their commander, or on some other discontent, they left them master-

Japaners land at it, and then the Dutch.

Their stratagem.

Fort.

tho' all the benefit he reaped from his inquiries, was only the knowlege of some few plants and medicinal herbs, which have been used in *China* ever since with good success.

The next was the commander of a *Chinese* squadron, named *Yu-ta-yew*, who, in his cruise on the eastern sea, had a bloody engagement, *A. C.* 1564, with a corsair, who had seized on the island of *Pong-hû*; and, after five hours sharp contest, had forced him to retire towards the coming on of the night. *Lin-tau-kyen*, who commanded the corsair, thought of having refreshed his troops in that island, and to have renewed the onset the next morning; but found the entrance into it blocked up by part of *Yu-ta-yew*'s squadron, whom that experienced commander had sent on that errand: so that, finding his men too much weakened and intimidated to force an entrance into the port, he judged it more prudent to steer his course towards *Formosa*. *Yu-ta-yew* pursued him thither; but, being unacquainted with the entrance into the port, and finding the sea too shallow, he returned to the isles of *Pong-hû*, made himself master of them, and left a strong garrison in the port. The news of his success were received at court with joy, and a literary mandarin was sent from thence to govern those islands.

In the mean time *Lin-tau-kyen*, who was landed in *Formosa* (which the *Chinese* historian, quoted above, says, was then uncultivated, and inhabited by barbarians), finding it not answerable to his ambitious views, massacred all the natives that fell into his hands; and, by an unparalleled piece of inhumanity, made use of their blood to caulk his ships; and sailed thence to *Quang-tong*, where he soon after died miserably (23).

(23) *Vid. Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 60.

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of it, and returned home. This is the account we have of their first settlement there, partly from the *Europeans* [k], and partly from their own writers; to which we shall only add, that the *Dutch*, finding themselves now sole masters of the island, the natives not being in a condition to oppose them, built a new fort, with four demi-bastions, over-against that of *Zelandia*, by which they quite secured the entrance into the port. How they were afterwards driven out of it, and that island; or at least the western part of it became, with the rest of the *Chinese* empire, subject to the *Tartars*, will be best seen in the historical part. It is now time to say something of the island, and its inhabitants.

Become masters of the island.

The coasts and country described.

THE coasts of it are rocky, and high all around, and without any harbours or creeks to come into it; which makes it strong by nature, and difficult to be invaded, there being but one bay, *viz.* that of *Tay-wan*, which is at the mouth of a river, at which any ship of bulk may approach it; and this is so narrow, and so well defended by forts and high rocks on each side, that there is no entering it by surprize; tho', when the ships are once got in, they are safe, and sheltered from all winds. The climate must of course be very hot in summer, when the sun is vertical over it; but, as it lies high from the sea, the air is mostly serene and healthy, and the sultry heat allayed by constant breezes which fan it on all sides. The soil is mostly mountainous, especially on the north side; and yet is fertile enough to produce a more than sufficient quantity of rice, which is here used instead of wheat, to support its inhabitants, besides a great variety of excellent fruits, some of them unknown to us; as the bananas, ananas, papayas, goyavas, cocoes: others such as ours, but vastly finer, as peaches, apricots, figs, grapes, pomegranates, chesnuts, and some of the finest citrons and oranges. It likewise produces several sorts of spices, physical and other herbs and roots, and great plenty of sugar, tobacco, tea, and other plants. And much greater plenty and variety might the island produce, were the natives ingenious and industrious in cultivating and improving every spot to the best advantage, like the *Chinese*: but the men are, it seems, above minding agriculture, as fit only for women and slaves; whilst hunting, fowling, and other such manly sports, are their chief exercise and delight, the country abounding every-where with all manner of game. They have some large rivers, which, though not of any length, yet furnish them with plenty of fish. Their mountains have

Climate.

Soil, produce.

[k] See DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 90, & seq. DION. KAO apud Isbrands, p. 148, & seq. CANDIDIUS NIEWHOFF, & al

rich

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rich mines of gold, silver, copper, and sulphur: this last in such great abundance, that it makes the island liable to frequent and dreadful earthquakes. The vallies afford plenty of pasture for their cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, hogs, and deer of various kinds; and the woods, we are told by some authors, are no less infested with tygers, leopards, and other wild creatures, of the furs of which the natives make a considerable traffick. This is the account we have of the island, not only from some of our *Europeans*, but likewise from the *Chinese* writers: but these extend it only to that part of it which is under their dominions, which they style the northern; but which is at best but a small and inconsiderable slip of it, in comparison to the whole, as the reader may see by the account and map which the Jesuit missionaries have since given us of it, in a letter to Father *Du Halde*, written *Anno* 1715, and published by him in his *Recueil*, *Anno* 1720 †; from which it plainly appears, that the *Chinese* dominions in it extend but little more than three degrees along the coasts; and but a few leagues to the inland, which is intersected all the way by high and inaccessible mountains, over which they never venture to pass.

Rich mines.

Beasts.

As to the southern, and by far the largest, part of the island, we much question whether they have any knowlege of it. However, they have ventured to describe it, and its inhabitants, after their usual way; the one as a rocky barren wilderness; and the other as so many wild savages, but one degree removed from brutes. But, as their singular contempt for all other nations gives us but too much reason to think their account of the latter to be exaggerated to their disadvantage, and with a design perhaps to insinuate as if the whole island had been much alike till the former became subject to them; we shall give the remainder of their contemptuous picture of it in the margin (Y); and go on here with what we find most worthy of credit on this head.

The Chinese account of one part of it.

SURE

† Lettres edif. & curieus. vol. xiv. p. 16, & seq.

(Y) The *Chinese* divide this island into two parts, which, they say, are severed by such high ridges of mountains, that they have hardly any communication one with another. The one, which is neareſt to *China*, and now subject to it, they describe in the manner we have done above; but the other they represent as barren, wild, and inhabited only by barbarians given to all manner of vices, and strangers to even the most common virtues, and without any traces of religion or morality. According to their accounts, these live in poor cottages made of

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The inhabitants described.

SURE it is that the *Chinese* writer often quoted (who, by the way, makes no such distinction between the northern and southern)

dirt and bamboes, and covered with straw, raised on a kind of terrace about three or four feet wide, and built in the form of a tunnel inverted; the largest of them from thirty to forty feet in diameter, and with partition-walls; all of them without chairs, benches, tables, beds, or any kind of moveables. In the midst is a kind of hearth, or fire-place, raised about two feet from the ground, where they dress their diet, which is commonly rice, and other small grain; and the game, which they either kill with their arrows or darts, at which, tho' they are of the plainest make, they are so expert, that they will shoot pheasants, and other birds, with as much certainty as we can with a gun; or, which is still more surprising, which they catch by dint of running, they being swifter of foot than the fleetest horses.

They are no less slovenly in their diet than in their house-furniture, having neither dishes, spoons, plates, trenchers, or any thing to put their victuals in, except a piece of wood, or mat, out of which they feed themselves with their paws like monkeys. They eat their flesh and fish half-raw, and their beds are only the leaves of some trees common to their country, with which they litter their bed-chamber, and so lay themselves down to sleep. Their whole apparel is a single cloth, which covers them from only from the waist down to the knees; but, in lieu of other finery, they have a much more costly way of adorning their bodies than the proudest of our beaux and belles, *viz.* painting or imbossing on their bodies the figures of beasts, birds, plants, *&c.* the operation of which puts them to such exquisite pain, that it would in all likelihood kill them, were the complete ornament to be put on at once; to prevent which, they take up several months, or even a whole year, to go through it; so that they must be contented to undergo every day some considerable torture, to obtain their finery, and distinguish themselves from the vulgar: for it is not every one that is permitted to wear these marks of distinction, but only such as have, in the judgment of the most considerable men in their canton, or village, excelled in some manly exercise, such as hunting, running, *&c.* whilst the rest must be content with some few scars over their faces, arms, *&c.* They are all allowed, however, to blacken their teeth, wear bobs in their ears, bracelets above their wrists and elbows; collars and necklaces consisting of several rows of small grains of different colours, with coronets of the same round their heads, which commonly end on the top with a large tuft made of the feathers of cocks, pheasants, *&c.* which they pick, and stick up with great care. So that, according to our author (24), whoever can form an idea of these fantastical ornaments on

(24) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 88, *& seq.*

the

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ſouthern) gives the whole country in general a much higher character, when he ſays, that it is a very beautiful iſland, naturally fruitful, and bleſſed with a ſerene and healthful, as well as temperate air; extraordinarily well ſituate, in the neighbourhood of *Japan*, *China*, and the *Manillas*, and capable of carrying on a conſiderable commerce eaſtward and weſtward; it being poſſible for ſhips to ſail to and from it the whole year round[1]; and, as to the character of the natives, even of thoſe that are ſtill unſubdued, *Du Halde* gives us a ſhort relation out of their *Chineſe* accounts, which is far more to their advantage than to that of their polite invaders, and as well worth inſerting here.

A horrid inſtance of treachery.

THE *Chineſe*, ſays the account, who knew there were gold mines in *Formoſa* before they ſubdued it, went in ſearch of them as ſoon as they got poſſeſſion of it. But, as they found none in that part of which they were maſters, they reſolved to examine the eaſtern part, where they were aſſured they lay: but, being unwilling to hazard their lives in croſſing the high mountains that parted them, they equipped a ſmall ſhip, to go thither by ſea. The inhabitants received them with ſurpriſing kindneſs, offering them houſes, proviſions, and all ſorts of aſſiſtance. They continued there eight days; but ſtill found all their inquiries after the mines to prove ineffectual (whether by the fault of the interpreter, who might perhaps have appriſed the natives of their deſign, or elſe through their own politic fear of giving them cauſe of ſuſpecting them, whom they knew to be but too jealous of the *Chineſe* power); ſo that, of all the gold they came in queſt of, they found none but a few ingots lying in the cottages, of which the poor people made no account. But theſe proved a dangerous temptation to the *Chineſe*; who, vexed at their ill ſucceſs, reſolved at leaſt to get at them, though by a moſt inhuman ſtratagem; and, having equipped their ſhip, by the help of thoſe hoſpitable natives, who furniſhed them with all neceſſaries for their return, they invited them to a great entertainment, by way of acknowlegement; and, having made them all drunk, cut their throats whilſt they were aſleep, carried off the ingots. The conſequence of this bloody

[1] DION. KÁO, ubi ſup. p. 149.

the body of a man of a ſlender eaſy ſhape, olive complexion, with ſleek hair hanging negligently over his ſhoulders, and all his clothes a piece of linen two or three feet long, and covering him from the waiſt to the knees, will have a true picture of a native of the ſouthern part of *Formoſa*.

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Severely revenged. treachery was, that, the news of it being spread through the eastern part of the isle, they all armed, and entered into the northern part belonging to the *Chinese*, and massacred man, woman, and child, without mercy, and set fire to some of their habitations. From that time these two parts of the island have been at constant war with each other[m]; and hence most likely it is that the *Chinese* give them so disadvantageous and undeserved a character.

European writers account of Formosa absurd. THE *European* writers have not been more favourable to them; and *Candidius*, the chaplain to the *Dutch* factory there (whom, by the way, *Niewhoff*, and most of the rest, have either copied, or taken most of their accounts from him, and left out what appeared too absurd to be credited), and who pretends to have resided some time among them, hath painted them even in more disagreeable, tho' different colours, than the *Chinese*. The reader may see the sum of what they say of them, and of their religion, customs, *&c.* in the margin (Z). What the *Chinese* add concerning that part which is subject

[m] DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 87.

(Z) According to *Candidius*, and his followers, the *Formosans* are tall, stout, and swarthy, rude and barbarous, and go quite naked six months in the year. They have neither religion, laws, nor moral virtue; though others, likely upon better evidence, have since represented them as polite, affable, and ingenious, and covering their middle parts with a girdle, when the hot season doth not permit them to wear any other cloathing. Their women, who are still more modest, wear a short petticoat about their thighs, and a short cloak about their shoulders; which, however, they make no scruple to pull off three or four times a day, to wash themselves at their own doors. They are smaller of stature, and less sun-burnt, than the men, and agreeable enough in their persons and temper. Men may marry two or three of them, but not till they are fifty years old: neither are their wives suffered to bring forth children till they have passed the thirty-seventh year of their age. If any of them be found pregnant before that time, the juibus, or priestess (for they have no priests in the island), is sent for, and obliged to stamp upon their belly till they miscarry.

This is the account *Candidius* gives of that unnatural custom; of which it is hardly needful to observe the absurdity, since such an unnatural violence would wholly incapacitate those females from pregnancy long before the thirty-seventh year of their age: besides, it is well known, that, in those hot climes, women begin so early to bear children, that they seldom, if ever, have any after the thirtieth year. However, our author, if you will credit him, gravely assures us, that he had conversed

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subject to them, is as follows: These, being situate some degrees more northward, cover themselves with the skins of stags, which they kill in hunting, and of which they make themselves a sort of coat without sleeves. They wear a bonnet made of the leaves of bahanas, in form of a cylinder, which they adorn with coronets placed one over another, and *Their dress.*

conversed with one of those women, who had been forced to submit to this unnatural custom seventeen times; but told him, that she, having now attained to her thirty-seventh year, was in no small hopes of becoming the real mother of some children (25).

The ceremonies used towards their dead are no less strange and unnatural. They neither bury nor burn them; but lay their bodies to dry over a slow fire, made under a kind of low scaffold made of bamboes, which causes the body to give a most disagreeable smell. From this ceremony, which lasts full nine days, they proceed to the next, which is, to wrap up the dried corps in a mat, and lay it on a higher scaffold raised within the house, over which they rear a kind of canopy made of shreds of silk, cotton, linen, &c. It is left to lie in that state till the third year, when they take it, or what is left of it, down, with some kind of solemnity, and deposit it in a proper place under-ground. At each of these three ceremonies an entertainment is made to the relations and friends, accompanied with music, dancing, &c. at which the jebuses, or priestesses, are likewise invited to act their antick part.

These priestesses are rather a kind of jugglers, who, in their worship, which consists in the sacrifice of some hogs, deer, rice, &c. work themselves into a kind of phrensy by their songs, indecent postures, invocations, &c. after which, they pretend to see strange visions, to tell fortunes, to foretel the weather, drive away evil spirits, &c. all which is readily believed by the people. And in these, and some other such-like superstitious ceremonies, our authors tell us, consists all their religion, and without the least sign of their having any notion of a Deity: tho' others, with much greater probability, assure us, that they have temples and idols in almost as great number and variety as they have in *China*; and if what some add, of their laying a pitcher or vessel of clean water near the dead bodies, for the soul to come and wash itself every day, be true, they must be allowed to have also some imperfect notion of its immortality, and of its being in some state of bliss or punishment; which some tell us they believe to consist, the one in their being removed into some places full of all manner of refreshments; and the other, in their being confined to others full of all manner of filth, stench, and misery (26).

(25) *Candid. Descript Insul. Formos. ad. Vid. & Du Halde Eng. p. 87, & seq.*

(26) *Id. ib. Nieuwhoff, Rechteren, &*

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fastened with very narrow bands, or little locks of hair, of various colours; and the top they adorn with a crest, or tuft of feathers, like those in the south. The dress of the women differs but little from that of the men, except in their coats being somewhat longer and finer, and their head-tire a little more bedecked with finery.

Wise way of courtship and marriage. In their marriages they are less barbarous than the *Chinese*; for they neither buy their wives, nor suffer the parents, or go-betweens, to settle the bargain, without the liking of the parties most concerned; but every young couple chuse each other, without regard to fortune, family, or any inducement but reciprocal affection and liking, their parents having scarce any hand at all in the match. The courtship is commonly begun by the young man; who goes, at the head of some musicians with their instruments, and serenades the lass he hath taken a fancy for, at her own house, for several days. If she approves of him, she goes out without any farther ceremony, and settles the terms with him; and both acquaint their parents with them, who then prepare a marriage-feast for them. This, contrary to most other nations, is done at the bride's father's, which the new son-in-law from thenceforward looks upon as his own, and himself as the support of it, never returning more to his father's house but as a visiter. Hence the parents look upon daughters as greater blessings than sons, because they procure sons-in-law, which become the support of their old age.

Government. In their way of government, they still retain some of their antient form, notwithstanding their subjection to the *Chinese*; each town chusing three or four of the antientest, or of the greatest repute for probity and wisdom, to be their judges, to determine all causes and differences that arise among them, absolutely; and if any one refuse to submit to their decision, he is immediately driven out of the town, without hopes of ever being re-admitted into it; nor dares any other receive him.

From that time the *Chinese* have divided their lands into three hyens, or districts of the third rank, each under a particular governor, and other officers, subordinate to that of the capital of *Tay-wan*, as this last is to the viceroy of *Fo-kyen*, the metropolis of the province. The tribute they pay to the *Chinese* court consists chiefly in rice, and the skins or tails of stags, and other such commodities as the island affords; to levy which, there is in every town or district a *Chinese* officer, who learns their language, and serves as an interpreter to the mandarins. And both these treat them with such tyranny and oppression, as quite tires their patience: insomuch that, of twelve

Tribute.

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twelve diſtricts that were ſubject to them on the ſouth, three of them have ſince revolted, driven their interpreters away; and united themſelves to their eaſtern countrymen, who live free from tribute and foreign ſubjection. The *Chineſe*, however, pretend, that many other cantons have ſubmitted themſelves to the preſent emperor, and that they are in hopes that the reſt will in time follow their example. However, it plainly enough appears from the map that was ſince made of their dominions in it, and publiſhed by the Jeſuits *Anno* 1720 *, that they have rather loſt than gained ground in it; and, from all that we have hitherto met with, that they were never maſters of one-eighth part of it.

How and when diſcovered.

WE may add, that, notwithſtanding its vicinity to *China*, it doth not appear that it was diſcovered till about the year 1430, in the reign of the emperor *Siven-ti*, of the *Ming* dynaſty, when the eunuch *Owan-ſan-pao*, in his return from a voyage into the weſt, was caſt upon it by a ſtorm. Here finding the country inviting, tho' the people ſeemed to him ſomewhat ſavage, he ſtaid to get what intelligence he could of the iſland, to bring to that monarch; but to no purpoſe; and all he could bring away from thence, was only a few phyſical plants, which have continued in great vogue among the *Chineſe* ever ſince †. How they came afterwards to make themſelves maſters of it, will be more properly ſeen in their ſubſequent hiſtory. In the mean time we will conclude the character of theſe iſlanders in the remarkable words of our author [n]. They are ſtyled barbarians by the *Chineſe*, yet appear to have truer notions of wiſdom than ſome of their philoſophers. One finds among them, even by their own confeſſion, neither cheating, thieving, quarreling, nor any lawſuits, except againſt their interpreters. They practice all the duties of equity and mutual benevolence; and whatever is given to any of them muſt not be touched by him, till thoſe, who ſhare in the labour, partake of the wages.

Some Dutch converts among them.

As to their religion, we ſhall only add to what hath been ſaid in the laſt note, what ſome *Dutch* writers affirm, that many of thoſe iſlanders had been converted to Chriſtianity during the ſhort time of the *Dutch* factory at *Tay-wan* °. And *Du Halde* accordingly tells us, that, upon the *Chineſe* coming thither, they found ſeveral of them who underſtood *Dutch*, read their books, made uſe of their characters in writing, and had ſome fragments of Scripture in the ſame language ſtill in

* Lettr. cur. & edificat. recueil 14. p. 18, & ſeq. † Id. ibid. p. 56. [n] Du Halde, ubi ſup. p. 90. ° Candidius, Niewhoff, & al.

their

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their hands. These, says the same author, worship no idols, and even abhor every thing of that nature. They neither perform religious worship, nor say any prayers; yet we have met with some of them who had the knowlege of one Supreme Being, Creator of heaven and earth, in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. They likewise knew that our first parents were called *Adam* and *Eve*; and that they had, by their disobedience, brought down the anger of God on themselves and their posterity; and that recourse was to be had to baptism, to wash out that stain. They were likewise acquainted with the form of that sacrament, tho' they could not tell whether they had been baptized, or not. Thus far *Du Halde* [P].

Tay-wan fû described. We shall conclude the account of this island with a description of its capital, and its commodious harbour. We have already taken notice, that it was called *Tay-wan*, or *Tayovan*, and was one of the nine fû's, or capital cities, of the province of *Fo-kyen*. It is large, populous, and well-built, and drives a considerable commerce; insomuch that it is reckoned little inferior to most cities in *China*. It abounds with all sorts of commodities and provisions, either of its own produce, or which are brought thither from other countries; such as rice, corn, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, salt, and a kind of dried venison, much admired by the *Chinese*. The streets are strait as a line; and covered, during the seven or eight hot months of the year, to keep off the heat of the sun. They are not above thirty or forty feet wide; but all well paved and clean, and some of them about three miles long. All the houses on each side belong to dealers, whose shops are stored with all sorts of rich goods, such as silks, china-ware, japan-work, gold and silver utensils and trinkets, *&c.* all ranged in a most delightful manner, in which art the *Chinese* excel; so that these streets look rather like the galleries of our exchanges, where nothing is to be seen but shops richly furnished; and would be viewed with greater pleasure, were they not so continually thronged. Both the *Tartars* and *Chinese* live in this and the other two cities very peaceably; and more of the latter would in all likelihood come over, and settle in it, if the former, jealous of their becoming too numerous, and shaking off the yoke, did not prevent it (A). There

Commodities.

Fine streets.

Shops, &c.

[P] Candidius, Nieuhoff, & al.

(A) There is no doubt but the commodious situation of this island would induce a much greater number of *Chinese* families

There is likewise a good number of natives that live among them, but they are most of them servants to the other two.

Garrison forces.

THE city of *Tay-wan* hath neither walls, nor any fortifications, but is defended by a numerous garrison. The *Tartars* have in the island no less than 10,000 horse and foot, under the command of a lieutenant-general and two major-generals, and a proportionable number of other officers, who are all duly changed every three years, or oftener, if need require it. The two other hyens, or cities of the third rank, are *Fong-shau* and *Chu-lo*, which are mostly inhabited by *Chinese*, and kept under by a sufficient number of troops. They have likewise some considerable villages; but no forts, except that of *Ngan-ping*, situate at the foot of the castle of *Zelandia*, and inhabited by about 400 or 500 families. The garrison of it amounts to 2000 men, under the command of a major-general.

Ngan-ping fort.

Port become almost useless.

THE port is pretty good, and sheltered from all winds, but the mouth of it becomes every day more and more difficult. It had formerly two entrances; the one called *Ta-kyang*, where the greatest ships might ride with ease; and the other *Lo-ulh-men*, where the bottom is rock, and hath not above nine or ten feet of water at the highest tides. The first of these is now become impracticable, some places not having above five feet of water, and those where it rises highest not above seven, and is moreover choked up by the sea rolling daily fresh quantities of sand into it [q]: to which we may add, what a modern traveller was told there, that the *Tartars*, after their conquest of *China*, ordered this harbour to be spoiled, to prevent the *Chinese*, then in rebellion against them, from fortifying themselves in it; and commanded the foreign merchants to come and trade in the main [r]. But the *Dutch* formerly entered the port by that way; at the entrance of which they had built

[q] DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 88. & al. [r] See DAMPIER's voyage, vol. i. p. 424.

lies to come and settle in it, for the sake of traffick; but, as that cannot be done without a particular passport from the *Chinese* mandarins, nor this be obtained without giving some sufficient security to them, there are very few who venture to grant them, except some of the rapacious ones, who do it underhand, and are well paid for it. The rest are, on the contrary, very careful to examine all passengers that go to, or come from, the island; lest, if they should become too powerful there, they should seize on it, and cause some great troubles in the empire; and it is to prevent it, that they maintain there such a number of forces, to keep them in awe.

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the two forts laſt mentioned, to prevent either *Chineſe* or *Japaneſe* veſſels coming into it.

THUS much may ſuffice for the iſland of *Formoſa*; in the deſcription of which, we have wholly overlooked a fabulous account of it written in *Engliſh*, and tranſlated into other languages about forty-nine years ago, by a pretended native of the place, and convert to Chriſtianity; but in ſuch a romantic ſtyle, and fraught with ſuch monſtrous abſurdities, as if he had rather deſigned to ruin, than to eſtabliſh the credit of it. Our chief motive, therefore, for mentioning it here, is, that that author, who is ſtill in *England*, having long ſince ingenuouſly owned it to be a vile forgery, to his acquaintance, and within theſe few years, in print, in a late geographical work †; and expreſſed a deſire that thoſe, who had read that work, ſhould know what judgment to make of it, from his own free confeſſion; we thought it would not be unſerviceable to the public, to hint thus much of it here, till that more full account come out which he hath written concerning that ſhameful impoſture, and the fatal means by which he was unwarily drawn into it; and which, he there tells us, he deſigns to have publiſhed after his death, when there will be leſs cauſe of ſuſpecting him of having diſguiſed or palliated the truth.

T. Dalmanazar.

V. *The Province of* Che-kyang, *or* Tſe-kian.

The Province of Che-kyang *deſcribed.*

THIS province, formerly the reſidence of ſome of the antient monarchs, and one of the moſt conſiderable on account of its maritime ſituation, extent, riches, and populouſneſs, is bounded on the ſouth by *Fo-kyen*, laſt deſcribed; on the north and weſt by *Kyang-nan* and *Kyang-ſi*; and, on the eaſt, by the ſea. It extends itſelf from the 27th to the 31° 20′ of latitude, and from 116° to almoſt 120° of eaſt longitude, according to the meridian of *Paris*. The climate of it is ſerene and healthy; and the inhabitants very ſtout and numerous, amounting, according to their regiſters, to 1,242,135 families, or 4,525,700 men. It is ſo rich and fertile, that the *Chineſe* ſay of it, that, next to *Nang-king*, this is the paradiſe of arts, and the paradiſe of the gods [s], on account of its plentiful flow of all things. The country is ſo beautifully variegated with well cultivated mountains, fruitful vallies, and plains, that there is not a ſpot in it which is

Fertility and opulence.

† See the Complete Syſtem of Geography, part ii. p. 251.

[s] KAO, ubi ſup. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

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not turned to advantage. It is moreover interſected by a multitude of rivers and canals, the laſt cut wide and deep, and lined on both ſides with ſome hewn ſtone; the plains of which on both ſides have a communication with each other by a vaſt number of bridges; ſo that one may travel through the whole province either by land or water; and the many ſprings which fall down from the mountains and large lakes, with which it abounds, contribute no leſs to its fertility.

Noble ſilk manufacture.

BUT their greateſt manufacture is that of ſilk, which is here the fineſt, and more richly and curiouſly wrought with gold and ſilver, than in any other province; and yet is ſo cheap, that a good ſilk ſuit will coſt leſs than one of the moſt ordinary cloth in *Europe*. The tribute they pay of it to the emperor is ſaid to amount to 370,466 pounds of raw, and 2574 of wrought, beſides ſome other quantities of the fineſt, ſent as a preſent to the court, by the imperial barges called *Lung-y-chew*. What is ſent beſides from this province into others of the empire, and what is exported into *Japan*, the *Philippine Iſlands*, *India*, and *Europe*, amounts to an immenſe quantity, notwithſtanding their having ſtill a ſufficiency left to ſupply their own wants at ſo cheap a rate. The truth is, the inhabitants employed in it are not only very numerous, but have an excellent genius at cultivating and improving every branch of that manufacture from firſt to laſt; and as experience hath taught them long ſince, that thoſe worms yield the fineſt ſilk which are fed on the tendereſt mulberry-leaves, they take ſuch care to have a conſtant ſupply of young dwarf mulberry-trees for that purpoſe, that they are able to produce the greateſt quantities of that kind.

Improvement on it.

THIS province is famed for making the beſt hams, and for the great quantities of candles which they make from a certain tree called *U-kyew-mu*, or tallow-tree, of which we ſhall ſpeak among their natural rarities. They have likewiſe here a curious ſhrub, with a ſmall white flower, not unlike our jeſſamin, but with more leaves; and of ſuch fragrancy, that one ſingle flower will perfume a large room, ſome ſay a whole houſe. Theſe ſhrubs are in ſuch eſteem among the *Chineſe*, that they cultivate them with the ſame care as we do orange and other exotic plants, to preſerve them from the rigour of the weather. Some parts of *Che-kyang* produce ſuch infinite quantities of muſhrooms, that they ſend them, ſalted and dried, all over the empire; and theſe, when they have been ſoaked awhile in water, reſume their freſhneſs and taſte as if they were newly gathered.

Curious plants and flowers.

THE

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Fish. THE lakes and rivers yield great variety of excellent fish, particularly the golden one, which will be described among the natural rarities, and the finest crayfish in all the country.

Bamboes. This province likewise produces the greatest quantities of bamboes, there being in some parts whole forests of them. These are very large and hard, and of vast use to the *Chinese*; and, though hollow within, and divided into joints, are very strong, and will bear a great weight. They are easily slit into thin slips, of which they make their mats, boxes, combs, *&c.*; and, being hollow from end to end, are likewise used either to convey water from place to place, or for telescopes, or to serve as tubes, cases, and other such utensils. The whole country is not only every-where cultivated to the best advantage; but the plains are intersected with a vast number of

Canals. canals, which swarm, as well as their rivers, with multitudes of vessels of all sorts and sizes, some of them beautifully carved and gilt without, and neatly furnished within. The inhabitants are ingenious, polite, and courteous to strangers, but are reported to be horribly given to superstition [a].

CHE-KYANG hath eleven capital cities, or cities of the first rank, and seventy-seven of the second and third rank; besides eighteen fortresses, most of them upon the sea-coasts, and large and populous enough to pass in other countries for considerable cities, to which we may add a prodigious number of large towns and villages.

Cities of the first rank. THE chief cities, or fû's, are, 1. *Hang-chew*; 2. *Kya-hing*; 3. *Hu-chew*; 4. *Ning-po*; 5. *Shaw-hing*; 6. *Tay-chew*; 7. *Kin-wha*; 8. *Kyu-chew*; 9. *Ten-chew*, or *Nyen-chew*; 10. *Wen-chew*; 11. *Chu-chew*.

Hang-chew *described.* 1. *HANG-CHEW*, the metropolis of the province, and, according to the *Chinese*, the paradise of the world, is one of the largest, most populous, best situate, and richest, of

Extent, the empire. Its circumference, which is almost oval, is computed near twelve miles, besides the suburbs, which are of a

inhabitants, and prodigious extent: and the number of its inhabitants, which amounts to a million (B). The walls of the city are lofty, strong,

[a] KAO, ubi sup. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE. & al.

(B) Father *Martini* hath made it pretty evident (27), that this is the very same city that *Paul* the *Venetian* had described under the name of *Quin-say*, and particularly with relation to the

(27) *Atlas Sinens. sub Quin-say.*

10,000

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ſtrong, and thick; the ſtreets fair and ſtrait, though narrow; and the ſhops richly and beautifully ſet out. It hath a prodigious number of bridges over the canals that run thro' it, and the greateſt variety of arches, and triumphal monuments, erected to the honour of mandarins, and other conſiderable officers of the higheſt rank and merit; all which are beautifully erected in the piazzas, and places of greateſt reſort. It hath, beſides, four large towers of conſiderable height, adorned with galleries, carvings, gildings, *&c.* after the *Chineſe* manner. The commerce it drives in all ſorts of commodities, but eſpecially in its fine and rich ſilks, ſilver and gold brocades, *&c.* equals that of the moſt trading cities; and both town and ſuburbs abound with plenty of all proviſions: the only misfortune it labours under, is, that the waters of the canals, eſpecially within the walls, are bad and unwholſome. But what ſufficiently ſupplies that defect, and renders the ſituation moſt delightful and convenient, is a little lake named *Si-hû*, which is about two leagues in compaſs, and comes almoſt cloſe to the walls on the weſt ſide of the city, and whoſe water is exquiſitely clear and ſweet. The ſides of it, where the water is low, and covered all over with the beautiful flower *Lyen-wha*, already deſcribed[t]; and, on the banks round about, they have, reared upon wooden ſtakes, a kind of ſaloons, or piazzas, ſupported by pillars, and broad cauſeways paved with large ſquare ſtones, for the convenience of thoſe that walk; and have openings left at proper places for the boats to paſs; and handſome bridges built over them, for paſſengers on foot.

Rich ſilks.

The weſt lake deſcribed.

THE lake hath two little iſlands, whither the people uſually repair after they have taken the diverſion of rowing in their barks; and where they have built a temple, and houſes of recreation. The ſides of the lake are likewiſe adorned with variety of temples, fine pleaſure-houſes, and ſome large monaſteries for the bonzas; and more particularly with a

Iſlands in it.

[t] See before, p. 32. (N).

10,000 bridges he affirmed it to have over the many canals that run thro' and around it; which number *Martini*, and others, think is not at all exaggerated, if we ſuppoſe him to have included a prodigious number of triumphal arches built over them in the city, and a vaſt multitude of other bridges which are ſeen in the large ſuburbs, and parts adjacent, eſpecially thoſe about the lake *Su hû*, on the eaſt ſide of which the city is ſituate; and which amount to ſuch a vaſt number, that, when added to thoſe of the city and ſuburbs, they may be well enough ſuppoſed to amount to the number above-mentioned.

ſmall

small but delightful palace, for the use of the emperors, when they travelled into the southern provinces (C).

Garrison. *HANG-CHEW*, as metropolis of the province, hath a garrison of 3000 men, under the viceroy of it; and another of 7000 more, under a *Tartar* general: but these last live in a large fortress, separate from the city by a wall. The river *Ciew-tang*, which runs on the south side of it, is computed by some two miles, and by others a *German* league, in breadth [u], and is always covered with a vast number of vessels of all sorts; and both that and the canals, especially without the walls, with floating villages, in which whole families live, and carry on their business. The reader may guess at the populousness of the whole city and suburbs, by the consumption of eatables which are devoured in it, of which he may see a short sketch in the margin (D). The last thing worth mentioning, of this great city, is the mountain of *Ching-ho-ang*, on which stands a high tower, which, by the help of a large water-glass which is made to turn the hand of a dial, shews the hour of the day at a considerable distance; the figures of the hours being gilt, and about eighteen inches long. *Hang-chew* hath seven cities of the second and third rank under its jurisdiction, which are likewise rich and opulent; but we have neither room to describe them here, or any of the others of the first rank, except that of

A fine water-dial.

Ning-po. *NING-PO*, or, as the *Portuguese* call it, *Lyang-po*, or *Liampo*, which is a handsome sea-port on the eastern sea,

[u] Conf. Dion. Kao, ubi supra, p. 137. & Le Compte, La Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.

(C) Those who have read *Martini*'s swollen account of this lake, and its adjacent structures, will find this, we have chiefly taken from *Du Halde*, to come vastly short of it: but Father *Le Compte* had already retrenched some considerable exaggerations of his brother Jesuit, with respect to its largeness; and especially of its pretended stately palaces, and magnificent buildings, which he rather represents as a parcel of wooden houses, reared up either for convenience or diversion. Whether, therefore, *Martini*'s description was designedly exaggerated, or whether those sumptuous structures have been since destroyed, or gone to ruin, which is not for us to decide, we have no reason to suppose that the lake makes a better figure now, than that in which *Du Halde* hath described it.

(D) It is computed to amount to 10,000 sacks of rice (each sack containing as much as will suffice 100 men) and 10,000 hogs *per* day; oxen, cows, sheep, goats, fish, fowl, *&c.* in proportion; all which are here sold very cheap, and eaten in great quantities.

over-against

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over-againſt the coaſts of *Japan*; and ſtands on the confluence of two ſmall rivers, which form a canal thence to the ſea. The plain ground is a kind of ſpacious oval baſon, terminated by hills, which extends itſelf a conſiderable length and breadth, and is exceedingly fertile. The town, which ſtands near the centre, is encompaſſed with a ſtrong wall of free-ſtone, and 5074 geometrical paces in compaſs. Theſe have five noble gates, two of which look eaſtwards, towards the port; beſides two large arched water-gates, at which the barges come in and out. The port is defended by a citadel built on a very high rock, at the foot of which ſhips muſt neceſſarily paſs within the diſtance of half a piſtol-ſhot. One tide brings them up along the fine chanel above-mentioned, which is here above 150 fathoms wide, and every-where ſeven or eight deep. The entrance of *Ning-po*, however, is difficult, eſpecially for large veſſels, there being but fifteen feet of water at the bar in the ſpring-tides; but that doth not hinder its carrying on a great traffick with *Batavia*, *Siam*, and eſpecially with *Japan*, *Nanga-zaki* being only two days ſailing from it; and it was partly on this account that our *Eaſt-India* company did once endeavour to have eſtabliſhed a commerce with it.

Canal.

Commerce with Japan.

ABOUT eighteen or twenty leagues from *Ning-po* lies the iſland of *Chew-ſhan*, whoſe port is pretty good, but not ſo convenient for trade; and there it was that our *Engliſh* ſhips put in by accident, not being able to find out the way to *Ning-po*, through the many iſlands that lie ſcattered along that coaſt: the reader may ſee the iſland deſcribed in the margin (E). The chief commerce of *Ning-po* conſiſts in the fine ſilks which are manufactured in this province, and which are exported into foreign parts; eſpecially japan both raw and wrought, together with ſugar, drugs, ſalt-fiſh, and fleſh

(E) *Chew-ſhan*, *Shuſan*, or *Chew-xan*, is about fourteen leagues in length, and three or four in breadth, under the thirtieth degree of latitude, and between the fifth and ſixth of eaſt longitude from the meridian of *Pe-king*. It is moſtly inhabited by *Chineſe*, who fled thither from the invading *Tartars*; and ſo well peopled, that it hath, we are told, no leſs than ſeventy-two cities, or large towns, ſeated along the coaſts, and within the bay (28). The capital bears the name of the iſland, and is well walled and peopled; and here it was that our *Eaſt-India* company began to trade, *Anno* 1700; as they were not permitted to ſail to *Ning po*, the town having a very convenient bay. There is a great number of ſmall iſlands round this of *Chew-ſhan*; but none of them worth notice, except one called *Pou-to*, which is chiefly famed for its great reſort, on account of ſome extraordinary worſhip performed there by the idolatrous bonzas (29).

(28) *Atlas Sinenſ. ſub v.c. Du Halde, &c.*

(29) *Id. ib. Vid. & Corneille, La Mar iniere.*

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(F), wine, *&c.* in lieu of which, they bring back copper, silver, and gold. *Ning-po* hath four handsome cities under its jurisdiction, besides several fortresses, which we have no room to dwell upon [w].

VI. *The Province of* Hu-quang.

VI. Hu-quang *described.*

THIS is the first in rank of the inland provinces, and is surrounded on the east by *Kyang-si* and *Kyang-nan*; on the south by *Quang-si* and *Quang-tong*; on the west by *Quey-chew* and *Se-chwen*; and, on the north, by *Shen-si* and *Ho-nan*. It is a very large province; and extends itself from 24° 45′ to 33° 20′ of latitude, and eight degrees in west longitude from the meridian of *Pe-king*; and the river *Yang-tse*, which crosses it in the middle, from east to west, divides it into two parts, or viceroyships, the northern and the southern. It is little inferior to any other province in fertility, healthiness, and opulence; the greatest part of it being a rich flat soil, intersected with a number of rivers, besides the *Yang-tse* above-mentioned; and a vast multitude of canals, and some considerable lakes (G); all which greatly contribute to its

Extent, fertility, &c.

[w] Kao, Martini, Le Compte, Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.

(F) The people of *Ning-po* not only drive a vast trade of this salt-fish and flesh abroad, but eat it in such quantities, that it is a common saying among the *Chinese*, that their bodies, after death, cannot corrupt, because they have been salting them all their lives against it Some particular excellency, however, there must be either in their salt, or way of salting those meats, which preserves them, whilst alive, from the scurvy, and other diseases, which the too frequent use of that sort of food is known to cause: neither is it the scarcity of other provisions that makes them live so much upon this, the town abounding with as great a variety of others as any one in the empire.

(G) This province of *Hu-quang* seems to have its name from those lakes, or at least from one of the largest of them, of which we shall subjoin a short description (the word *Hu* signifying a lake, and *quang* a territory). It is called *Tong-ting-hû*; and is computed about 400 miles in circuit, and is situate very near the middle of the province. It hath on the north-east end a communication with the river *Yang-tse*, and with a vast number of other rivers and canals; so that there is always a prodigious quantity of vessels navigating to and from it.

It is, however, apt to be very stormy and dangerous at some seasons, whence many considerable shipwrecks happen upon it. One in particular is recorded in their history; in which 300 large transports, with 50,000 men, perished all in one night (29). In other respects, it is not only of vast benefit to the province, on account of the great commerce above-mentioned, but of the prodigious quantities of fish and wild-fowl that breed in and about it.

(29) *Atlas Sinicus, sub voc. Vid. & Corneille, Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.*

fer-

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fertility, and facilitate its commerce. What mountains there are in it do likewise produce something that helps to inrich it: some are covered with stately pines, and other trees, fit for the noblest structures; others abound with medicinal and other herbs and plants. Some have mines of crystal, iron, tin, tutenag, and other base metals; to say nothing of those of gold and silver, which are not permitted to be digged; for, from those mountains is washed down some quantity of gold by the torrents that flow from them. As for wheat, rice, and other grain, fruits, *&c.* it yields such plenty of them, that it is emphatically styled the granary of *China*, and sends accordingly vast quantities yearly into other provinces. *Product.*

BUT the greatest manufacture of this province is that of cotton, which grows and is wrought here in vast quantities; and of a sort of paper made of bamboes, which grows in great plenty in the low-lands. The plains likewise nourish an infinite number of a little kind of worms, which produce a fine wax, of which we shall speak in a proper place. This province was formerly governed by a great number of princes, descended from the imperial family of *Hong-vû*, who made almost as great a figure as the *Chinese* emperors; but that noble and numerous race hath been intirely extirpated by the *Tartars* [x]. *Manufactures.* *Antient princes extirpated.*

HU-QUANG hath fifteen cities of the first rank, eight of which belong to the northern, and seven to the southern part of it. The former hath also sixty of the second and third rank; and the latter fifty-four, besides eleven military ones, and other fortresses, and towns and villages in much greater number.

THE eight cities belonging to the northern part are, 1. *Vu-chang*; 2. *Han-yang*; 3. *Ngan-lo*; 4. *Syang-yang*; 5. *Ywen-yang*; 6. *Te-ngan*; 7. *Kin-chew*; 8. *Whang-chew*. *Cities of the northern,*

THOSE belonging to the southern part are, 1. *Chang-cha*, the capital of it; 2. *Yo-chew*; 3. *Pau-king*; 4. *Heng-chew*; 5. *Chang-te*; 6. *Ching-chew*; 7. *Yong-chew*. *of the southern, part.*

VU-CHANG, metropolis of the whole province, as well as of the *Hu-pe*, or northern part, and the residence of the governor, or viceroy, is seated, as it were, in the centre of the *Chinese* empire; and, by means of the river *Yang-tse*, which runs through it, hath an easy communication with every province of it, and hath a great resort from them. It suffered very much, as well as the rest of the province, during the late wars, but hath so well recovered itself since, that it is hardly inferior to any other in *China*, either for largeness, Vu-chang *described.*

[x] KAO, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, *&* al.

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Opulence, traffic, &c. populouſneſs, or opulence. Among other of its magnificent edifices, it ſtill ſhows the ſumptuous palace of its antient princes, and five ſtately temples, famed for their largeneſs and elegance. The vaſt concourſe of veſſels to it, which are ſeldom fewer than 8000 or 10,000, and lie ranged ſome miles in length upon the river, many of them of a large ſize, and finely built, joined to the fine proſpect of the city, is, when viewed from ſome neighbouring eminence, eſteemed one of the moſt delightful viſta's that can be imagined.

VU-CHANG ſtands in latitude 30° 34′, and weſt longitude from *Pe-king* 2° 15′; and hath under its juriſdiction one city of the ſecond, and nine of the third rank, beſides military ones, forts, *&c.* The reſt of the cities of this province have nothing particular worth mentioning.

VII. *The Province of* Ho-nan,

VII. Ho-nan *deſcribed.* IS bounded, on the north, by thoſe of *Pe-cheli* and *Shan-ſi*; on the weſt, by *Shen-ſi*; on the ſouth, by *Hu-quang*; and on the eaſt, by *Shan-tong*; it is likewiſe watered by the *Whang-ho*, which runs acroſs the north part of it, from weſt to eaſt, and divides it from *Shang-ſi*, and part of *Shan-tong*. The *Chineſe* give this province the title of *Chong-wha*, or, *the flower of the middle*, becauſe it lies in the heart of the empire; and, conſequently, according to their deep knowlege of geography, in the heart of the world. It extends itſelf from 31° 20′ to 37° of latitude, and from 6° 15′ of weſt to 0° 20′ of eaſt longitude, from the *Pe-king*'s meridian: ſo that the mildneſs of its climate, joined to the fertility of its lands, render it a moſt delightful abode. The *Chineſe* affirm, moreover, that *Fo-hi*, the great founder of their monarchy, fixed his court in this province, whoſe reign, according to ſome authors, began 2592 years before Chriſt; which, if true, would confirm the chronology of the *Septuagint* [y]. But we hope that we have elſewhere ſufficiently exploded that pretended antiquity of the *Chineſe* monarchy [z]; and ſhall ſay much more on the ſubject in the ſequel.

Fertile climate and ſoil.

Once the ſeat of the empire. HOWEVER, it is not improbable, that the delightfulneſs and fertility of this province might invite ſome of their antient monarchs to chooſe it for their reſidence; and, accordingly, the *Chineſe* hiſtory affirms the city of *Kay-fong-fu*, the metropolis of it, to have been the ſeat of the empire, during a long ſucceſſion of monarchs, till it was, at length, overflown, and

[y] DU HALDE, ſub Ho-nan, p. 102. [z] See before, Univ. Hiſtory, vol. xx. p. 109, & ſeq.

covered

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covered with ſand [a], by a great inundation, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel. It is indeed ſo healthful and fertile, that it abounds with every thing for life or delight. The eaſtern part of it, eſpecially, is ſo rich, and well cultivated, and ſo variegated with gardens, orchards, pleaſure-houſes, noble ſeats, *&c.* that one may travel through it above ſeven days with ſurpriſing delight. The weſtern part is, indeed, more mountainous; but thoſe mountains are no leſs rich, in fine timber, variety of metals and minerals, plants, *&c.* and the vaſt quantities, as well as variety, of corn, rice, fruits, and other product, which both the hills and dales do yield, as well as the tribute the province pays for them, and for ſilks, cloths, cottons, and other commodities, is almoſt incredible. It is likewiſe famed for a remarkable lake, which draws to it great numbers of thoſe who are concerned in the ſilk manufacture, on account of the inimitable luſtre which its water gives to that commodity. There is likewiſe, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Nan-yang*, a kind of ſerpent, whoſe ſkin is ſpeckled with little white ſpots, which ſkin the *Chineſe* phyſicians infuſe in a phial full of wine, and make uſe of the infuſion as an effectual remedy againſt the palſey [b].

Great plenty.

Fine ſilks.

HO-NAN hath, beſides fortreſſes, caſtles, and military towns, eight cities of the firſt, and 102 of the ſecond and third rank. Thoſe of the firſt, are, 1. *Kay-fong-fu*; 2. *Quete*; 3. *Chang-te*; 4. *Vekyan*; 5. *Whay-king*; 6. *Ho-nan*; 7. *Nan-yang*; 8. *Vu-ning*.

Cities.

KAY-FONG-FU, or *Shai-fong*, the metropolis of the province, and once one of the nobleſt in the empire, was ſituate in a large fertile plain, about four miles and a half from the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, and in latitude 34° 52′, and longitude weſt from *Pe-king* 1° 56′; but its low ſituation beneath the waters of that river occaſioned its ruin, in 1642, when being cloſely beſieged by the rebel *Ly-chuang*, at the head of 100,000 men, the general, who was ſent to relieve it, contrived the fatal deſign of drowning his army, by breaking the great bank, which had been reared, at a vaſt charge, to preſerve the country from being overflowed by that great river (H).

Kay-fong *deſtroyed.*

His

[a] Vide KAO, ubi ſupra, p. 128. [b] DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 102. vid. & al. ſup. citat.

(H) This river, it ſeems, runs ſo much higher than the adjacent lands, and had made ſuch horrid devaſtations among them, that, to prevent as much as poſſible the violence of its waters, their monarchs had cauſed high and ſtrong dikes to be thrown up along its banks, the length of about thirty leagues. Yet

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His project ſucceeded indeed; but proved the ruin and deſtruction not only of this noble capital, but of 300,000 of its inhabitants, by the violence and ſwiftneſs of the overflow [c].

Rebuilt. By what is ſtill to be ſeen of its ruins, it appears to have been three leagues in compaſs. The annotator on *Dionyſius Kao* adds, that it had lain ever ſince like a pond, or moraſs; and that all the vaſt pains and expence, to drain and reſtore it, had proved ſo unſucceſsful, that the court had given over all further thoughts about it [d]. However, a new one hath been rebuilt ſince (as moſt authors tell us, on the other ſide of the river, though *Du Halde* takes no notice of this laſt particular), on which great pains and coſt have been ſpent, to raiſe it to its priſtine grandeur; but it comes ſtill very ſhort of it. However, its juriſdiction is ſtill very extenſive, and contains four cities of the ſecond, and thirty of the third rank. The others have nothing particular worth our mentioning here, except

Ho-nan. that of *Ho-nan*, which, though ſituate in the midſt of mountains between three rivers, is of late become very conſiderable, both for its wealth and noble buildings, particularly ſome ſtately temples, dedicated to antient heroes. The *Chineſe*, who called their country the navel of the earth, ſtiled this city the center of the navel, becauſe it ſtands in the center of the empire. Its diſtrict extends over one city of the ſecond, and

A famed obſervatory. thirteen of the third rank. In one of the latter, named *Teng-fong-hyen*, ſtands the high tower built by the celebrated *Chew-kong*, where he uſed to obſerve the ſtars. They ſhew you there likewiſe the inſtrument which he made uſe of to find the meridian ſhadow, in order to diſcover the height of the

[c] Du Halde, ubi ſupra.

[d] Vide notes on Ibrandæ Ides, p. 128.

theſe ſometimes proved ſo weak againſt the violence of its current, that the adjacent cities were obliged to caſt up new ones, at ſome ſmall diſtance from their walls, to ſuppreſs its rapid fury (30).

This river, Father *Le Compte*, who calls it the *Hoambo*, tells us, hath its riſe among the fartheſt part of the mountains which cover the province of *Su-chwen*, in the weſt; whence it throws itſelf into *Tartary*, and flows a conſiderable way along the great wall, at which it re-enters *China*, between the provinces of *Shan-ſi* and *Shen-ſi*; thence it continues its courſe through this of *Ho-nan*; and, having croſſed part of that of *Nan-king*, and flowed about 600 leagues through the land, it diſembogues itſelf, at laſt, into the eaſt ſea, not far from the mouth of the *Kyang* (31).

(30) *Martini, Atlas. La Martinier, Du Halde, & al. (31) Le Compte, liter 4. vid. & auct. ſup. citat.*

pole.

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pole. They attribute to him the invention of the mariner's compass, though he lived above 1000 years before Christ *.

VIII. *The Province of* Shan-tong.

VIII. Shan-tong *described.*

SHAN-TONG, Xan-tun, Can-tong, Shan-ton, is bounded on the west by *Pe-cheli,* and part of *Ho-nan,* last described; on the south, by *Kyang-nan,* by the *Tong-yang,* or eastern sea, on the east, and on the north, by the same sea, and part of *Pe-cheli.* It extends itself from 34° 30′ to 38° 20′ of latitude, and from 1° to 6° 25′ of east longitude, from *Pe-king*; and is one of the most fertile provinces, and finest climates, in all *China.* It not only produces every thing that is necessary for life and delight, but in such great plenty, that one crop is sufficient to afford its inhabitants several years sustenance, though this is partly owing to its not being so populous as some other provinces of the empire. *Fertility.*

Rivers.

It hath a good number of lakes, rivers, and brooks, which contribute to fertilize and enrich it, besides the great imperial canal, which crosses some part of it, and by which all the barks that come from the southern parts do sail to *Pe-king*; where the very tribute of the vast quantities of merchandizes, *&c.* which they bring, is computed to amount to more than ten millions †: so that nothing can obstruct the richness and fecundity of this province, but either too long a drought (for it rains but seldom in it), or the great havock which is frequently made by the locusts, which breed in the plains, in a dry season, and destroy every thing they come at.

Three plagues.

These insects are reckoned one of the three plagues with which this province is infested. The next is, the vast droves of wolves which range among the mountains and plains, which are very fierce and ravenous, and do a great deal of mischief. The last is, the numerous gangs of robbers which infest the highways over the mountains, and often come down into the plains, and plunder and ravage the villages and open towns. In other respects, *Shan-tong* enjoys a serene and mild climate, a fruitful soil, and a good traffic.

Number of souls.

The inhabitants, which are computed to amount to 770,555 families, or 6,759,675 men, are healthy and stout, insomuch, that the boys are commonly seen to go naked in the coldest weather, and take a pleasure in fousing one another in water. They manufacture silk, in great quantities and variety; and, besides the common sort, which is produced by the *A particular sort of silk.*

* Martini, Atlas, Martiniere, Du Halde, *&c.* † Id. *ubi supra.*

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silk-worms, they have another sort, which is found upon trees and bushes in great plenty, which is spun by a kind of worm, not unlike our caterpillars. This last, though coarser than the common sort, is stronger, and more compact; and of both these they drive a great trade, by means of their rivers and canals.

Curious fruits. AMONG other curious fruits, which this province produces in common with the rest, that which they call *se-tse*, which are a peculiar kind of figs, no-where to be met with but in *China*, grows here in greater plenty than in any other province. These do not ripen till the beginning of autumn; and, being dried as other figs are, contract a kind of crust of candied sugar, which gives them a delicious taste: so that these are sent from hence into all the provinces of the empire, and even out of it, in great quantities. By these means, it hath been able to raise itself to its pristine splendor, from which it was sunk into the lowest degree of desolation, having been almost totally ruined by the civil wars, on account of its being so often forced to shift sides, and thereby becoming a prey to both. However, what renders this province most venerable among the *Chinese* is, that their great philosopher *Kong-fu-tse*, commonly called by us *Confucius*, drew his first breath in it [g]; of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully, in a proper place.

Cities. *SHAN-TONG* hath six cities of the first rank, all very populous and flourishing; and these have no less than 114 of the second and third rank, besides a great number of towns and villages, and fifteen fortresses, some of them very large, and all of them built to guard the entrances of their ports, and the mouths of their rivers. There are likewise several *Islands.* islands scattered along the gulph, which are no less populous, and afford convenient harbours for *Chinese* transports, and a quick and easy passage to and from *Korea* and *Lyeau-tong* [h] (I).

THE

[g] DION KAO, ubi supra, ch. 3, p. 121, & seq. [h] Vide MARTIN, LE COMPTE, KAO, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, &c.

(I) The three most considerable of them are, *Feu-xu*, *Xa-muen*, and *Ten-heng*; the last of which is famous for being the dreadful stage on which 500 *Chinese* philosophers were murdered, by order of the emperor *Xius*, or *Chi-wang-ti*, the same who built the great wall. This prince being a consummate warriour, but a mortal enemy to all philosophers, ordered them all to repair to a certain place, under pretence of consulting them about some important point; but, having got them all

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THE cities of the firſt rank are; 1. *Tſi-nan*; 2. *Yeng-chew*; 3. *Tong-chang*; 4. *Tſing-chew*; 5. *Ten-chew*; 6. *Lay-chew*.

TSI-NAN, Zi-nan, Ci-nan, metropolis of the province, is conveniently ſituate on the ſouth ſide of the river *Tſing-ho*, otherwiſe called *Tſi*, or *Li*, by which it hath a communication with the great canal, and carries on a great commerce by it into other provinces. It is large, and well peopled, and famed for its many public buildings, ſome of them of exquiſite beauty, and for having been the reſidence of a long ſeries of monarchs, whoſe ſtately monuments yield a moſt noble proſpect, from the adjacent hills, on which they are reared. Seventy-two of thoſe monarchs are celebrated, in the *Chineſe* annals, for their pacific reigns, and the many ſtately temples, monaſteries, arches, bridges, and other public edifices, which they built, as well as for their ſingular application to religion, and the welfare of their ſubjects. Tſi-nan *deſcribed.*

TSI-NAN hath four cities of the ſecond, and twenty-ſix of the third rank; and ſtands in 36° 45′ of latitude, and in 0° 39′ eaſt longitude, from *Pe-king*. The others have nothing particular in them, except the great borough of *Yen-ching*, famed for the manufacture of a ſort of glaſs, but more brittle than that of *Europe*, and which breaks when expoſed to too ſharp an air[1]. Chineſe *glaſs.*

IX. *The Province of* Shan-ſi.

SHAN-SI, Shang-ſi, Xan-ſi, or *Chan-ſi*, is bounded on the eaſt, by *Pe-che-li*; on the weſt, by *Shen-ſi*; on the ſouth, by *Ho-nan*; and on the north, by the *Chineſe* wall, which parts it from *Tartary*. It extends itſelf but a little way from eaſt to weſt; *viz.* from 1° to 6° 23′ of weſt longitude from *Pe-king*; but from north to ſouth much more; *viz.* from 34° 37′ to 40° 50′ of latitude. It is affirmed, by the *Chineſe*, to have been the firſt inhabited province in the whole empire; and, though it be nothing ſo large as ſome of thoſe we have deſcribed, yet is to the full as fertile and populous, in pro- IX. Shan-ſi *deſcribed.*

[1] DU HALDE, ubi ſupra, p. 105, & al.

all together, ſhipped them off to this iſland, where they were all murdered; though others ſay, they drowned themſelves (32). He was no leſs an enemy to all learning, and learned men, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of his reign.

(32) *Dion. Kao, ubi ſupra, p. 122. & al. ſup. citat.*

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Vast high mountains. portion to its extent. Its climate is serene and mild, though it hath a great number of mountains, and some of them of a frightful height and ruggedness; but the greatest part of the rest are well cultivated, and cut into terrasses from top to bottom, and bear plenty of corn, and other grain (K).

THE plains are still more fertile, but have not so great a quantity of canals to irrigate them; on which account, they do not yield such abundance of rice as other provinces do. Their vines produce excellent grapes, of which the *Chinese* might make wine, did they not prefer the eating of them dried, and sending the remainder into other parts of the empire.

Product. THIS province furnishes also abundance of musk, porphyry, marble, jasper, *&c.* and hath some mines which yield great store of iron, which is fabricated into variety of utensils, especially culinary, which are sent into other provinces. The people are stout, and obliging, but illiterate; and the women much admired for their beauty, and slender shape.

Cities. THIS province hath five cities of the first rank, and eighty-five of the second and third: those of the first rank are; 1. *Tay-ywen*; 2. *Ping-yang*; 3. *Lu-ngan*; 4. *Fwen-chew*; 5. *Tay-tong*. The number of families in it amounts to about 589,959, or 5,084,015 men.

Tay-ywen *described.* *TAY-YWEN, Tai-ven, Tha-yen-fu*, metropolis of the province, is situate on the river *Fwen-ho*, in 35° 53′ of latitude, and 3° 55′ of west longitude, from *Pe-king*. It is antient, populous, and large, its walls measuring about three leagues in compass; but is much decayed of its former splendor, when the princes of the blood, of the imperial family of *Tay-*

(K) Some of these mountains, we are told, are so soft on the surface (33), that one may dig four or five feet deep, without meeting the least stone; and some of them have very spacious plains on the top. They are, moreover, remarkable for their inexhaustible mines of coals, which the inhabitants use for fewel, where wood is scarce.

There is one very remarkable thing, which *Martini* tells us, of these mountains, not indeed of his own knowlege, but on the report of the inhabitants; *viz.* that they open, in sundry places, in the form of firey wells, tho' without flame; so that, by narrowing the mouth of them, one may so concenter the heat as to lay pots, kettles, frying-pans, and other culinary vessels, and dress victuals over them. The fire, he adds, burns but dimly; and if; to accelerate the heat; one throws any wood into these holes, it will hardly flame, but will burn like our charcoal (34).

(33) *Du Halde, ubi supra, p.* 106.

(34) *Atlas Sinens. sub* Chaw-ti-*ming*,

ning, resided in it, whose stately palaces are since run into decay, and some of them lie in ruins, none daring to rebuild them. The city hath a fruitful and delightful territory around it; and the adjacent mountains yield a curious prospect of royal monuments, all either of marble or hewn stone, and of a considerable extent; besides triumphal arches, statues of heroes, figures of lions, horses, and other animals, in different attitudes, and very natural. The whole is encompassed with a kind of forest of antient cypress, planted chequer-ways. *A noble prospect.*

THE jurisdiction of *Tay-ywen* extends over five cities of the second, and twenty of the third rank.

X. *The Province of* Shen-si.

X. Shen-si *described.*

SHEN-SI, *Xen-si*, *Xien-si*, is bounded on the east, by the *Wang-ho*, which parts it from *Shan-si*, last described; on the south, by *Se-chuen*, and *Hu-quang*; on the north, by *Tartary*, and the great wall; and on the west, by the *Mogol Tartary*. It extends itself, in some parts, from 32° to 40° of latitude, and from 5° 40′ to almost 16° of west longitude, from *Pe-king*, but in a very irregular manner. It is divided into two parts, or governments, the eastern, and the western, which contain eight cities of the first, and 106 of the second and third rank, besides a great number of fortresses, castles, redoubts, built at proper distances, along the great wall †. Among those fortresses, or, as they may be more properly called, military cities, those especially of the first, being as large, rich, and populous, as most of the inland cities, and are twenty-three in number, the two following are most considerable; *viz.* *Kan-chew* and *Su-chew*; the former of which is the residence of a viceroy, and several mandarins, the principal of whom receive their orders from none but the court; and the latter is equal in strength, and its governor in power, with the former, only this is divided into two parts, one of which is mostly inhabited by *Chinese*, and the other by strangers [k]. Here are, besides the twenty-three above-named, a good number of others, of a second and third order, but nothing so large, though very strong, and well garrisoned, besides the forts and redoubts, which are chiefly designed to guard the great wall. *Division.*

SHEN-SI is one of the antientest and largest provinces in the empire; and had formerly three viceroys over it [l], though, at present, it hath but two, exclusive of the two governors above-mentioned, who are independent on them. *Government.*

† See before, vol. iv. p. 363, & seq. [k] DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 108, [l] KAO, ubi sup. p. 126.

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Climate. THE air here is very temperate; and the people more civil, and affected to strangers, than in any of these northern provinces.

Soil. The soil is rich and fruitful; and some of the mountains have mines of gold, though forbidden to be opened under the severest penalties; but the rivers and torrents, which flow from them, bring down such quantities of that metal, that an infinite number of people maintain themselves by the bare profit that arises by washing and separating it from the sand.

Golden sand.

Product. The plains yield but small quantities of rice, for want of a sufficient number of canals: but they make ample amends for it by the prodigious plenty of corn they produce, besides medicinal and other plants, roots, *&c.* particularly rhubarb, which is here excellent, and cultivated with great care. One misfortune, however, this province labours under, *viz.* frequent and extraordinary droughts, which never fail of being followed with such prodigious swarms of grashoppers, and other insects, as quite darken the sun, and eat up every herb, bush, and even the small boughs of the trees: at such times the whole country come out, and kill them as fast as they can, and eat them as a great dainty. In some parts of *Shen-si*, particularly in the neighbourhood of its metropolis *Si-gnan*, or *Sigan*, is a sort of salt earth, which, being boiled and crystallized, makes a very good white salt; and, in some other places further, the ground, after a good shower of rain, emits a kind of froth, which is made into an excellent soap. The head cities belonging to this province are as follow:

Swarms of grashoppers.

Cities. IN the eastern part, called *I-tong*, are; 1. *Si-ngan*; 2. *Yen-ngan*; 3. *Fong-tsyang*; 4. *Hang-chong*.

AND in the western, called *I-si*, 5. *Ping-lyang*; 6. *Kong-chang*; 7. *Lyng-tau*; 8. *Kin-yang*.

Si-ngan *described.* *SI-NGAN-FU*, the metropolis of the whole province, is a very large city, commodiously situate on a delightful ascent on the south side of the river *Whey*, in latitude 34° 16′, and west longitude from *Pe-king* 7° 35′. Its walls are strong and lofty, about four leagues in compass, and flanked with a great number of towers, of an excellent fabricature, which hath given rise to the saying, that it is girt with a golden girdle. Among other noble buildings that adorn it within, is still to be seen the palace of the antient kings who reigned in this province, and who were once very powerful, and possessed a vast tract of the empire; some stately temples, triumphal arches, *&c.*

Famed walls.

Garrison. THE principal forces of the *Tartars*, designed for the defence of the north of *China*, are garrisoned here, under a general of their nation, who, with his troops, live in a separate part

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part of the city, divided from the reſt by a wall. The chief mandarins of the province, who are here likewiſe in great numbers, are moſtly *Tartars*. The mountains adjacent abound with deer, hares, and other game; and produce, among other foſſils, a white kind of earth, which is much valued by the ladies, who infuſe it in water, and whiten their complexion with it.

A Chriſtian monument dug up.

It was near this city that Father *Le Compte* tells us there was a monumental marble table dug up *Anno* 1645, which was ten feet long, and ſix broad; and on the top of which was engraved a croſs; and a little below it an inſcription, in characters partly *Chineſe*, and partly *Syriac*, importing, that an angel had brought tidings of the Meſſiah's being born of a virgin in *Judea*, and of his birth's being manifeſted to eaſtern kings by a new ſtar in the heavens, who came and offered the divine infant their preſents; that ſo the law, and predictions of four-and-twenty prophets, might be thereby accompliſhed; and that *Olopouen* came into *China* in the year of Chriſt 636, where he met with a kind reception from the emperor; who, having examined his law, and acknowleged the truth of it, iſſued out an edict in favour of him and his religion (L). It appears

Chriſtianity favoured by the emperors.

(L) The copy and contents of the whole inſcription, and hiſtory of its diſcovery, may be ſeen in *Kercher*'s *China Illuſtrata*, and in Father *Le Compte* above mentioned (35); and the purport of the edict, according to their verſion, runs as follows:

"No particular name comprehends the true law; neither are ſaints confined to any one place, but are diſperſed thro' the world, that they may be univerſally uſeful. A man of *Judea*, of exemplary virtue, arrived at our court; we have examined his doctrine, and found it worthy of admiration, and without any mixture of pride, and built upon thoſe principles which ſuppoſe that the world had a beginning. This law, which teaches the way of ſalvation, cannot but be extremely beneficial to our ſubjects. I therefore judge it neceſſary that it be taught to them." The inſcription goes on with an account of that monarch's ordering a church to be built, and of his appointing twenty-one perſons to officiate in it; of his ſon and ſucceſſor *Tay-loum*'s highly honouring the biſhop *Olopouen*, and promoting this religion with the ſame laudable zeal; ſo that the bonzas were alarmed at the progreſs it made, and uſed all poſſible means to put a ſtop to it. They accordingly raiſed a bloody perſecution; but which, in a little

(35) *Preſent State of China, part 2. letter 3.*

time,

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appears by this inscription, therefore, that Christianity flourished in the *Chinese* empire from the year 636 to 782, when the monument above-mentioned was set up. Our author tells us, that the emperor then reigning, when it was first digged up, ordered it to be kept in a pagod, or temple, about a mile from this city, where it is supposed to be still at this time [m].

A prodigious highway.

THE other cities we pass by, as having nothing particularly remarkable; excepting that called *Han-chong*, the high road to which, over the high mountains that surround it, hath something vastly surprising, both with respect to the number of men who were employed in making of it, which amounted to 100,000, and the great difficulty, and quick dispatch, of the work; to complete which, they levelled high hills, made lofty arches from one mountain to another, and supported them with pillars where-ever the intervening valley was too wide. These bridges, which form part of the road, are in some places so high, that one cannot behold the vast precipice below without dread. They are wide enough for four horsemen to ride abreast over them; and, for the better security and convenience of the passengers, are railed on both sides, and furnish'd with villages and inns at proper distances, for their accommodation [n]. There are many more such stupendous works in other parts of *China*, especially among the mountainous parts of it [o], some of which we may have occasion to mention among their other artificial rarities; though this, with respect to its length, height, &c. seems to exceed all the rest.

[m] KERCHER China Illustr. LE COMPTE Present State of China, part 2. letter 3. p. 109. [n] Vid. DU HALDE, ubi supra. [o] De his, vid. KERCHER, NAVARETTA, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

time, served only to make it break out with greater lustre, and meet with greater encouragement from the succeeding monarchs. In the mean time *Ki-ho*, a new missionary from *Judea*, arrived, who met with the same kind reception and success that Bishop *Olopouen* had done before; and the *Chinese* monarchs not only encouraged it with all their might, but much more by their pious examples, and by the most signal instances of piety; in memory of which wonderful change, this monumental inscription was set up *A. C.* 782. This is the substance of the inscription, which the reader may see at full length in the authors above quoted.

XI. *The*

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XI. *The Province of* Se-chwen.

XI. Se-chwen *described.*

SE-CHWEN, Seu-chu, Su-cheu, Su-chuen, is bounded on the north by *Shen-ſi*, laſt deſcribed; by *Hu-quang* on the eaſt; by *Quey-chew* and *Yun-nan* on the ſouth; and by the kingdom of *Tibet* on the weſt. It extends itſelf from 24° 50′ to 32° 50′ of latitude, and from 6° 20′ to 15° 25′ weſt longitude from *Pe-king*. It is a large and fruitful province; but is one of thoſe that ſuffered moſt, and was almoſt laid waſte, by the late civil wars [p]. It hath, however, recovered itſelf ſo far ſince, as to vie with ſome of the beſt northern ones in fertility, populouſneſs, and opulence. The great river *Yang-tſe*, which runs through it, not only enriches its lands by the multitude of canals cut from it; but much more ſo the inhabitants, by the great trade that is carried on by its means, of vaſt quantities of ſilk, iron, tin, quickſilver, ſugar, excellent loadſtones, *lapis Armenius*, muſk, rhubarb, china-root, and other commodities, which are exported into other provinces. The country, being moſtly plain, and well-watered, produces plenty of rice, wheat, and other corn; inſomuch that the bare tribute of the former amounts to 6,106,660 ſacks. The only neceſſary that is wanting here is ſalt: which, by reaſon of the diſtance from the ſea, cannot be ſo conveniently brought thence. To ſupply which defect, they dig up wells in the mountains, whence they draw a kind of ſalt water, which, being evaporated, leaves a ſalt behind, but not ſo good for ſeaſoning as that of the ſea [q].

Great traffick.

Product.

WE are told of a petty monarchy in this province, ſituate on the mountains which part it from that of *Ho-nan* on the north-eaſt, and called the kingdom of *King*, which is quite independent from the *Chineſe*, and is governed by its own princes. It was founded during the late wars, when the *Kingiangs*, a brave people, to avoid being inſlaved by the *Tartars*, or being expoſed to their cruel ravages, went and erected themſelves into this little ſtate, among thoſe high and rugged mountains, where they live free and unmoleſted, and avoid all commerce with the *Tartars*, *Chineſe*, or any other people [r].

A ſmall monarchy within it.

THE province of *Se-chwen* hath ten juriſdictions, or cities of the firſt rank, and eighty-eight of the ſecond and third, beſides five military ones; nine large fortreſſes of the firſt, and twenty-five of the ſecond order, and forts, caſtles, *&c.* depending upon them.

Cities.

[p] DION. KAO, ubi ſup. p. 141. Id. [q] Vid. et MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. [r] Dutch Ambaſſy, LA MARTINIERE, et al.

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THE ten capitals of the province are, 1. *Ching-tu*; 2. *Pauning*; 3. *Shun-king*; 4. *Su-chew*; 5. *Chong-king*; 6. *Quey-chew*; 7. *Ma-hu*; 8. *Long-ngan*; 9. *Tsun-i*; 10. *Tong-chwen*.

Ching-tu-fu *ruined by the wars.* *Re-established.*

CHING-TU-FU, the metropolis of the province, and formerly the royal residence of some of the *Chinese* monarchs, was one of the largest and finest cities in the whole empire, till the civil wars, under which it suffered most of any, quite ruined it, and the whole province, *Anno* 1646; and, though it hath in some measure recovered itself, yet doth it shew little of its pristine grandeur, except in the sad remains of its once stately palace, some few temples, bridges, and such-like, and in its present populousness, and the great commerce it now carries on. It is seated almost in the heart of the province, and in a fruitful territory, the only plain one in the province, which is by that means intersected with a great number of navigable canals, cut from the river *Ta*, or *Ta-kyang*, whose course here is rather slow than rapid: but, when the canals are reunited to it, and its waves increased by the confluence of the *Hin-sha-kyang*, it becomes exceeding rapid and dangerous, being much incumbered with rocks, especially in its next course through the province of *Huquang*.

CHING-TU stands in latitude 30° 41′ and 12° 18′ west longitude from *Pe-king*. Its jurisdiction is considerable, and extends itself over six cities of the second, and twenty-five of the third rank. It is chiefly remarkable, *Martini* tells us, for a small extraordinary bird with a red bill, and the finest variety of feathers. It is called *Tong-hoa-fang*, that is, the bird of the flower *Tong-hoa*, from which they pretend it to be produced, and to live no longer than that doth; and is so like it, that one would imagine it to be a living flower [s].

An extraordinary bird.

XII. *The Province of* Quang-tong.

XII. Quang-tong *described.*

QUANG-TONG, *Quang-tung*, *Quoang-tung*, *Quan-ton*, *Canton*, and, by some, *Quang-chew*, from its metropolis, is bounded on the north by *Kyang-si*; on the north-east by *Fo-kyen*; on the west by *Quang-si*, and the kingdom of *Tong-king*, or *Tonquin*; and the rest is washed by the *Nan-hay*, or sea of the south. It is reckoned the most considerable of all the provinces; and extends itself from 20° 15′, or, if you include the island of *Hay-nan*, which is under

[s] Atlas Sinens. MARTINIERE, et al.

its

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its juriſdiction, from 18° 20′ to 25° 33′ of latitude, and from 1° eaſt, to 9° 8′ weſt, of longitude from *Pe-king*. It is no leſs ſo on account of its vaſt commerce, opulence, populouſneſs, advantageous ſituation, and the great number of its commodious ports; ſo that though it ſuffered incredibly during the late wars, both from the *Tartars* and the *Chineſe*, and other pirates, its traffick and fertile ſoil ſoon reſtored it to its antient ſplendor, by the extraordinary induſtry of its inhabitants, who are computed by the regiſters to amount to 383,360 families, or 1,978,029 men.

Fertility. THE ſoil is ſo fertile, that it yields two crops of corn yearly; and produces in the like plenty all ſorts of grain, fruits, vegetables, and every thing that can contribute to the pleaſures of life. The climate, though warm, is clear, and the people very ſtout and healthy; hence they have a common ſaying, that *Quang-tong* always enjoys a ſky without ſnow, trees always laden with fruit, and men that continually ſpit blood; by which laſt is not meant any diſtemper of that kind, but their chewing a medicinal root which gives the ſaliva the colour of blood.

Manufactures. THE commerce which this province, but more eſpecially that which its metropolis drives, is one of the richeſt and grandeſt in all the *Chineſe* empire, and extends itſelf to the moſt valuable merchandizes, ſuch as diamonds and precious ſtones of all ſorts, pearls, gold, ſilver, and other metals curiouſly wrought, and for all uſes. They are famed here for a ſort of gun-barrel which never burſts, or, at moſt, only ſplits itſelf, without farther hurt; and for an odd kind of rice manufacture, which they turn into all kinds of utenſils, and which bears a fine natural gloſs, but is only fit for ſight. Silks of all ſorts, cottons, and other linen, are likewiſe manufactured and exported in great quantities, and beautiful variety, as well as thoſe of gold, ſilver, copper, lead, tin, china-ware, japan-work, and in all which infinite multitudes are conſtantly employed; inſomuch that, though the country here be as fertile as any in *China*, yet it doth not produce ſufficient proviſions for its inhabitants, but is aſſiſted by ſome of the neighbouring provinces. They uſe the ſame way here of hatching and potting of eggs, eſpecially thoſe of ducks, which are in great plenty, in ovens and dunghils, as they do in *Egypt*; but have a particular one of preſerving them freſh all the year, by covering them with a ſort of paſte. We are told a curious ſingularity of the ducks and chickens ſo hatched; *viz.* that the owners carry them in boats to the ſea-ſide, at low-water, where they feed on oyſters, cockles, and other ſuch ſea-inſects, and where one drove naturally intermixes

Eggs hatched in ovens.

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with another, as there are great multitudes of these boats so employed: but, as soon as the droves-owner strikes on a bason, every flock returns to his own boat, as pigeons do to their holes[1]. Some other varieties this province affords, which the reader may see in the margin (M).

Govern-ment.

QUANG-TONG, being a maritime province, and the most removed from the court, is one of the most considerable in the whole empire, especially as he, who is the *Tsong-tu*, or viceroy, of it, is likewise so of that of *Quang-si*; for which reason he commonly resides at *Chauking*, to be nearer at hand to communicate his orders to both provinces. He keeps also a great number of soldiers under him, to suppress the highwaymen and pirates, which would else grow numerous enough to destroy the commerce between them. There is, for the same end, a great number of fortresses, both on the sea-coasts and in the inland, most of them like large cities, very strong and well garrisoned, be-

[1] Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 113.

(M) Among the great variety of fruits which here grow in great plenty, they have a particular sort of limon, full as thorny as the citron-tree, but much larger. It bears a white flower of an exquisite odour, which, when distilled, yields a very pleasant liquor. The fruit, which is almost as big as a man's head, hath a rind much like that of common oranges; and its substance within, which is either white or reddish, hath a taste between sweet and sour. They have another sort of fruit, the largest that is any-where to be seen, which grows not on the branches, but on the body of the tree; its rind is very hard; and within is seen a great number of cells, containing a yellow pulp, which is very sweet and agreeable when the fruit is full-ripe.

Another kind of rarity in this province is the tree which the *Portuguese* call *iron-wood*, which resembles that metal in colour, weight, and hardness, and will sink in water. That which they call rose-wood is no less admired; and is of a blackish colour, inclining to red, beautifully veined and speckled, and used by joiners to make tables, escritoires, chairs, stools, &c. Their osier is likewise so pliable and tough, that they make cable and other ship-ropes of them. We omit a number of other such natural rarities, which *Kercher*, *Martini*, and others, speak of, which are not so well attested. The last and most remarkable of those that are, is the crab that is taken on the coast of a lake in the island of *Hay-nan*, which, they tell us, petrifies as soon as it is taken out of the water, and grows as hard as flint, and is said to be a good remedy against burning fevers (36).

(36) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 113.

sides

ſides inferior ones, forts, caſtles, *&c.* diſperſed in proper places.

QUANG-TONG is divided into ten capital juriſdictions; whoſe cities are, 1. *Quang-chew*, or *Canton*, the metropolis of all; 2. *Shau-chew*; 3. *Nan-yong*; 4. *Whey-chew*; 5. *Chau-chew*; 6. *Chau-king*; 7. *Kau-chew*; 8. *Lyen-chew*; 9. *Lwy-chew*; and, 10. *Kyun-chew*, which laſt is the capital of the iſland of *Hay-nan*. *Cities.*

QUANG-CHEW, vulgarly *Quang-tong*, *Quan-tun*, *Kan-ton*, and commonly, by the *Europeans*, *Canton*, is ſituate on the mouth of the *Ta-ho*, or great river, which is here wide and ſpacious, and forms the bay called *Hu-men*, or the tyger's gate, though it hath nothing terrible in it but its name, and ſome few forts, which are only built to keep off the pirates. It ſtands in latitude 23° 12′, and longitude 3° 31′ weſt from the meridian of *Pe-king*; and is not only one of the largeſt, being computed, with its ſuburbs, to be above twenty miles in compaſs (N), but likewiſe on account of its advantageous ſituation, one of the richeſt, fineſt, beſt peopled, and moſt trading, cities in *China*, the largeſt veſſels being eaſily brought Canton *deſcribed.* *Great traffick.*

(N) *Quang-chew* may be properly ſaid to conſiſt of three cities, each of them ſurrounded with its own ſtrong and lofty walls; yet ſo as to have a communication with each other by ſtately gates, which are only ſhut up at night. The landſchape which offers itſelf on each ſide of the river which leads to the city, is one of the moſt delighful proſpects that can be imagined. It is various, animated, and gay, all the way. On one ſide we behold a vaſt extent of lovely green meadows, terminated only by the horizon; on the other, groves and little hills appear, which riſe up in form of amphitheatres, which are aſcended by ſteps made of green ſods. Here your ſight is delighted with high rocks covered with moſs; there with country ſeats half-buried amongſt verdant copſes: now one meets with canals variegated with ſmall iſlands, and beautiful banks adorned with ſtately trees, which yield a moſt delightful ſhade, verdure, and fragrance; and there ſome ſpacious villages encompaſſed with plains, woods, *&c.*

Among others of theſe villages, there is one to be ſeen within about twelve miles from *Kanton*, called *Fo-ſhan*, or *Fu-xan*, in which are computed to be at leaſt 600,000 families, or a million of ſouls, moſtly employed in manufacturing of goods for the market of that metropolis. It is computed to be nine miles in compaſs, and is become very rich ſince the civil wars; during which, that city was almoſt ruined, and moſt of its manufactures removed thither (37).

(37) *Du Halde, ubi ſup. p.* 116. *Vid. & Le Compte, Martini, & al. ſup. citat.*

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to the fine canals that ſurround it, and the port and city being perpetually thronged with ſhips and merchants, and ſtored with the richeſt commodities of all kinds from *Europe*, and moſt parts of *India*.

Populouſneſs. THE number of its inhabitants, excluſive of ſtrangers, is computed to be at leaſt a million; ſome ſay near two millions, but that is exaggerated. However, the city is better filled with them than moſt in *China*, becauſe it hath but few gardens and orchards, and no waſte-ground. The ſtreets are ſtrait and long, and, excepting ſome few of the better ſort, which are adorned with palaces, temples, triumphal arches, and ſuch-like ſplendid edifices; the reſt are rather narrow than wide, but all of them neat, and well-paved; and the ſhops beautifully furniſhed, and ſet out with the richeſt wares. The harbour, quay, and canals, are covered with ſuch an infinite multitude of barges, boats, and other veſſels, and ſo cloſe together, that they appear like a huge floating city. Every ſtreet hath a gate at each end, which is not only ſhut up every night, to confine every perſon to his proper quarter; but likewiſe in the day-time, whenever any diſturbance happens, in order to prevent its ſpreading to the next.

Canals.

Government. THE mandarin, who reſides here as viceroy, hath a ſtately palace at one of the moſt diſtant parts of the city; which makes it very inconvenient for thoſe who are to apply to him, and ſtill more ſo, becauſe the building is very deep, and a number of courts muſt be croſſed before one comes to the hall of audience, where he adminiſters juſtice in great ſtate: the reaſon of which is ſuppoſed to be, either to prevent frivolous complaints, which would otherwiſe too frequently happen among ſuch an infinite multitude and variety of inhabitants, or perhaps more probably to keep up the greater grandeur and ſtate (O). His government, beſides the metropolis, extends over ſeventeen cities; *viz.* one of the ſecond, and ſixteen of the third rank [u].

[u] DU HALDE, ubi ſupra. LE COMPTE, MARTINI, et al. ſup. citat.

(O) We are told accordingly, that he ſeldom ſtirs abroad without a retinue of about 100 officers of different ranks, beſides his ſtandard-bearers, and other inferior attendants. He is commonly carried on the ſhoulders of eight luſty fellows, in a chair of ſtate like a throne, with a large canopy over his head; and, as his power is very great, ſo the ſame reſpect is paid to him as to a little monarch, wherever he appears (38).

(38) *Du Halde, Le Compte, Martini, & al. ſup. citat.*

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On the entrance into the bay of *Quang-tong* ſtands the famed *Portugueſe* port of *Makau*, or, as it is vulgarly called, *Macao*, in latitude 22° 12′, and weſt longitude from *Pe-king* 3° 19′. It ſtands on a ſmall peninſula, or rather ſmall iſland, (becauſe ſeparated from the continent by a river, which is inlarged by the tide), and is joined to it only by a ſmall iſthmus, or neck of land, acroſs which they have built a wall. It is a convenient trading port, of which the *Portugueſe* obtained the poſſeſſion, on account of their having aſſiſted the *Chineſe* in driving away a famed pirate who infeſted thoſe ſeas, and had beſieged the capital of the province; and obliged him to retire to *Makau*, where they ſlew him ſome time before the year 1660. Some authors tell us, that they built the city, the iſland before being inhabited by none but banditti, who only lived in huts and woods [w]. However that be, they fortified this place with ſtrong walls, and other works, and drove a great trade with other parts of *India*; but were afterwards ſo diſturbed by the *Dutch*, that its traffick, as well as ſtrength, hath been very much reduced; and they now only maintain a ſmall factory and garriſon, and are ſo very poor, that the *Chineſe* deſpiſe and lord it over them (P). *City of Macao deſcribed.*

There is alſo in the city a *Chineſe* mandarin, as well as a *Portugueſe* governor; the former of whom hath his palace *Government.*

[w] Gemell. Careri. voy. part 4. l 1. c. 1.

(P) They were reckoned in *Gemelli*'s time about 5000 of the former, moſt of them mongrels, born in *India*, and of *Indian* women; and above 15,000 of the latter. The former chuſe a magiſtrate from among themſelves, who hath the management of all civil and criminal affairs, but with whom the latter are not concerned; their political government being under a captain-general, appointed by the king of *Portugal*, and the ſpiritual by a biſhop. All theſe and other officers are maintained by the city, which allows the captain-general a piece of eight *per* day, and 3000 every three years; 500 to the biſhop *per Annum*, and ſo proportionably to the inferior ones: which charge is defrayed by a duty of ten *per Cent.* on all *Portugueſe* goods, and two *per Cent.* on money; over and above what is paid to the *Chineſe* government (39), and other impoſitions from the mandarin that commands in it; and the viceroy, who comes often to viſit it, and muſt be entertained in a grand manner, and glutted with high preſents, *&c.* To all which hardſhips they are forced to ſubmit, becauſe all their proviſions coming to them from the *Chineſe*, they might be ſtarved by them upon the leaſt diſlike.

(39) *Gemelli Careri, voy. part 4. l. 1.*

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in the heart of it, and commands in chief; so that whatever he will have done, must be complied with, especially where the *Chinese* interest is concerned. To that end, the fortifications of the town are kept in good repair, and well provided with cannon; and, as its small garrison is supplied with all necessaries by the *Chinese*, who are more numerous in it, these hardly think it worth their while to become masters of it. It pays to the *Chinese* court a tribute of 10,000, others say 100,000, ducats, for the liberty of chusing their magistrates, and the exercise of their religion and laws, besides a heavy impost on every vessel and merchandize which is brought into the port; the entrance of which being guarded by the *Chinese*, no ship can come in, or go out, without their knowlege and leave.

Heavy tribute.

Buildings. The town is well built, though not large. The houses are after the *European* manner, but low; and the churches, and public buildings, pretty handsome for that country. The ground on which it stands is very uneven, being hill, valley, and plain; and defended by three forts, all of them built on some advantageous eminence, which, with the rest of the city terminates the sight on that side from the ships that ride at anchor: but betwixt this land, which is of some extent, and the town, there is a safe and commodious port, along whose shores the city extends. The commerce of it was formerly so considerable, whilst the *Portuguese* were permitted to trade with *Japan*, that it was a common saying, that *Macao* might pave its streets with silver: but, since they were forbidden to come thither under such severe penalties, they are dwindled into such a state of poverty and servitude, that the town and port are gone quite into decay, having but five ships of their own to maintain all the vast charges abovementioned: and these instead of the 300 *per Cent.* which they were wont to return from *Nangazaki*, bring in now but an inconsiderable profit; which will be lessened still, says *Carery*, by the setting up of the new *East-India* company, which forbids their resort to several ports, and their trading in some sorts of their commodities [x]. Before we take our leave of this port, we must take notice of one remarkable singularity relating to it; *viz.* that the *Sunday* with them is the *Saturday* with the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine Islands*; the reason of which the reader will see in the margin (Q).

Harbour, &c.

Sunday different.

[x] Gemell. Careri, ubi supra.

The

(Q) This difference, which extends itself equally to all the other days of the week, doth not proceed from any difference of

THE laſt thing we have to mention concerning the province of *Quang-tong*, is the iſland of *Hay-nan*, which belongs to its juriſdiction, and lies oppoſite to it, on the gulf of *Cochin-China*, being parted from it by a very narrow chanel, ſo that it may be eaſily deſeried from the oppoſite coaſt, in a clear ſky. It is a pretty large iſland, and extends itſelf from 18° 10′ to 20° 8′ of latitude, and from 5° 55′ to 8° 20′ of weſt longitude from *Pe-king*; ſo that its greateſt length from eaſt to weſt is between ſixty and ſeventy leagues, and from north to ſouth between forty and fifty, and its circumference about 160. *Iſle Hay-nan deſcribed.*

IT is moſtly mountainous, except the length of about fifteen leagues from the north coaſt, which is plain, and well watered by rivers. The inhabitants, who are pretty numerous, cultivate their ground ſo well, and the rains fall down ſo ſeaſonably, that the country produces rice, and other corn, enough for their ſuſtenance, and commonly yields two crops a year: beſides which, they have plenty of fruits, veniſon, game, *&c.* The only thing they want, eſpecially on the ſouthern ſide, is wholſome water; for want of which they are obliged to boil a ſufficient quantity of it in the morning to ſerve them all the day[y]. *Fertility.*

THE *Chineſe* are not maſters of the whole iſland, but only of moſt of the coaſts, and ſome of the plains in the inland, which the natives abandoned to them, that they might go and enjoy their liberty on the high mountains, where they actually live independent, and never have any commerce with them, except to exchange ſome of the gold-duſt which they gather from their rivers and torrents, for *Chineſe* ſalt and clothes: for, though they are ſuppoſed to have ſome rich mines of gold and ſilver, yet they are either too indolent or inexpert to turn them to any advantage. There are hardly any coaſts on the eaſtern ſea which produce larger and finer pearls than the northern ones of this iſland. The inlands yield a great variety of fragrant woods, and of beautiful colours, particularly thoſe called eagle, roſe, violet, and ebony-wood, all which are *Government.* *Traffick.*

[y] MARTINI, Atlas Sinenſ. DU HALDE, p. 117.

of longitude between thoſe two places, which is inconſiderable, but from the different ways of ſailing of thoſe two nations: for the *Portugueſe*, in coming hither from Europe, ſail eaſtward; whereas the *Spaniards*, coming from *America*, ſail weſtward; ſo that, between them, they have ſailed round the world, by oppoſite points; in doing which, there muſt of courſe, be the loſs of one day, as every one knows that hath learnt the bare elements of the globe.

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bought up by the *Chinese*, to make houſhold ornaments, or for dyeing. It breeds likewiſe variety of fine birds, beaſts, and a particular kind of black monkey, with a face the neareſt to human.

Dreſs of the people. THE iſlanders, both men and women, wear their hair in a ring on their forehead; and a hat on their heads, made of ſtraw, or rattan, and tied under their chin. Their habit is only a piece of callico, either black, or of a deep blue, which covers them from the waiſt to the knees; beſides which, the women wear a kind of waiſtcoat of the ſame. Theſe ſtreak their cheeks from the eyes downward with indigo: both men and women wear ear-rings of gold and ſilver, ſhaped like a pear, and well made. Their weapons are bows and arrows, at which they are not very dexterous; and a kind of hanger, which they carry in a little baſket faſtened to their girdle behind; and this laſt is all the tools they have for cutting down timber, or for carpenters work.

Capital deſcribed. Port. THE capital city in the iſland is called *Kyun-chew-fû*. It is ſituate on a promontory; and the ſhips come to anchor under its very walls. The port, which is about two leagues diſtant from it, on the north ſide of the iſland, is formed by a pretty large river, whoſe mouth is defended by two ſmall forts: but, as it hath not above ten or twelve feet of water, any veſſels made after a different manner from thoſe of *China* would find it difficult to enter it. Between the port and the capital is a fine plain full of beautiful *Chineſe* ſepulchres; among which is one with a croſs on it, in which lies interred an *Italian* miſſionary, and the firſt who landed in that iſland. *Kyun-chew-fû* hath under its juriſdiction three cities of the ſecond, and ten of the third rank, moſt of them ſeated along the ſea-coaſts. It ſtands in latitude 20° 2′, and weſt longitude from *Pe-king* 6° 40′, and is governed by a *literary* and a *military mandarin*[z] (R).

Proſpect.

XIII. *The*

[z] MARTINI, Atlas Sinenſ. DU HALDE, p. 117, & ſeq.

(R) Near this iſland is that ſmall one called *Sancian*, or *Shang-chewen-ſhan*, and famed for the death of the modern apoſtle of the *Indies*, *Francis Xavier*, whoſe tomb is ſtill to be ſeen, and is much reſorted to by travellers. It ſtands on a little eminence, at the foot of a hill: and behind it is a ſmall plain, with trees on one ſide, and gardens on the other.

The iſland is not deſart, as was reported; but hath about five villages, inhabited by poor fiſhermen. The *Portugueſe* Jeſuits built a chapel here above fifty years ago, which, though only

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XIII. *The Province of* Quang-si.

QUANG-SI, *Quan-si*, *Quam-si*, hath *Quang-tong*, last described, on the south-east; *Hu-quang* and *Quey-chew* on the north; *Yun-nan* on the west; and the ocean, with part of the kingdom of *Tonquin*, on the south. It extends itself only from 21° 50′ to 26° 15′ of latitude, and from 4° 10′ to 11° 48′ of west longitude from *Pe-king*. It is for the most part mountainous, and short of the fertility of other provinces; yet hath some vast spacious plains, especially on the south, so well cultivated, that it is able to supply that of *Quang-tong* with rice and corn for six months in the year. It is watered by a great number of rivers, which flow from the mountains eastwards into the *Ta-ho*, or great river which runs into *Quang-tong*. And, as several of them are navigable on the east part, the people are more given to traffick, and much more polite, than those on the west and north side, who are a rude sort of mountaineers, disdain all subjection, and live like independent savages. XIII. Quang-si *descr. bed.* *Fertility.*

THESE vast ridges of mountains are covered with large forests, though many of them abound with mines of gold (S), silver, copper, iron, *&c.* several sorts of curious woods used by the joiners; among which there is one particular sort of tree, which, instead of pith, contains a soft substance, which they grind into meal, and doth not taste amiss. The insect that produces the wax is in great plenty all over the province, which breeds likewise parrots, and other fine birds, rhinoceros's, porcupines, and other wild beasts. The cinnamon which grows here is better, and more odoriferous, than that of the island of *Ceylan*; and the silks that are manufactured here bear a good price: but the chief one of this province is that of porcelain, which is made much finer than in other parts, though one of the ingredients is brought from that of *Nan-* *Mountains.* *Manufactures.*

only of plaster, doth yet look very neat; the *Chinese* having japanned it over with red and blue varnish (40).

(S) There was a rich one, in particular, which the inhabitants of the district obtained a patent from the court to have the privilege of working at their own charge, on condition they paid the emperor 40 *per Cent.* and his officers attending on it five *per Cent.* out of the profits arising from it; but that monarch since took it into his hand, and worked it at his own charge (41).

(40) *Le Comte, Du Halde, & al.*

(41) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 120.

king;

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king; it being observed, that the water of the former, and the sand of the latter, must concur to make that ware complete. The number of inhabitants was once computed to amount to 196,719 families, or 1,054,760 men. The province is divided into twelve jurisdictions; whose capitals are as follow: *Quey-ling*, the metropolis of the whole; 2. *Lyew-chew*; 3. *Kin-ywen*; 4. *Se-ngen*; 5. *Ping-lo*; 6. *U-chew*; 7. *Sin-chew*; 8. *Nan-ning*; 9. *Tay-ping*; 10. *Se-ming*; 11. *Chin-ngan*; 12. *Se-chin*.

Cities.

Quey-ling-fu described.

QUEY-LING-FU, the metropolis, is said to have its name from a flower, which, though very common in *China*, yet grows in greater quantity there (T). It is situate on a river which falls into the *Ta-ho*; and runs with such rapidity through the narrow vallies, that, though large, it is not navigable, or of any service for traffick. The city is large and well-built, and in some measure after the manner of our antient fortifications; but is still vastly inferior to most other capitals, and is surrounded with savage and barbarous people, who are settled in the mountains, and, as was lately hinted, live in a kind of independence from the mandarins. It stands in latitude 25° 13′, and west longitude from *Pe-king* 6° 14′, and hath a jurisdiction over two cities of the second, and seven of the third rank. The bird called *King-hi* (U) is caught

(T) The word signifies the forest of the flower *Quey*, which flower grows upon a tree not unlike our laurel, and yields a fine taste and smell, and, when dried, is commonly mixed with some sorts of cakes, to raise their flavour and relish. There is a mount likewise on the east end of the city, which bears the same name, from the vast quantities of that flower with which it is perpetually covered, and which perfume the whole country: for it is observable, that no sooner one falls, but another breaks out in its place. Some think, however, that *Quey-ling* hath its name from the river *Quey*, which runs near its walls.

(U) This rare bird, whose name signifies the golden hen, is much esteemed for its extraordinary beauty both of colour and shape, as well as for its exquisite taste, which is affirmed to excel that of our pheasants. Its feathers are of a delightful mixture of blue and red, finely shaded towards the extremities of the wings and tail, and intermixed with variety of other colours. The body is finely shaped, and the head crowned with a beautiful crest (42). It is very common in this and the next province we are going to speak of.

(42) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 13.

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within this territory, whose feathers are variegated with such bright colours, that they weave them in their silks[a].

XIV. *The Province of* Yun-nan.

XIV. Yun-nan described.

YUN-NAN, Yu-nan, Jun-nan, is bounded on the north by *Se-chew*, and the territory of the lamas; on the west by the kingdoms of *Ava*, *Pegu*, and some unknown barbarous nations; on the south by the kingdoms of *Law*, or *Lanchwa*, and *Tong-king*; and, on the east, by the provinces of *Quang-si* and *Quey-chew*. It extends itself from 21° 34′ to 28° of latitude, and from 10° 16′ to 18° 34′ of west longitude from *Pe-king*. It is said to be one of the richest and most fertile of the empire, being every-where watered by rivers, several of which rise from some considerable lakes; and others descend from the mountains, and bring down great quantities of gold sand, and some precious stones, particularly rubies of singular beauty are dug out of these mountains; and, if the golden mines were suffered to be opened, they would in all probability amount to immense sums. They likewise produce, among other baser metals, one called *Petang*, which is white within and without, but in other respects is much like the common copper; and, among other valuable stones, the *lapis armenus*, a kind of reddish amber, and a fine sort of marble of divers colours, whose veins naturally represent flowers, trees, mountains, rivers, &c. and of this they make tables, and other ornaments.

Golden mines.

THE country produces plenty of corn, rice, and all kinds of provisions, medicinal plants, roots, gums, musk, &c. besides plenty of silk, cotton, and flax. It likewise breeds variety of animals, particularly elephants, horses, and a curious king of stags, which are neither taller nor thicker than our ordinary dogs, and are kept by the rich in their gardens for their diversion. Here is also bred the golden hen, described in the last note, and other curious birds. The whole province is divided into twenty-one districts, or jurisdictions, of the first rank, which have under them fifty-five others of the second and third, besides eight military cities, and a good number of fortresses, castles, &c. The cities of the first rank are, 1. *Yun-nan*, the metropolis; 2. *Ta-li*; 3. *Lingngan*; 4. *Chu-hyang*; 5. *Ching-kyang*; 6. *King-tong*; 7. *Quannan*; 8. *Quang-si*; 9. *Shun-ning*; 10, *Ku-tsing*; 11. *Yaungan*; 12. *Ko-king*; 13. *Vu-ting*; 14. *Ly-kyang-fu*; 15. *Ywen-*

Product.

Cities

[a] DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 119, & seq. Vid. & MARTINI Atlas, LA MARTINIERE, & al.

kyang;

kyang; 16. *Mong-wha*; 17. *Yung-chang*; 18. *Yung-ning-tu*; 19. *Yung-pe*; 20. *Kay-wha*; 21. *Saw-ta*.

Yun-nan described.

YUN-NAN, *Ju-nan*, *Ju-nung-fû*, metropolis of the province, is situate on the north-east side of a large and deep lake, or, according to the language of the country, on the coast of the south sea, in latitude 25° 6′, and west longitude from *Pe-king* 13° 37′. It was not long ago very remarkable for its beauty, and the number of its stately buildings and fine gardens within its walls, which are three miles (if not rather leagues) in compass, it having been the residence of several monarchs. At the time of the *Tartars* invading it, they gave the then reigning prince the investiture of the province, with the title of king (W): but he, growing weary of the yoke, and having taken up arms against the emperor, *Anno* 1679, his family was ruined; and, he dying soon after of old age, his army soon dispersed itself, and his kingdom, and stately palaces, as well as his court, fell into ruin and desolation [b].

Decay, whence.

THE metropolis hath not fared much better; though it is still the residence of the *Tsong-tû*, or governor-general of the provinces of *Yun-nan* and *Quey-chew*, as well as of the vice-roy of the province. Its traffick is chiefly for metal, which is greater here than in any other part of the empire; and its principal manufacture a particular sort of sattin, made of twisted silk, without flower or gloss, and dyed of all colours like the common sort, but which are neither bright nor lively. They likewise make here a sort of carpets of the same kind of twisted silk. The inhabitants, who are here a stout, courageous, and active people, and given both to agriculture and arms, have a breed of horses, which, tho' small, are strong and fleet, and which they ride with only a carpet instead of a saddle under them. *Yun-nan* hath in its district four cities of the second, and seven of the third rank.

Traffick. Silk manufacture.

[b] DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 122, & seq. Vid. et MARTINI Atlas, LA MARTINIERE, & al.

(W) This prince's name, *Kae* tells us, was *Vû sangui* (43), or, as *Du Halde* and his translator write it, *U-san-ghey* (44), who was the unfortunate person that called in the *Tartars* to suppress the rebels, and, by that unadvised step, proved the cause of the loss of the *Chinese* empire, as will be seen in the sequel.

(43) *Apud Isbrandæ Ides*, p. 142. (44) *Pag.* 123.

XV. *The*

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XV. *The Province of* Quey-chew.

XV. Quey-chew.

QUEY-CHEW, one of the ſmalleſt provinces of the empire, hath *Quang-ſi* on the ſouth; *Hu-quang* on the eaſt; *Se-chwen* on the north; and *Yun-nan* on the weſt; and extends itſelf from 24° 40′ to 29° of latitude, and from 7° to 12° 30′ of weſt longitude from *Pe-king*. The whole country is naturally barren, on account of its vaſt, rugged, and inacceſſible mountains, which are here in ſuch great quantities, that it looks as if the whole body of them had made it their rendezvous. The late civil wars have rendered it ſtill more diſagreeable and uncultivated, and ſo thinly peopled, that the emperors have been obliged to ſend colonies thither from other provinces, and ſometimes diſgraced governors, with their whole families (X). As for the natives of the province, they bear an exact reſemblance to the country, and are a rude, barbarous, and lawleſs people, who live in conſtant defiance with the *Chineſe* government, make war or peace with it as beſt ſuits their intereſt or humour, and often harraſs and ravage them in their ſettlements: for this reaſon they are obliged to have here a vaſt number of military cities, fortreſſes, caſtles, *&c.* all ſtrongly garriſoned, to keep them in awe; for, this province being the direct and only road to that of *Yun-nan*, there is a neceſſity to keep it open at any rate; and ſuch a number of forces they keep here in pay for that end, that the tribute which is levied upon the country not being ſufficient to maintain them, the court is obliged to make up the deficiency by new ſupplies every year.

Vaſt groups of mountains.

Wild ſort of inhabitants.

THE mountains, however, are rich in mines of gold, ſilver, quickſilver, and copper, of part of the latter of which the ſmall coin that is current in the empire is moſtly made. The vallies between are ſome of them large, fertile, and well watered; and would yield much better crops, if duly culti-

Mines of gold, &c.

(X) This province is much the ſame to the *Chineſe* that *Siberia* is to the *Muſcovites*; and thoſe mandarins and governors, who are ſent thither with their families, and ſometimes for life, are only ſuch as have been guilty of ſome ſtate crimes. Theſe *Chineſe* colonies live in their ſtrong walled towns and forteſſes, under the protection of their governors and ſoldiery; whilſt the natives, who inhabit their high and rugged mountains, avoid all commerce, except that of making ſome plundering excurſions upon them. Great pains have been taken by the government to ſuppreſs them, but hitherto to little effect (45).

(45) *Martini, Kao, La Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.*

vated.

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vated. They carry on no manufacture of either silk or cotton here; but make themselves stuffs of a kind of vegetables, not unlike our hemp, which is a proper wear for summer. The inhabitants breed vast herds of cows, hogs, &c. and the best horses in all *China*. The wild fowl is in the greatest plenty and variety, and of excellent taste. The only commerce between the *Chinese* and the natives consists in a frequent exchange which the latter are obliged to make of some of their gold-dust, cattle, wild fowl, &c. for a supply of salt, callicoes, and the like goods, which they want. Upon the whole, the province abounds with all sorts of provisions, and most of them very cheap. It is divided into ten districts of the first rank, under which are thirty-eight of the second and third, besides military cities, fortresses, &c. The capital cities (which, by the way, are vastly inferior in largeness, beauty, and wealth, for the reasons above-mentioned) are, 1. *Quey-yang*, the metropolis; 2. *Se-chew*; 3. *Se-nan*; 4. *Chin-ywen*; 5. *She-tsyen*; 6. *Tong-jin*; 7. *Ngan-chan*; 8. *Tu-yun*; 9. *Ping-ywen*; 10. *Way-ning* [c].

Cattle.

Cities.

Quey-yang-fû *described.*

QUEY-YANG-FU, metropolis of the whole, is one of the smallest and worst built in all *China*; its walls being scarcely three miles in compass, and the houses mostly of earth and brick. It stands in a pleasant and fertile plain, on a small river, but which bears no boats; whence the commerce of the town is inconsiderable. It is encompassed at a distance with very high and deep mountains (Y), which are inhabited by a people of different extract from the *Chinese*, whence they were called *Sina-ni*, or western barbarians, because they lay west of *China*; and, after their reduction, were with much difficulty brought to conform to the *Chinese* customs. We read of some few stately buildings within the city, which, though gone to decay, shew it to have been formerly in a more flourishing condition, or, as some say, a royal residence.

Sina-ni, *who.*

[c] Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 119, & seq. Vide et Martini Atlas, La Martiniere, & al.

(Y) Among them, those that follow are worth a curious reader's notice; 1. *Tong-en*, or the *copper kettle-drum*, because it is observed to make some such kind of noise at particular seasons, especially before rain. 2. That of *Nung-huang*, which is so steep and strait, that few creatures can climb up to it. A third, called *Ven-pi*, which stands by itself, on the south side of the city, and is cut in the shape of an isosceles cone, which terminates in an acute point (46).

(46) *Kercher, Martini, Gardan, & al.*

But

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But there ſtands, without the walls of it, a large temple, ſaid to have been built by the *Tartar* family of *Twen*, and allowed to be a magnificent edifice.

QUEY-YANG ſtands in latitude 26° 30′, and 9° 52′ weſt longitude, from *Pe-king*; and hath a juriſdiction over three cities of the ſecond, and four of the third rank, beſides a great number of forts, with which it is in a manner ſurrounded.

WE have now gone through the fifteen provinces within the walls, and the principal iſlands belonging to them; and ſhall now cloſe the geography of this great empire with a ſhort account of the province of *Lyau-tong*, which is ſituate without the walls, and on the frontiers of *Tartary*, but is, like the other fifteen above-deſcribed, ſubject to the ſame government.

The Province of Lyau-tong, *or* Quang-tong.

THIS province, which is now proved, on all hands, to be ſituate without the great *Chineſe* wall (Z), which parts it from that of *Pe-cheli* ont he ſouth-weſt; is bounded, on the eaſt, by the kingdom of *Korea*; on the north, by the mountains of *Yalow*, or *Tartary*; on the ſouth, by the gulf of its own name; and on the weſt, by the country of the *Moguls*. It is but a ſmall province, compared to thoſe of *China* we have gone through; and extends itſelf only about 270 or 280 miles, where longeſt; but, in other parts, is much ſhorter. It reaches from 39° to almoſt 43° of latitude, and 2° 30′ to almoſt 9° eaſt longuitude, from *Pe-king*. It was reckoned, in *Bion Kao*'s time, the ſixteenth province in the *Chineſe* empire, though ſeated without the wall [d]; but hath ſince loſt that dignity under the *Tartars*; and is now treated as a conquered province, for reaſons we ſhall have occaſion to hint at, in the ſequel. Lyau-tong *deſcribed.*

[d] Vide KAO, ubi ſup. p. 115. & 129. & ſeq. LE COMPTE, VERBIEST, MARTINI, & al.

(Z) *Nieuhoff*, and, after him, *Martini*, were the firſt who placed this province within the walls. The firſt, in his map prefixed to his *Dutch Embaſſy*; and the latter in his *Atlas*. But that it was an overſight in them, plainly appears from what we have quoted above out of the *Chineſe* geographer *D. Kao*, as well as from *Verbieſt*, who travelled thither with the court, and *Le Compte*, and other more modern writers (47).

(47) *Vide Kao, ubi ſup. p. 115. & ſeq. 129. & ſeq. Le Compte, Bouvet, Gobien, & al.*

THE

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Soil. THE land is fertile, and well cultivated, though moſtly mountainous and uneven; and had formerly a great number of large cities and towns, which lie now in ruins, having been moſtly deſtroyed during the wars with the *Tartars*, without ever being able to recover themſelves ſince [e]. On the contrary, we are told, that the *Tartars* have, inſtead of them, built a great number of military cities, fortreſſes, and caſtles, to prevent it, and to keep the *Lyau-tongers* under, who are a ſtout and warlike people, very numerous, and uneaſy under the yoke (A). Some of theſe fortreſſes are indeed ſo large and populous, and have raiſed themſelves to ſuch a degree of ſplendor and opulence, as to be little inferior to ſome of thoſe of the firſt and ſecond order in *China*; and the inhabitants, ſoldiers, as well as others, are grown very rich and powerful in them, and drive a good commerce with the northern provinces of *China*, particularly with the capital one of *Pe-cheli*, whilſt the *Lyau-tongers* are, for the moſt part, kept in a ſtate of ſubjection and ſlavery under them.

Cities decayed.

A great number of fortreſſes.

Character of the people. THEY are, however, a very ſtout, tall, and brave people; and their frequent wars with their neighbours, on all ſides, have rendered them expert and warlike. But though they

[e] Vide KAO, ubi ſup. LE COMPTE, VERBIEST, MARTINI, & al.

(A) *Dior. Kao*, lately quoted, tells us, that this province was the way through which the *Tartars*, now reigning in *China*, came into it (48): from which his tranſlator, in his notes on him, concludes, on what authority is not eaſy to gueſs, that, in gratitude to them for their aſſiſtance, and eaſy paſſage through it, they made it a new province of the *Chineſe* empire, and endowed it with the ſame privileges with the other fifteen. Whereas by the ſevere treatment they have received from them, one would be apt to think they had rather oppoſed their entrance, and ſhewed too much fidelity to the *Chineſe*.

And, indeed, that writer plainly tells us, that the *Tartars* made an irruption into *Lyau-tong*, where they met with a repulſe from the *Chineſe* emperor *Vang-ty*, or *Van-li* (49); by which it ſeems as if the *Chineſe* were then maſters of that province; for the getting it into their hands was one of the moſt effectual means to ſecure *China* from invaſions from that part of *Tartary*; and either that, or ſome other *Chineſe* monarch, might endow the *Lyau-tongians* with the privileges of his *Chineſe* ſubjects, either as a reward for, or to ſecure, their fidelity to the *Chineſe* government: we may offer ſome further conjectures on this head, when we come to their hiſtory, and their wars with the *Tartars*.

(48) *Vide Kao, ubi ſup. p.* 115. & 116. *and notes.* (49) *Ibid. p.* 129.

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partake more of the temper of the *Tartars*, they are affirmed to be fonder of the *Chinese* government, religion, and customs; which, in some measure, confirms what we observed in the last note. They are much given to agriculture and traffick; by the former of which, they have made such improvements on their lands, that they are become much more fertile than they naturally were; and those who live near the sea carry on a good commerce with *China*, *Korea*, and *Japan*, the chief part of which consists in furs of beavers, sables, and other wild beasts, and a much larger would they, in all probability, drive, if they were not kept so under by their masters. They do not seem, indeed, to have such a happy genius for arts and sciences as the *Chinese*; but the former flourishing condition of their country, though deprived of many singular advantages, of soil, climate, rivers, *&c.* which *China* enjoys, shews that they were at least equal to them in diligence and industry. So that if their noble antient cities are now left to go into ruin, if their trade and manufactures languish, and their wealth is now passed into other hands, it can only be owing to the oppression they suffer under the present government, under which they appear to have groaned ever since the conquest of *China*, of which it was then the sixteenth province: for though one might have expected that the *Tartars*, after they were become masters of the whole *Chinese* empire, would have left this province to enjoy its antient privileges; yet, for some reason or other, probably those we hinted at in the last note, they thought fit to deprive it of them, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered or tributary one (B).

Traffick and husbandry.

Oppression.

We

(B) This seems fully confirmed, by a letter of Father *Noel*, a *Chinese* missionary to the general of the Jesuits, *anno* 1703, concerning the then state of their mission; wherein he acquaints him, that they had not as yet made any settlement at *Lyau-tong*; but that they had formed a project of making one at *Chin-yang*, capital both of that province and of all *Eastern Tartary*. That city, continues he, is very considerable, the emperor having established four sovereign tribunals, to judge, without appeal, of all matters relating to the *Tartars*: for *Lyau-tong*, says he, is now esteemed as a province of *Tartary*, and the *Lyau-tongers* are no longer looked upon as *Chinese*, but as native *Tartars* (40). Thus far the missionary, who might more truly have styled them subjects, or slaves, to the *Tartars*, since their condition is no better, whilst the *Chinese*, more favoured than they, enjoy the same advantages and privileges,

(40) *Lettr. edifiantes tom.* vii. *p.* 68.

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Cities. We read but of two capital cities, or cities of the first rank, in Father *Martini*'s time; the first of which was called *Leao-yung*, which name, he tells us, was given to it by the *Tartarian* family of *Kina*; and the other *King-ywen*, or *Ning-yuen*; neither of which have any thing worth farther notice, they being both gone into decay. Since then, Father *Fountenay*, a Jesuit, who came from *China* about the beginning of this century, as well as Father *Noel*, mentioned in the last note, make the city of *Chin-yang* to be the metropolis [f]. From which, we may suppose the *Tartars* to have made some considerable alterations in the government of this province, since this last is likewise stiled the metropolis of *Eastern Tartary*, and the residence of the four grand tribunals. Those of the second and third rank must still be more inconsiderable; but their fortresses of the first order are said to be as large, populous, and opulent, as some of the capitals of *China*. These are eleven in number, besides the metropolis above-mentioned. The same number there are of those of the second rank, and about seven or eight of the third; which last are more remarkable for their strength and garrisons, than for their largeness or opulence.

New capital.

Fortresses.

Fertility. The country produces plenty of corn, millet, and other grain; but very little rice, for want of such rivers and canals as the *Chinese* have. They abound with variety of wild fowl, and wild beasts, fruits, herbs, and roots, both culinary and medicinal. Among the last, the famed root, called *Jin-seng*, *Ging-sen*, or *Jin-sen*, so much esteemed among the *Chinese* physicians, as an infallible medicine to restore decayed constitutions, and renew the vital heat, grows here in great plenty, and is reckoned of the best kind. The doctors give it in hectic, pestilential, and other desperate fevers, and dangerous diseases, but prepared, and mixed with other drugs (C). They

Root Jinseng.

[f] See Lettr. edifiant. vol. vii. p. 68. & 147.

some few points excepted, which they did under their own monarchs, and scarcely feel the weight of a foreign yoke; as will be more fully seen in the sequel.

(C) The dose of it, such is its extraordinary virtue, is no more than two or three grains, minced, or pounded small, and boiled in chiken-broth, or, if that fail, in fair water; but care must be taken that the pot be well covered, else its virtue will evaporate.

According to Father *Le Compte*'s description of this excellent root, which he highly commends, they have hardly any in *China*, but what comes from this province. The *Ginsen*, says he, which is at present used, is brought to us from *Lyau tong*, a province separate from

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They eſteem thoſe roots which are large, bright, and weighty, as the beſt. They wrap them up in paper, and keep them in dry earth, and ſome alſo in pepper, for uſe [g].

THIS province hath a conſiderable ſhare of mountains, ſome of which produce timber for building, others metals and minerals. Thoſe that are worthy of notice, are, the great ridge, called *Eang-pee*, one end of which lies cloſe to the place where the *Chineſe* wall begins, and extends itſelf quite into *Tartary*. It is of a great height, and hath a lake about eighty furlongs in circuit, and of a prodigious depth, out of which ſpring the two famed rivers *Yalo*, which runs into *Tartary*, and *Quong-tong*, which, after a courſe northward, of ſome length, winds eaſtward, and falls into the *Yau*; which laſt empties itſelf into the yellow ſea. The other mountain worth mentioning, is, that called *Ou*, or *Xu*, which forms an iſland on the gulph of *Lyau-tong*, on which is built the fortreſs of *Xan-ghay*. There are ſeveral other iſlands on the ſame gulph, over-againſt the cities of *Kay-chew*, *King-chew*, and *Ning-ywen*, ſo conveniently ſituate, that they form a good ſafe road for ſhips [h]. *Mountains.*

AND thus much may ſuffice for the deſcription of this province, and of the *Chineſe* empire. As to what relates to the hiſtory of the *Lyau-tongers*, it chiefly conſiſting of their wars with the *Tartars* and *Chineſe*, we ſhall refer our readers to what we have already ſaid on that head, in the hiſtory of the former *, and to what we may have farther to add in that of the latter †, we are now upon; by which we ſhall avoid ſwelling this work, as much as poſſible, with needleſs repetitions.

[g] See Lettr. edifiant. vol. x. p. 172. & ſeq. KAO, ubi ſup. p. 133. LE COMPTE, ubi ſup. letter 8. p. 230. & ſeq. & al. ſup. citat. [h] Id. vid. & MARTINI, Atlas Sinenſ. LA MARTINIERE, & al. ſup. citat. * See before, vol. iv. p. 343. 374. & ſeq. † See the laſt ſection of this chapter.

from *China*, and ſituate in *Eaſt Tartary*. Which words we chiefly quote here, becauſe it confirms what we have ſaid a little higher, of its being ſituate without the great wall, and of its being cathiered from being a *Chineſe* province. The ſame author adds, with reſpect to the famed root, that it ought not to be cut with a knife, becauſe iron diminiſhes its virtue; but adviſes rather to bite it in pieces with one's teeth (41).

(41) *Le Compte, letter* 1. *p.* 15. *Engl. edit.*

SECT. II.

Of the antient Religion, and new Sects, among the Chineſe.

Religion of the Chineſe.

WE have already given an account of the antient religion of the *Chineſe*, in a former part of this work [i], out of their canonical books; from which it appears to have been ſo like that of the antient patriarchs, that many learned men have looked upon it as a pregnant proof (among many others they have alleged to ſupport their hypotheſis), that *Noah*, or ſome of his near deſcendants, did at firſt people this country [k]. But as that point did not appear to us to have been ſufficiently cleared, we contented ourſelves with a bare recapitulation of all the arguments which had been, or might be, objected againſt it [l]; not ſo much indeed from any diſlike we had to it, or its learned authors, as in hopes that we ſhould excite thereby ſome of our judicious correſpondents, whom we knew to be well verſed in that curious controverſy, to communicate their thoughts, or what farther diſcoveries they had made in it, to us. It was not long, accordingly, before we had the pleaſure of ſeeing our expectations fully anſwered, from a certain quarter, and the ſyſtem above-mentioned handed to us, in a quite new light, all the material objections againſt it fairly anſwered, all its difficulties removed, and a new ſett of proofs in favour of it, added, which we flatter ourſelves will, with every impartial reader, give it the appearance of ſomething more than a probable hypotheſis. But as the chief evidence depends on one certain fact relating to their chronology, and confirmed by our own *Hebrew* one, and all the collateral ones are founded upon inferences fairly deducible from ſeveral articles of their religion, laws, cuſtoms, *&c.* we ſhall poſtpone the farther particulars to one of the laſt ſections of this chapter, which relates to the *Chineſe* chronology; by which time the reader, having run over, and got all theſe ſeveral points freſh in his memory, will be the better able to judge of the validity and merit of the whole. This, we hope, cannot but be acceptable to him, as the ſubject is no leſs important than curious, and, as we may venture to ſay, will be treated there in a manner ſuitable to its dignity, and ſuch as

[i] See before, Univ. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 126. & ſeq. [k] Vide int. al. HOWEL, eſſay on the primitive language, & auct. ab eo citat. SHUKFORT, connect. oct. vol. i. book 2. [l] Univ. Hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 109. & ſeq.

will

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will ſtrike a variety of new lights upon the origin and foundation of that antient nation and monarchy. In the mean time,

WITH reſpect to their antient religion, as deducible from their canonical books, the topic we are now upon, we cannot but obſerve, once for all, that the later date we allow to the latter, the longer will the *Chineſe* appear to have preſerved the former in its primitive purity, and untainted from the idolatries, ſuperſtitions, and falſe notions of the Deity, which did ſo early ſpread themſelves over the face of almoſt the whole earth, and, at length, over a great part too of their own country: for, if we may believe a late writer of *Chineſe* affairs [m], this idolatry was brought to them from ſome neighbouring part of the *Indies*; and though it is ſuppoſed to have began ſo early as 300 years after *Belus*, yet it doth not appear to have taken footing in *China* till about 1200 years after [n]; to which we may add, that it neither was univerſally received, and made the religion of the country, nor did it preſently ſink here into that low degree of ſuperſtition, folly, and impiety, as we find it to have done among other polite nations, ſuch as the *Aſſyrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, &c. They neither deified their monarchs, and other great men, nor introduced any of thoſe impious and unnatural rites into their idolatrous worſhip, as were practiſed by other nations; and when a bold attempt was once made for introducing the worſhip of demons and evil ſpirits, it was preſently after ſuppreſſed, the whole race of thoſe pretended inchanters deſtroyed, and religion reſtored to its antient ſtate [o], ſo great was the care of the government to prevent any innovation that may prove prejudicial to it (D); and to that is owing, that the antient *Chineſe* doctrine continues ſtill to this day to be the prevailing ſect among the learned.

Idolatry, when introduced.

The antient doctrine preſerved.

[m] DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 639. & 647. Engl. edit. [n] See his tranſlator's notes, p. 647. [o] See before, vol. xx. p. 129.

(D) This, we are told by *Du Halde*, was chiefly owing to the vigilance of a ſupreme tribunal eſtabliſhed among them, almoſt from the foundation of that empire, and ſtyled the *tribunal of rites*, which has power to ſuppreſs and condemn any ſuperſtition that may be introduced. This court hath proved a main ſupport to the antient *Chineſe* religion, even to this very time, inſomuch, that tho' the mandarins, who compoſe it, are ſometimes obſerved to practiſe certain ſuperſtitions in private, yet, when aſſembled in a body to deliberate about them, they openly condemn them (42).

(42) *See Du Halde, Engl. edit. vol.* i. *p.* 647.

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Idolatry most in vogue.

THERE are, however, two others, which may be reckoned among the principal sects; namely, that of the idolaters, mentioned a little higher, as brought hither from *India*, about thirty-two years after the crucifixion of Christ, and is called the sect of *Fo*, or *Foe*, which is the deity they worship, and is pretty rife, and universally received, among the common people, whose fondness for all kinds of superstitious and idolatrous shew hath risen to such a height, that the whole body of philosophers hath been carried away with the torrent, and, though against their conscience, have been forced to join with it, to prevent the effects of their fury.

Philosophers forced to comply with it.

THIS therefore may be looked upon as the most prevailing sect among the bulk of the nation, though not as the established religion of the country, and to owe its settlement rather to the excessive power and ascendant of an unruly populace, than to the consent or approbation of either the philosophers, or of the mandarins, that compose the tribunal of rites.

THE third sect is, that of the disciples of *Lau-kyun*, which is nothing but a mixture of the most extravagant and impious opinions. The reader may see a sketch of them in the following note (E), whilst we give him here a fuller account of the doctrines and rites of the other two.

THE

(E) This sect, which is called *Tau-tse*, had its rise from *Lau-kyun*, above-mentioned, of whom his disciples have recorded many monstrous extravagancies; such as his laying fourscore years in his mother's womb, and breaking his way out through her left side. His books are all extant, but are supposed to have been altered by his followers, and abound with noble maxims to conduct men to real happiness; such as, the love of virtue, contempt of riches, and raising the soul to a sense of its own self-sufficiency. He taught, that the Deity was altogether corporeal; and yet, as if he had dived into some of the deepest mysteries of it, he is reported, among many other memorable ones, to have often repeated this, *That the tay*, or law of reason, *had produced one, one had produced two, two had produced three, and three had produced all things*. His morality, like that of *Epicurus*, consists in quelling the passions, in establishing the soul's tranquility, and freeing it from anxiety and cares, as enemies to life; and, in order to exempt it from the unavoidable fear of death, they pretend he found out an elixir which makes them immortal.

They are commonly great alchemists, and pretenders to the philosophers-stone, as likewise to a familiar intercourse with demons, by whose assistance they can perform wonders; and do actually, our author says (43),

(43) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 648. *& seq.*

deceive

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THE firſt, and principal one, which follows the *Chineſe* canonical books, we have already ſpoken of, in the antient hiſtory [P]; and all that needs be added to it here is, the improvements which it received from the writings of their truly excellent philoſopher *Kong-fu-tſe*, or, as he is vulgarly called, *Confucius*: for as for thoſe canonical books, which are ſtyled of the ſecond rank, they are no more than comments on the five ones of the firſt, and ſince written by ſome of their learned *The old doctrine improved by Confucius.*

[P] See before, vol. xx. p. 126. & ſeq.

deceive the people with ſuch prodigies, as can be aſcribed to nothing but to the power of thoſe evil ſpirits.

By thoſe juggling tricks, but eſpecially by their pretence of rendering men immortal, they have not only got mandarins, and other perſons of diſtinction, eſpecially women, to learn this pretended magic under them, but likewiſe ſeveral of their monarchs became their diſciples, and protectors: ſo that ſtately temples were erected, and a worſhip paid, to thoſe demons, through moſt parts of the empire. The ſucceſſors of the head of this ſect are all honoured with the title of great mandarins, and reſide in a town of the province of *Kyang-ſi*; where they have a magnificent palace, to which crouds of people reſort, from all the neighbouring provinces, either to procure remedies, or to have their fortunes told; and, for the money they readily pay to thoſe jugglers, they receive a billet, filled with magical characters, which is to anſwer all their ends.

Among thoſe monarchs who were carried away by their deluſions, *Chin-tſong*, the third of the dynaſty of *Song*, was infatuated enough, to go on foot, to fetch a book of theirs, which they had hung, in the night, on one of the principal gates of his metropolis, and pretended to have dropped from heaven; and to carry it, with the greateſt veneration, to his own palace; where he incloſed it in a golden box, and kept it with utmoſt care. The book was fill'd with nothing but magical characters, and ſentences for invoking demons, the number of which they multiplied at pleaſure, and worſhipped as deities; inſomuch, that one of the great *Chineſe* doctors attributes the extirpation of that dynaſty to the impieties which theſe ſorcerers had introduced under it, and which, like a plague, had infected the whole empire. The victims they offer to thoſe infernal ſpirits are of three kinds; *viz.* a hog, a fowl, and a fiſh; and, in their invocation of them, they uſe very ſurpriſing poſtures, make hideous outcries with their throats and noſes, with their drums and kettles: pretend to ſhew ſtrange ſights in the air, and many other ſuch impoſtures, to intimidate and amuſe the people: ſo that the faſcination ſpreads itſelf from thoſe of the higheſt to thoſe of the loweſt rank. Such of our readers as want to know more of this pretended magical and diabolical ſect, may conſult the author laſt quoted.

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men, at various times, and so need no farther mention here; especially, as *Confucius*, above-mentioned, hath extracted the very quintessence out of them into his own writings; which have been held in such great veneration ever since, that the least alteration made in them would be punished as a great crime, and a quotation out of them never fails of ending any controversy amongst their learned men, and to stop the mouth of the most obstinate wrangler.

THIS truly great man, a scantling of whose life and writings we shall give, in the following note (F), seemed designed by

(F) *Confucius* was, as has been already observed (44), born in the province of *Shan-tong*, but then called the kingdom of *Lu*, in the twenty-first year of the reign of *Ling-wang*, the twenty-third emperor of the race of *Chew*; that is, according to some, 300, according to others, 500, but, according to *Du Halde*, 551 years, before Christ, and two before the death of *Thales*, one of the seven wise men of *Greece*: so that, according to this last, he must have been cotemporary with *Pythagoras* and *Solon*, and somewhat earlier than *Socrates*. He was but three years old when his father *Sho-lyang-he* died, in the seventy-third year of his age, who, though he had enjoyed the greatest offices in the kingdom of *Song*, yet left him no other inheritance, than the honour of being descended from *Ti-he*, the twenty-seventh emperor of the race of *Shang*, and, by his mother *Shing*, from the illustrious family of *Yen*.

He shewed, from his tender years, great tokens of sagacity and virtue; and, about his fifteenth year, gave himself up to the study of the antient books.

He married at nineteen, and had a son named *Pe-hu*, and by him a grandson named *Tsu-tse*, who, by his extraordinary merit and learning, raised himself to the highest posts in the empire. As for himself, he was soon taken notice of, for his admireable qualities, learning, and virtues, especially those of humility, sincerity, temperance, disinterestedness, contempt of riches, &c.; and though every state in the empire, as well as his own, was over-run with the opposite vices, yet was he soon raised to several places of eminence in the magistracy, which he accepted chiefly as means of promoting his intended reformation, both in religion and in the state, maugre all the opposition he expected, and did actually find, from the grandees of his own, as well as of other provinces. But, as soon as he found that his endeavours did not meet with deserved success, he threw up all his employments, though very considerable, to go in search of some more tractable people, who would reap a greater benefit from his excellent doctrine.

In the fifty-fifth year of his age, he was again invited, and

(44) *See page 72 of this volume. Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 425. & seq.*

raised

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by heaven to reform, both by his doctrines and practice, the corruptions which had been a long while predominant, both in

raised to some of the highest posts in his own kingdom of *Lu*; where the prince then reigning paid such regard to his virtues, and salutary counsels, that, in less than three months, not only his court, but his whole dominion, were totally changed for the better; insomuch, that the neighbouring princes were alarmed at the sudden reformation; rightly judging, that the king of *Lu* would soon become too powerful for them, if he continued to follow his new counsellor's rules.

The king of *Tsi*, in particular, after many consultations with his grandees, bethought himself of an expedient, the most likely to defeat all *Confucius*'s measures: and, accordingly, under the fair pretence of an embassy, sent him, and his nobles, a present of a great number of beautiful young girls, who had, from their infancy, been brought up to dancing, singing, and all other captivating arts. These were not only received with open arms, both by the king and court, but entertained with such frequent feastings and diversions, that they presently abandoned the business of state, to give themselves up to pleasure. The king himself became inaccessible to his most zealous ministers. Among the rest, *Confucius* having tried, in vain, all possible means to recall him, divested himself of all his offices, left the court and kingdom, to go in quest of more docile minds to follow his maxims; but, to his great mortification, found his doctrine and morals dreaded, in every kingdom through which he passed. So that, by that time he was come to that of *Shing*, he found himself reduced to the greatest indigence; yet without losing any thing of his greatness of soul, and usual constancy.

This obliged him to resume his former functions of a private sage, in which he met with better success. His learning and merit, and, above all, his great modesty and condescension, gained him a vast number of disciples (some say 3000, 500 of whom did, in time, raise themselves to the highest posts, in several kingdoms); and all of them continued firmly attached to his person and doctrine. These he divided into four classes; the first of which was, to make virtue their chief study and practice; the second was, to learn to reason and write closely, justly, and elegantly; the third was, to study the art of government, and to instruct the mandarins and great ministers in their respective duties; while the last was to learn to write, in a concise and elegant style, the principles of morality. In all these classes, he had some very eminent ones; but one especially in the first, whose premature death caused his master to shed abundance of tears.

As his practice still kept constant pace with his excellent philosophy, princes sometimes invited him to their court, that they might reap the benefit of his instructions; and shewed the greatest regard to his learning and

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in religion and in the state, and was endowed with all the proper qualities for such a noble work. We are told, that he

and merit. At other times, upon the death of one of them, by whom he had been highly honoured, he has seen himself become the contempt of the court, and the ridicule of an insulting populace; yet, under those extremes, he never shewed the least change in his looks, or behaviour, but preserved still the same steadiness and tranquility. His reliance on the divine providence was still more remarkable, insomuch, that he hath beheld, without the least fear or emotion, an officer of the army, named *Whan-ti*, by whom he was hated, come full-drive at him, with his sword drawn, and hath given this answer to some friends, who advised him to haste away from the danger, *If* Tyen *protects us, of which we have now a sensible proof, what harm can the rage of* Whan-ti *do to us, though he is president of the tribunal of the army?*

Confucius lived to finish his philosophical and historical works, and died in the kingdom of *Lu*, his native country, in the seventy-third year of his age, greatly lamented, both by the king and court, and much more by his disciples, who had the highest veneration for him.

A little before his last sickness, he told them, with abundance of tears, *That the disorders which reigned in the empire had well nigh broke his heart*; and began, from that time, to languish till the seventh day before his death, when he told them again, in the same melancholy tone, *Since kings refuse to follow my maxims, I am now no longer useful upon earth, and it is necessary that I should leave it.* He fell immediately, after those words, into a lethargy, which lasted seven days, at the end of which he expired, in the arms of some of his disciples. They built him a handsome sepulchre, on the river *Su*, near the city of *Kyo-few*, on the same spot where he used to assemble them. It hath been since inclosed with a wall, and now looks like a small city; and the veneration which all good men had for him increasing with time, he came, at length, to be respected as the chief doctor of the empire.

He was tall, and well proportioned, his breast and shoulders were broad, his eyes large, complexion olive, nose flat, and beard long, and his voice strong and piercing. His works, which are esteemed a perfect rule of government, and contain all that he had collected out of the antient laws, are as follows: 1. His *Tay-hyo*; that is, *The grand Science*, or *School of Adults*. 2. The *Chong-yong*, or *Immutable Medium*. 3. That called *Lun-yu*, or *Moral and pithy Discourses*. 4. *Meng-tse*, or *The Book of Mencius*; so called from one of his disciples, who is supposed to have compiled, or finished, it from his master's writings, and contains a perfect rule of government. These four are held in the greatest esteem, and are the chief ones among the canonical books of the second rank; to which they add two more, as the next, if not equal, to them in authority; *viz.*

5. The

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he condemned the idolatry, which was then become very rife, in *China*: if ſo, it is a wonder that his diſciples ſhould afterwards rear ſtatues, altars, and temples, to him. However, it plainly appears, that his main deſign was not ſo much to intermeddle with the outward, as the inward and eſſential, part of religion, the reformation of the hearts and lives of his countrymen; all his ſtudies, lectures, writings, precepts, and practice, were chiefly tending that way; and in this, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition which he met with from the vicious mandarins and grandees of every court (for though each province was under the emperor, yet thoſe petty kings that governed in them were, in ſome meaſure, deſpotic, and frequently became formidable to the imperial throne, and were not only very debauched themſelves, but ſuffered their miniſters to be ſo too; and this was the real ſtate of the empire, at the time that *Confucius* was ſtriving, with all his might and ſagacity, to introduce his intended reformation); yet in this, we ſay, notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, he had the pleaſure to ſee his excellent morality at leaſt univerſally admired: and deſervedly ſo, not only for the beauty and nobleneſs of his precepts and maxims, but much more for the judicious way he took to inculcate them, and to

Oppoſed by the grandees.

His ſublime doctrines.

5. The *Hyao-king*, which treats of filial reſpect, and contains the anſwers which *Confucius* made to his diſciple *Tſeng*, concerning the reverence due from children to parents. 6. The *Syao-hyo*, or *The School or Science of Children*; which is a collection of ſentences and examples, extracted from antient and modern authors. It would carry us beyond our bounds, to enter into a farther detail of thoſe books. Thoſe that are curious to know more of them, may conſult the *Latin* verſion which Father *Noel*, one of the antient miſſionaries into *China*, hath given of them, printed at *Prague*, *anno* 1711, or the extract which Father *Du Halde* hath made of it, and printed in his deſcription of the *Chineſe* empire (44). One thing we cannot forbear obſerving here, concerning thoſe books, that, though the four firſt contain the moſt ſublime doctrines of morality, and are univerſally held to be of the greateſt authority, next to the canonical ones of the firſt rank, of which we have formerly ſpoken, yet they have had but few followers among the degenerate *Chineſe*; whereas the two laſt, which treat of the duty of children to parents, are ſo univerſally obſerved throughout the empire, that one may venture to affirm, there is not a country in the world where parents are more reſpected, both during their life, and after their death; as we ſhall more fully ſhew in the ſequel.

(44) *Du Halde, ubi ſup. p.* 425. *& ſeq.*

make

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make virtue appear lovely and desirable to all his disciples and readers.

Noble notions of the Deity.

His philosophy, though sublime, was quite free from those subtile and intricate questions and inquiries, with which that of the best *Greek* philosophers were mostly clogged: and *Confucius*, instead of diving into those physical and abstruse notions about the nature and attributes of the supreme being, the origin of the world, of evil, and other such speculative points, too high for unassisted reason; or of dogmatizing about the nature of rewards and punishments of virtue and vice, confined himself to speak with the deepest regard of the great Author of all beings, whom he represents as the most pure and perfect essence, principle, and fountain, of all things, to inspire men with greater fear, veneration, gratitude, and love, of him; to assert his divine providence over all his creatures; and to represent him as a being of such infinite knowlege, that even our most secret thoughts are not be hidden from him, and of such boundless goodness and justice, that he can let no virtue go unrewarded, or vice unpunished. He had likewise a most masterly hand at painting the one in its most lovely, and the other in its most deterring, colours; and to inforce the practice of the one, and abhorrence of the other, by the most powerful arguments, worthiest motives, and, in the best of methods, his own extraordinary example, which may be justly styled a pattern of moral virtues. And though it must be owned, that neither the one nor the other had the good effects they deserved, and that he hath had but few followers, except among his most celebrated disciples, who have made it their glory to copy after him, yet his writlings, as well as his sect, have been always, and are still, held in the highest esteem [q]. So that it shows, at least, some kind of merit in the *Chinese*, that they can still profess so universal admiration for him and his doctrine, though so few of them do care to practise it.

Sect of Fo, when, and how, brought from India.

The other principal sect, and indeed the most predominant of all, is that of *Fo*, *Foe*, or *Fwi*, whom some writers have confounded with the *Fo-hi*, who was the founder of this monarchy, though it is plain that this worship was not brought hither from *India* till sixty-five years after the birth of Christ, as was lately hinted †. The occasion of its being introduced into *China*, where it made such swift and rapid progress, was a dream which the emperor *Meng-ti*, of the

[q] See what has been said under the last note. See also Noel's Latin version of Confucius's Ethics. Le Compte, Couplet, Du Halde, & al.

† See page 102 of this volume.

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dynasty of *Han*, had about that time, which put him in mind of a sentence which had been often in the mouth of *Confucius*, that the *Holy One was to be found in the west*. Upon which he immediately sent ambassadors in search of him, and with express orders not to return without bringing a full account of him and his religion. But they, whether discouraged at, or tired with, the length and difficulty of the journey, proceeded no farther than *India*; where having met with the worshippers of the idol *Fo*, or *Foe* (G), they brought it with

(G) It is not easy to guess in what part of *India* this monster appeared, or whether he was man or devil; if half of what his disciples have reported of him were true, he could be no other than a devil incarnate. We shall give our readers a few particulars, by which he may judge what credit is to be given to the rest of what those *Indian* wonder-mongers relate of him.

His father, whose name was *Iu-fang-wau*, was, they say, king of an *Indian* territory, called by the *Chinese Shun-tyen-fho*; his mother, named *Moye*, the most of the time of her pregnancy, dreamt that she had swallowed a white elephant, or, as others will have it, that she conceived by that animal, or by the devil in his shape; and hence arose that veneration paid by the *Indian* kings to the white elephant. However, she was delivered of him thro' her right side, and died soon after. They add, that he stood upon his feet as soon as he was got out of her womb, and walked seven steps, pointing with one hand to heaven, and with the other to the earth; and then pronounced the following words distinctly: *There is none either in the heaven, or in the earth, who ought to be adored, but I alone.*

At the age of seventeen he married three wives; and at nineteen forsook them, to retire into a solitary place, under the guidance of four sages; and, at thirty, he was transformed on a sudden into a god? from which time he minded nothing but the propagating his doctrine, and how to make himself adored by the vast number of miracles which he wrought, and with the account of which his bonzian priests have filled several large volumes. There were no less than 80,000 of his disciples employed in dispersing his impious tenets throughout the east, and, amongst them, ten of a more distinguished rank and dignity, who published 5000 volumes in honour of their master. The *Chinese* call his followers, or priests, *Song* and *Ho-shang*; the *Tartars*, *Lamas* or *La-mas-seng*; the *Siamese*, *Talapoins*; and the *Japaners*, and, from them, the *Europeans*, *Bonzas* or *Bonzes*.

This strange god, however, found himself mortal, and died in the seventy-ninth year of his age, or, as his disciples believe, passed into the state of immortality; and, to crown all his impieties, finding his death approaching, expressed himself to the following purpose to his disciples:

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with them, and, with it, the doctrine of tranſmigration, and other fables, ſuperſtitions, and atheiſtical notions, with which the *Indian* books are filled: all which were greedily received at court; from which the contagion quickly ſpread itſelf thro' other provinces, and in a little time through the whole empire, which was already but too much infected with the magical impieties of the ſect of *Lau-kyun*, mentioned in a late note [r].

Greedily received in China.

FROM that time this chimerical god met every-where with worſhippers; the greateſt number of idols, altars, and temples or pagods, were reared to him; ſome of them magnificent to the higheſt degree, whilſt the bonzas, who became his prieſts, filled the country with large volumes of his pretended miracles and prodigies, which they alſo repreſent in printed figures, after their manner; inſomuch, that he is now celebrated

[r] Vid. MARTINI hiſt. Sinic. LE COMPTE State of China, part 2. letter 2. DU HALDE, & al.

diſciples: *I have hitherto concealed the truth, and ſpoke to you theſe forty years in parables and enigmas; but now I am going to leave you, I will reveal to you the whole myſtery of my doctrine: Learn, then, that there is no other principle of all things but emptineſs and nothing; from nothing all things proceeded, and into nothing will they all return; and this is the end of all our hope* (45).

Theſe laſt words cauſed a kind of ſchiſm among the bonzas; ſome of whom became the heads of an atheiſtical ſect, which hath continued ever ſince; whilſt the much greater number adhered to his former doctrine, endeavouring to palliate this laſt by a ſubtile diſtinction of exterior and interior doctrine, which is merely evaſive, and means nothing; and to propagate his worſhip by the moſt impious cheats and fables, particularly by pretending that he had been born 8000 times, and tranſmigrated into the bodies of a great variety of animals before he was deified, in whoſe forms he hath been ſince worſhipped by his infatuated followers. The next note will give an account of the villainous methods which thoſe bonzas take to delude them.

As for thoſe bonzas who fell in with *Fo*'s laſt atheiſtical doctrine of all things being produced out of nothing, &c. tho' they and their diſciples are fewer in number, in compariſon of the oppoſite ſect, they have likewiſe endeavoured to refine upon their maſter, by introducing a great variety of ſubtile notions, on the hypotheſis of a vacuum, which they ſuppoſe pregnant of, and producing, all things, and then ſwallowing them up again into their primitive nothing; but theſe are ever expoſed, not only by the other bonzes, but likewiſe by the literati, a ſtill more modern ſect, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by (46).

(45) *Du Halde, ubi ſupra, p.* 630. *Le Compte, ubi ſup. Martini, & al.*
(46) *Id. ibid.*

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by his followers as the saviour of the world, great law-giver of mankind, sent by heaven to teach them the way of salvation, and even, according to *Le Compte* [a], to make atonement for the sins of all men. The emperor, who is a *Tartar*, follows the idolatry of his own nation, which differs little from the *Chinese*, excepting that the lamas, or *Tartar* priests, worship their deity, which *Le Compte* tells us is the same with the *Chinese Fo*, under the shape of a young man, who, they pretend, never dies. He is kept in a stately temple, attended with numberless lamas, who serve him with the greatest veneration; and, when he dies, they chuse another from among themselves, as much like him as they can in stature, features, &c. to pass on the people for him: whereas the bonzas, or *Chinese* priests of *Fo*, worship him in several forms, such as those of a dragon, ape, elephant, &c. through which they pretend him to have transmigrated before he was deified [b]. The lamas that are in *China*, only serve the *Tartar* nobility there as chaplains, whilst the bonzas engross his worship to themselves in all the *Chinese* temples, and make a vast gain of it by the vilest and most impudent impostures on the people. The emperor, to outward appearance, pays an equal respect to both, but despises their legends and superstitions in his heart; and, if we may believe the Jesuits accounts, worships only the supreme Lord of heaven and earth. They own, however, that he paid the same honours to *Confucius*, and offers the same sacrifices in the heathen temples, that the rest of the *Chinese* did; but this, they tell us, he only submitted to for reasons of state; which, they add, was the main obstacle to his declaring himself a Christian, though they pretend to believe him to have been one in his heart.

The emperor's religion and worship.

Whether a Christian in his heart.

We shall have occasion to examine this matter more closely when we come to that great monarch's reign. In the mean time we shall only observe here, that such a supposition is quite inconsistent to a declaration, which, they tell us, he once made to them: That, if he could be satisfied once of the truth of their religion, he would not delay one moment to embrace it; though he was sensible, that, if ever he declared himself a Christian, the whole empire would do the same in a few years. For, if he had been really a Christian in his heart, what could divert, much less deter, him from professing it, when he knew that his whole empire would so soon follow his example? Father *Le Compte*, therefore, seems to us to have more rightly judged, that it was partly the fear of disobliging his subjects, and partly the gratification of his

[a] Ubi supra. [b] Vide auct. supra citat.

predominant

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predominant passion, which he knew was opposite to the spirit of Christianity, that were the main obstacles to his embracing a religion, which, how much soever he might admire it, was neither suitable to his present circumstances, nor to the superstitious temper of his subjects, much less to the taste and interest of the whole juggling and rapacious bonzaic tribe, who might easily cause an universal revolt in the empire.

Countenances the bonzas.

AND this was, doubtless, the motive which made him not only outwardly comply with their rites, but express such an extraordinary regard for their persons, as to suffer some of those of the first rank to live in his palace, whom his mother had formerly settled there. Though he could not but be sensible that the greatest part of that fraternity were the vilest cheats and villains in his whole empire, as well as the most impudent tyrants on his bigotted subjects, if those of another society have not painted them in worse colours than they deserve. The reader may see a sketch of some of their most flagrant impostures in the next note (H); and a greater detail of them in

Their sad character.

(H) They make the greatest shew of sanctity, abstinence, mortification, &c. by which they pretend to atone for the sins of the living and the dead; but, in truth, are given to the most scandalous vices, even those of the most unnatural kind. They will drag heavy chains, fastened to their arms and legs in such manner, that they wound every step they go. They beat their heads against the stones and posts, till they fetch blood, to extort alms from the people: some, we are told, have got themselves carried about in a kind of sedan, with nails drove on every side with the points towards them, so that they could not stir without wounding themselves; and these nails they sold to the gazing populace for a few pence, as amulets, and preservatives against all harms, and as efficacious means of bringing down blessings upon the buyer and his family. These jugglers at the same time declare, that the money thus given to them is not to be applied to their own private use, but to build temples, altars, &c. to *Fo*, who will not fail of proportioning his favours to them, according to their munificence to him.

The doctrine of the transmigration of the soul is another never-failing source of gain: they pretending to know precisely the present state of the dead, and the future one of the living, that is, into what kind of bodies the former are transmigrated, and even to know the very identical creature or person into which they are past; and into what kind of one the living will shortly go. In the first case, which they seldom fail of representing to the surviving friends as either dreadful, miserable, or uncomfortable, they extort money from them to procure the deceased a speedy release, and pass-

age

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in *Le Compte* or *Du Halde* above quoted [a], for which we have no room, in a work like this.

As

[a] Le Compte, ubi supra.

ge into a better state, as out of a dog, snake, or insect, into an elephant, a philosopher, mandarin, and the like. In the other, by threatening the living with an unhappy transmigration, they either get money of them to procure them a happier one, or leave them to live in dread of the fatal change.

Le Compte tells us a story of an old man, whom these bonzas had made to believe that his soul should, in her next migration, pass into the body of one of the emperor's post horses. They had likewise advised him to eat sparingly, and bear it patiently, that so they might the sooner send him into a better habitation. The poor man, unable to reconcile himself to such a change, could neither sleep day or night, through the dread of it; but grieved at such a rate, as would soon have ended his days. Happily for him, he learned that the souls of the Christians had a particular exemption from these kinds of metamorphoses; upon which he applied himself to one of our Jesuits, and earnestly begged of him, that he would make him a Christian; assuring him, that he would rather be of that, or any religion, than be turned into a post-horse. The good father, who could not but pity his simplicity, took care to inspire him first with better motives of becoming a Christian, and then readily granted his request (47).

He relates another instance of the knavery of the bonzas, to the following effect: A young prince of the blood, being inconsolable for the loss of one of his most amiable companions, applied himself to them, to know into what state his soul was passed. To which they answered, that he was now turned into a *Tartar* boy, whom, they told him, they could procure, for a sum of money, to be brought to him. The prince readily agreed; and a *Tartar* boy was accordingly presented to him, as the person into whose body the soul of his favourite was transmigrated; and he was accordingly received into favour as formerly, to the no small comfort and satisfaction of the prince, who failed not to give those jugglers some tokens of his generosity (48).

The same authors relate several other instances not only of the same unprecedented villainous kind; but some of them of such an atrocious and barbarous nature, as can hardly be read without horror, or rather perhaps without diffidence, though related by pretended eye-witnesses. Of this kind, we are told, is their privately seizing on men and women, and hurrying them away into a close sedan, where nothing is to be seen but the tops of their heads, and

(47) *Du Halde, Le Compte, part* 2. *let* 2. *Martini, & al.* (48) *Le Compte & Du Halde, ubi sup.*

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The principles of that sect.

As to their principles, they pretend that their god *Fo* hath left them ten commandments. The first of them is, not to kill any living creature, of what kind soever. 2. Not to take away another man's goods. 3. Not to indulge in acts of impurity. 4. Not to lye. 5. Not to drink wine. What the others are, we are not told; but they lay a great stress on acts of mercy, charity, and in building of temples to *Fo*, monasteries for his priests, and providing for their maintenance, as the most effectual means to partake of the benefit of their prayers, mortifications, penances, and other meritorious actions, towards the atonement of their own sins, and obtaining a happy transmigration in another life. On the other hand, they threaten no less those who with-hold their benefactions from them; telling them, that they will transmigrate into the bodies of rats, horses, mules, and other such creatures; which last point seldom fails of making a deep impression on the credulous vulgar, insomuch that they often persuade them to burn paper gilt, or washed with silver, silk, cloth, and other garments, which, they tell them, will be turned into substantial gold and silver, clothes, *&c.* in the other world, for the use of their deceased parents, friends, and relations, or else be laid up for them against their coming thither: for, say they, you must not imagine that good and evil are as confused in the other world as they are in this; for there are rewards for the good, and punishments for the bad, according to every one's merit, or according as they have taken care, by their generous benefactions, to make sure of a title to those of their teachers [x].

Transmigration of the soul.

The reward and punishment in the next life.

[x] Le Compte & Du Halde, ubi supra.

their eyes moving in a dreadful manner, to the next river or canal, and drowning them without mercy, before whole crouds of spectators, who are harangued by one of the fraternity into a firm belief that the persons had earnestly requested to be thus dispatched out of the world, in order to obtain immortality in the next. One can hardly think that those jugglers, bad as they may be, would dare attempt such atrocious enormities, in so polite and regular a government; and yet Father *Le Compte* assures us, that he saw an instance of it; and, by discovering the imposture, had saved a young man, whom they were violently dragging into a river, from becoming a victim to their inhuman knavery and impiety. But this may suffice to give our reader an idea of those religious cheats (49): those who desire to see more, or greater variety, of them, may consult the authors above quoted.

(49) *Le Compte & Du Halde, ubi sup.*

ONE

One thing they particularly recommend, *viz.* the often calling upon him for happiness and salvation. *Fo*, in one of his books, had mentioned another deity more antient than himself, called *O-mito*, since worshipped by the *Japanners* likewise, under the name of *A-mida*, who formerly had appeared in the kingdom of *Bengal*, and had raised himself to such height of power and merit by his great sanctity, that the bare invoking of him was sufficient to obtain the pardon of the most damnable crimes. Him the bonzas have coupled with their *Fo*; whence the *Chinese* of this sect have continually in their mouths the words *O-mi-to-fo*, which, their masters tell them, is sufficient to expiate for their blackest sins. All these pleasing notions to corrupt nature fail not to gain greatly on vuglar minds, and to inspire them with an uncommon generosity to their soothing teachers; whilst the wiser and better sort pity the former for their simplicity, and despise the latter for their extravagancies and impiety; being but too well convinced, that the greatest part of them are arrant cheats, and men of debauched lives, notwithstanding their sanctified looks, and specious pretences to mortification and holiness[y]. *Fo frequently invoked by the credulous vulgar.*

Besides the various representations under which they worship their god *Fo* in their temples, among which that of a dragon is esteemed the noblest, and next to it the elephant, they have a variety of others, which, whether they look upon as different deities, or different images of the same *Fo*, is not agreed. Two in particular they have in their pagods, commonly about twenty feet high, and pretty much in the same attitude; the one is called the god of immortality, and is represented in the form of a gross fat man, sitting cross-legged, with a smiling or laughing countenance, and a monstrous prominent belly, quite bare; the other not quite so thick, and covered before with a thin drapery, and in the same sitting posture, whom they style the god of pleasure. Between these two is commonly placed a third, richly clad, with a rich crown on his head, and some ornamental drapery hanging loose from it. This last is called the great king *Kang*, and is thirty feet high, and richly gilt and carved. To these we may add an innumerable variety of others of all sizes and forms, which they set up in their houses, streets, ships, fields, burying-places, and such-like, to whom the burn incense, and other perfumes, and offer up their prayers, and other parts of the same worship which is performed to them in their temples. They are styled by their votaries their household deities, and are to be found among the poorest, as well as among the richest, and are *How represented.* *Other representations.*

[y] Le Compte, part 2. let. 2. & Du Halde, ubi sup. 653, & seq.

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often treated in the same contemptuous and vindictive manner as the *Portuguese* are said to use some of their favourite saints that is, after having prayed to them a good while, and with some importunity, if they do not answer their petitions, they first upbraid them for their neglect and ingratitude, and then proceed to chastise them. This last is commonly done by bastonading, dragging them along the streets through dirt and mire, dunghils, &c.; which done, they throw them by, as useless, into some obscure corner of their houses: but, if they happen to obtain the effect of their prayers, they then fetch the poor idol out with great ceremony and respect, restore him to his place, with a promise to have him new painted or gilt. They then fall down and adore him; confess that they have been as much too hasty towards him as he hath been remiss and negligent towards them; beg of him to forget and forgive what is past, which cannot now be recalled; and that he will be more diligent and kind to them, and they will be more careful of their duty, and more lavish of their incense and perfumes to him [z].

Their chastisement when they do not answer their prayers.

An unwary reader might be naturally inclined to believe these to be fables, invented merely to expose some of the like kind of superstitions practised in a neighbouring church, were they not conveyed to us by some of her most eminent missionaries; one of which tells us a long, and still more surprising, story, which happened at *Nan-king* during his stay there; the substance of which is: That a man, who had lost his only daughter, notwithstanding his most fervent prayers, sacrifices, offerings, &c. to this god, and the promises of the bonze that she would recover, resolved to sue the idol before a magistrate, either as a faithless or impotent, and therefore an unworthy or insignificant deity. The cause was dragged from one tribunal to another; and the judges, bribed by the bonzes, still advised him to drop his prosecution; whilst the priest endeavoured to persuade him, that, if he did, the god would make him ample amends for the loss of his child. The man, whether through grief or resentment, proved deaf to both; and, after several hearings, carried his point. The idol was condemned to perpetual banishment, as useless to the nation; the temple to be demolished; and the bonzes that attended it to be severely chastised, tho' not degraded from officiating at some other pagod [a]. These stories are not indeed so consonant with what these authors elsewhere tell us of the *Chinese* learning and politeness, and would induce one to believe them to be told

One of them sued by his votary;

and condemned.

[a] Le Compte & Du Halde, ubi sup. Vid. & Martin. Kæri, Niewhoff, & al. [z] Le Compte, ubi sup. part 2. let. 2.

by

by those reverend authors with a design to palliate the superstitions of their own church, by exaggerating those of the *Chinese*: but, whether so or not, it is allowed on all hands, that these extravagancies are despised and condemned by the wiser sort, and especially by the sect of the *literati*, of whose rise and tenets we shall now give a short account, before we dismiss this article.

The sect of the literati whence sprung.

This sect, which is a very modern one in comparison of the rest, may be said to have sprung up from the dregs of those two last spoken of, *Lau-kyun* and *Fo*; by both which the whole country had been for a long series of ages immersed in all kinds of magical witcheries, superstitious idolatries, and the most universal depravity of manners; all which, together with the frequent wars and devastations which naturally flowed from so general a corruption, had driven the antient religion and learning in some measure out of the empire. There were but a small number of *Confucius*'s disciples left to keep it up, and these had neither credit nor courage enough to awaken the rest out of their lethargy. At length there started up a small number, about the years of Christ 1070 and 1200, who, by their writings and example, effectually stirred up many of the wiser sort to the love of learning; so that it began to flourish again by degrees, insomuch that, *Anno* 1400, *Yong-lo*, the then reigning emperor, and a great encourager of it, made choice of eighty-two of the most learned doctors of the empire to compile a system, or body, of doctrines, agreeable to the sentiments of the antient writers, which might serve as a pattern or directory for the learned hereafter. The emperor's authority, and the reputation of those doctors; their concise and polite style, together with their high boasts of understanding the antient writings; soon gave a reputation, and gained a great number of disciples, to their sentiments.

Supported by the emperor.

Their tenets a kind of atheism;

But these doctors, instead of reforming the corruptions and errors of the *Chinese* religion, according to the antient books, and particularly to the writings of *Confucius*, rather strove, by forced interpretations, and false glosses, to distort their sense, agreeably to their own prejudices, and introduced a new kind of concealed atheism, and licentious freedom from the worship of God, at the same time that they spake of him in the same magnificent expressions which the antients had done. They acknowleged him to be the most pure and perfect essence, fountain and origin of all beings; but represented him, at the same time, as nothing differing from nature, that is, from that power, energy, or natural virtue, which produced, and still keeps all things in the same constant order. They farther explained themselves to mean by

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THUS much we thought necessary to say of this so famed new *Chinese* sect, and their principles; but whether or no they

" fore which such sacrifices " were offered, bears this in- " scription, To *Shang-ti*, that " is to say, To the supreme " Lord: that is is from a deep " sence of respect to that su- " preme Being, that none of " them presumes to call him by " his proper name; and that " they chuse to invoke him by " those of supreme heaven. " bountiful heaven, universal " heaven, in the same respect- " ful manner as when speaking " of the emperor, they call him " not by his own name, but say, " *the steps of his throne, the su-* " *preme court of his palace*, and " such-like: and, lastly, that " those names, tho' expressed " in different terms, are never- " theless the same with respect " to their import and significa- " tion." The emperor, upon another occasion, in which he was speaking in public, affirms, that the learned *Chinese* say, like him, that *the principle of all things is called* Tyen, *heaven, in an exalted and figurative style, in the same manner that the emperor is called* Chau-ting, *from the name of his palace, which is the place where the imperial majesty shines with the greatest splendor* (51).

The same author farther assures us (53), that that monarch, not content with having published the abovesaid edict in the most authentic manner, got it moreover confirmed, and subscribed to, by a great number of the most eminent mandarins, doctors, and other members of the sect, with their president at their head; all of whom appeared surprised to hear that they had been suspected by the learned of *Europe* of having honoured a lifeless and inanimated being as the material heaven; and universally acknowlege, that they understood by *Tyen* and *Shang-ti*, and as such worshipped and invoked, the *supreme Lord of heaven, principle of all things, the dispenser of all good, whose all-knowing and all-seeing providence gives us all things*. This one would think sufficient to clear the literati from the suspicion of atheism; but yet there were many of the missionaries who still suspected the imperial declaration, as well as that of the *literati* abovementioned to have been the effect, the one of politeness, and the other of complaisance, especially as both are conceived in such ambiguous and equivocal terms as no atheist would refuse to subscribe to. Nor need we indeed greatly to wonder that these good fathers, who are such adepts in the art of equivocation, should suspect those literati of the like prevarication.

However, if we may judge by their practice, and that be not likewise misrepresented, we shall have but too much reason to join in the suspicion; and though we may in charity believe that some of the wiser and better sort may still adhere to the antient doctrine, and really acknowlege a supreme Being, and his divine provi-

(51) *Du Halde, p.* 660.

(52) *Ubi supra.*

denee,

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they be really so free from downright atheism as they pretend, that doth not hinder them from dealing in all the magical and diabolical superstitions of that of *Lau-kyun*: for all the *Chinese* in general, of whatever sect, rank, or condition, are extremely fond of all such kinds of witchery; and even their greatest men will practise a great variety of them in private, tho' they are obliged to condemn them in public. They are likewise all very fond of the notion of all sorts of fortune-tellers, of invoking and dealing with good and bad spirits, of apparitions, exorcisms, incantations, and all the whole tribe of sorcery and sortilegious trash [f]; neither the philosophy of their great *Confucius*, and other learned men, nor the new refined atheism of their literati, nor their pretended superiority of reason and knowlege above all other nations, having hitherto been able to root those absurd notions out of their minds. Some of their sects likewise pay a kind of worship to the sun, moon, stars, planets, to mountains, rivers, &c.; and most, if not all of them, to the souls of their ancestors, to whom they rear statues, altars, chapels, and even temples, according to their rank and faculties: and the notion that is propagated amongst them, that those souls are still present, and take particular notice of the actions of the living, generally proves as great a determent from vice, and spur to virtuous actions, as the many volumes of morality of their philosophers can be. The same sort of worship, but in a higher degree, they pay to their deceased monarchs, great philosophers, and other eminent persons, who have done any signal services to their country, to all of whom they build temples, altars, triumphal arches, &c. And as this last kind is the worship paid to *Confucius*, and to some of their best monarchs and great men, and styled by the philosophic and learned sects a civil one, so was it

Worship paid to the sun, &c. To the souls of the dead; to those of eminent men.

[f] Martini, Couplet, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.

dance, which, we are told, Father *Favre* proved against an assembly of 300 literati, from the authority of their canonical books, and without the least opposition from any of them; yet the far greater part do, in their hearts, disbelieve it, whatever declarations to the contrary they may subscribe to, merely to avoid the odium of atheism, and of being thought enemies to all religion: for this last class is known to be as much addicted to all the extravagancies, and ridiculous notions, of demons, magic, witchcraft, and other superstitions, as the professed disciples of the other two sects, and practise them as much in private as they pretend to condemn them in public.

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complied with by the Jesuit missionaries, and permitted to their proselytes, under that notion, tho' highly condemned and complained against by those of the *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, and other orders, as idolatrous, and a scandal to the Christian religion. Whence arose those fatal discords between them, appeals to *Rome*, and other feuds, which ended in the almost total excision of Christianity in this empire, as we shall see at the close of this chapter. And thus much may suffice for the religion and sects of the *Chinese*.

The Mohammedan religion introduced.

We have already taken notice of *Mohammedanism* introducing itself likewise into the empire, thro' some of the north-western provinces bordering upon *Tartary*. This sect hath spread itself thro' most provinces of *China*; and hath been tolerated by the rest, without any great disturbance, on account of their peaceable behaviour, they never entering into disputes with others; but quietly enjoying their liberty, without studying to propagate their doctrine, even by intermarriages out of their own kindred. They are indeed neither considerable enough for their number or wealth to harbour any such views, there being reckoned no more than about 5000 or 6000 families of them, and those dispersed thro' the whole empire, and, for the generality, of the lower rank, as husbandmen, artificers, *&c.* Besides, we are told, that in those places where they are most numerous, and make the best figure, as in some territories beyond the *Whang-ho*, where they have been settled during several generations, in some of the towns along the canal, and have very high mosks built after a different manner from the *Chinese* taste, they have been still looked upon as of foreign extract, and have been frequently insulted by the *Chinese* people. Even a few years ago, in the city of *Hang-chew*, in the province of *Hu-quang*, the populace, upon some dislike taken at the indiscrete behaviour of some of them, made no scruple to destroy their fine mosks, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the magistracy to prevent it[s].

Makes but a small figure.

Often insulted.

It is not easy to guess, from the *Chinese* accounts, when *Mohammedism* was first introduced into *China*, some placing it no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth dynasty, and others carrying it as far back as the thirteenth. However, from the small encouragement they have had, and still meet with, as well as from what we have lately observed of the emperor's religion, upon more occasions than one, it is plain, that those monarchs are not of that religion, as hath been affirmed by Mr. *Collier*; nor own any of *Mohammed*'s doctrines, except that of worshipping one supreme Being; on

The emperor not a Mohammedan.

[s] Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 76.

which

which account only, both they, and the sect of the literati, have thought fit to tolerate them [h].

Christianity when planted.

WHETHER Christianity was preached in this empire so early as the times of the apostles, hath been a matter of controversy among the learned. That St. *Thomas* carried the gospel into *Ethiopia*, *Persia*, and several other parts of *India*, we have shewn in a former part of this work [i]: but that he proceeded so far as *China*, we have no other proof for, than an antient *Malabaric* breviary, written in the *Chaldaic* tongue; in some of the lessons and anthems of which, mention is made of that apostle's planting Christianity in *Ethiopia*, *Persia*, *India*, and *China*. To confirm which, another proof is fetched from the second part of the synodical constitutions (ch. 19.), wherein mention is made of *Chinese* metropolitans. Other proofs, drawn from some antient crosses and monuments of still more doubtful authority, we omit, all of which the opposite side think sufficiently confuted by one avowed fact; *viz.* that the first missionaries, who set foot in *China* about the middle of the fifteenth century, found not the least footsteps of it in any part of the empire.

Whether by St. Thomas.

BUT that this is no conclusive argument against its having been formerly planted and propagated in some provinces of it, is plain from that antient and venerable monument which was dug up near the city of *Si-ngan-fu*, in the province of *Shen-si*, and of which we have given an account in the last section [k]; by which it appears to have been brought into this empire *A. C.* 782 or 783; to have been readily received by the then reigning monarch *Lyen-tsong*, or rather *Tay-tsong*, and highly encouraged during the reigns of several of his successors, under whose auspices they freely propagated the gospel, built a good number of churches, monasteries, hospitals, &c. maugre all the opposition of the bonzaic sect. And though it is not easy to know from the *Chinese* records, which seldom meddle with any events but those which concern the civil government, when, or by what means, it was afterwards suppressed, so as to have left no traces behind; yet it is commonly believed to have happened about the year 845, in which they mention an edict of the emperor *Vu-tsong*, given in the fifth year of his reign, and condemning, among other bonzas, those of *Ta-tsing*, or *Judea* (and supposed to be the Christian priests), in number 3000, to return to a secular life [l]. Such

Introduced An. 782.

Its great progress.

Total suppression.

[h] LE COMPTE, ubi sup. See also DU HALDE, & al. [i] Ant. Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 106, & seq. & (H). [k] See before, p. 77, (L). [l] See DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 196. & ii. p. 2, &

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an authentic teſtimony, therefore, puts it beyond all doubt that Chriſtianity was preached, and had made a conſiderable progreſs, in that ſpace, whatever be the cauſe of its having been ſince ſo throughly aboliſhed and obliterated at the time of the *Roman* miſſionaries arrival thither [m].

The Jeſuits firſt attempt to replant it.

In this ſtate of ſuperſtition and groſs idolatry it had continued above ſeven centuries; during which, ſevere laws were enacted againſt all foreigners entering into any part of the empire: when *Xaverius* found means to land in it undiſcovered, with a deſign to replant Chriſtianity there; but died ſoon after, in a little iſland we have ſpoken of in the firſt ſection [n]. Above thirty years elapſed before any other of that ſociety ventured to come thither: but thoſe who were ſettled at the city of *Ma-kau*, or *Macao*, lately deſcribed, were all that time contriving the moſt proper means to gain a ſafe entrance into it; in order to which, ſeveral of them were perfecting themſelves in the *Chineſe* tongue; and Father *Valignau*, the then ſuperior-general of the miſſion, was procuring a great number of *European* curioſities, ſuch as watches, clocks, maps, quadrants, globes, and all ſorts of mathematical inſtruments, and a multitude of other valuable things, as the moſt powerful introducers of his brethren to the greedy mandarins and grandees, and the moſt likely means to recommend them to the imperial court. They met accordingly with a very kind reception, and encouragement from the viceroys and grandees; but were ſoon after as ſternly repulſed. At length, after divers attempts, Father *Ricci* found means to recommend himſelf to the court of *Pe-king*, and became a great favourite of the emperor (L), and was permitted to ſettle at that metropolis; where

Their policy.

Father Ricci gets into favour at court.

[m] Vid. Kercher China Illuſtrat. Le Compte, ubi ſup. La Martiniere, Du Halde, & al. [n] See before, p. 88, (R).

(L) Though we are obliged to abridge the account of this celebrated miſſionary, the reader muſt not thence ſuppoſe his ſucceſs to have been ſo quick as we relate it; on the contrary, we are told, that he ſpent twenty years from his firſt attempt to ſettle at *Peking*, to his obtaining leave to do it; during which he met with the moſt mortifying diſcouragements and repulſes from the rapacious and jealous viceroys and mandarins, who, being appriſed of the valuable curioſities he had brought with him, were all greedily gaping for a ſhare of them. He was likewiſe impriſoned, and met with many other obſtacles and difficulties; but his preſents at length overcame them all, and procured him the ſettlement he had ſo long endeavoured after.

The preſents he made to the emperor, in particular, were, a fine

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where he and his companions took a handsome house, had a pension settled upon them; and were allowed the liberty of one of the courts of the palace, into which none but the officers of it were allowed to enter. Here he soon gained an extraordinary reputation, on account of his great skill in the mathematics, and the rich presents he made to the emperor, and his court; insomuch that his house became the receptacle of all the grandees and learned men, and particularly of the principal *Kolau*, or first officer of the empire, who gave him, on all occasions, the greatest marks of his esteem.

Propagates Christianity with great success.

RICCI, thus firmly settled in the favour and esteem of the emperor and his court, began then in good earnest to propagate the Christian religion in that capital; and (if we may depend upon the relations given us of it by those of his society) with incredible success and reputation; and, among other judicious precautions, ordained, that no converts should be admitted to baptism till they had made a public and solemn protestation, expressing their abhorrence of their past lives, and the sincerity with which they embraced the gospel; and this they were obliged to comply with, to prevent all doubting about their sincerity, and real sentiments. The reader may see the form of it in the author often quoted °, from that which was made by a celebrated mandarin, named *Li*, which was designed as a model to all the rest, and which runs in the most pious and sincerest strain; and concludes with a prayer to God, that he would enable him not only to live up to the rules of his holy gospel, but to fit and permit him to preach the same faith to others, and with the same fervent zeal as he had embraced it.

The zeal of the new converts.

LI's example was soon followed by a multitude of other grandees, mandarins, and literati, and by much greater numbers of people of both sexes and inferior ranks, who all became not only zealous professors of the Christian faith, but great promoters, and advocates for it. They likewise proved such liberal contributors towards the building of churches and oratories, that, we are told, there were built in the single province of *Kyang-nan* no less than ninety of the fo-

° Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 7.

fine picture of our Saviour, and another of the Virgin *Mary*, and a clock of extraordinary workmanship; the former of which, we are told, were conveyed into an honourable place in the imperial palace; and a fine tower was built for a repository of the latter (1).

(1) *Vide Martini, Magaillan, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al. mult.*

mer,

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mer, and forty-five of the latter. They were no leſs careful to tranſlate ſome of the Chriſtian comments on the goſpel, together with other religious books, ſuch as the lives of the ſaints, and others of the like nature; all which one ſingle lady, a zealous convert, cauſed to be printed at her own charges, and to be diſperſed abroad among the unconverted of all ranks (M). For theſe great acts of piety and liberality ſhe was ſo highly reſpected at court, that the emperor himſelf honoured her with ſeveral rich preſents, and with the title of *Sho-ijn*, or virtuous woman. This raiſed a noble emulation in other great ladies of quality to imitate her example; who, by their zeal and piety, brought their huſbands to become not only proſelytes to, but great ſupporters of, the Chriſtian cauſe; inſomuch that the churches multiplied in every province of the empire, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the bonzas, who left no ſtone unturned to pre-

Candida's *great liberality.*

Honoured by the emperor.

(M) This excellent lady, who was at her baptiſm named *Candida*, was the daughter of *Syu*, one of the moſt celebrated literati, and one of the earlieſt and moſt zealous converts that Father *Ricci* had made. His daughter, being alſo become a ſincere Chriſtian, was married at the age of ſixteen; and, by her wiſdom and piety, converted her huſband, who left her a widow at thirty. From this time ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life in the ſervice of religion, and the education of eight children ſhe had had by him; and, though ſhe provided handſomely for them all, yet, by her good œconomy, ſhe ſaved enough of her fortune, not only to defray the charges of printing ſo great a number of books, but likewiſe to build ſome churches in the provinces of *Kyang-ſi*, *Huquang*, and *Se-chwen* (into the laſt of which ſhe followed her ſon *Baſilius*, who held ſome conſiderable poſts there); after which, ſhe invited ſome of the miſſionaries to come and take care of them.

Her charity extended to the poor infants and children, whom the poverty of their parents forced to expoſe to the wide world: for theſe ſhe erected an hoſpital, which was preſently after ſo filled with theſe objects, that, notwithſtanding the care of the nurſes, and thoſe about them, 200 of them died *communibus annis*. The very loweſt dregs of people, the old and lame, or pretended ſo, who went about the ſtreets cheating people out of their money, under pretence of telling them their fortunes, ſhe cauſed to be taken up, inſtructed, baptized, and provided for. She lived forty-three years in widowhood, and in all ſuch kinds of charities; and died, as ſhe had lived, an eminent and exemplary Chriſtian (2).

(2) *Du Halde, vol.* ii. *p.* 8, *& ſeq.*

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vent the ſpreading of a new religion, which was ſo contrary to their paſſions and intereſt (N).

THIS

(N) There is ſcarcely any room to ſuppoſe that theſe perſecutions are much exaggerated by the miſſionaries, when we conſider the infamous character of the whole bonzaic tribe; tho' there is great reaſon to believe they have the many miraculous inſtances in which the divine Providence is ſaid to have interpoſed in favour of the perſecuted. The reader will readily judge of it by theſe two that follow, and which we have ſingled out of a great variety of others which lie ſcattered among their other accounts, as ſo many authentic atteſtations of God's ſeconding their endeavours, and cauſing all the malicious devices of their enemies to fall upon their own heads.

The bonzas having endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of Father *Ricci*'s converſions, by diſperſing a ſcandalous lampoon about the court, in which they accuſed the emperor of having apoſtatized from his old religion, and being become a profeſſor and promoter of this new one, which they ſcrupled not to paint in the moſt odious colours, as well as its preachers; the reſult of their wiſe ſcheme was, that they were all apprehended, and puniſhed in the ſevereſt and moſt mortifying manner; and that the principal among them, tho' a man highly reſpected at court, and reverenced as a prophet by the people, was condemned to ſuch a dreadful baſtonado, that he expired under it; whilſt Father *Ricci* had the pleaſure to ſee his credit and ſucceſs increaſe, in proportion to their oppoſition againſt him.

After the death of Father *Ricci*, his collegue *Adam Schaal* was no ſooner choſen preceptor to the young emperor *Kang-hi*, than a petition was preſented to the regents, by one of the literati, full of the bittereſt invectives againſt him, and three others of his ſociety; and a moſt dreadful perſecution was raiſed againſt them. They were all clapt into gaol, loaded with chains, and very ſeverely uſed *Anno* 1664; and, in the next year, Chriſtianity was proſcribed, as falſe and pernicious, and Father *Adam* condemned to be ſtrangled. But, that being thought too honourable a death, they exchanged it for a more infamous and cruel one; which was, that he ſhould be brought out, and expoſed in a public place, and, whilſt alive, be cut into ten thouſand pieces. The ſentence was ſent to the princes of the blood, and regent mandarins, for their confirmation, when God was pleaſed to interpoſe in a ſignal manner; for, every time they attempted to read it, a ſudden earthquake ſhook the hall with ſuch vehemence, that they all ran out of it, to prevent being cruſhed under its ruins. We are not told how often this was repeated; but only, that it threw the people into the greateſt conſternation, and made them believe it occaſioned by the unjuſt ſentence againſt Father *Adam*. But, adds our author (3), the earthquake, which was renewed more violently than ever, and a fire which

(3) *Du Halde, ubi ſup. p.* 15, *&c ſeq.*

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THIS is the account given by those missionaries of their first planting the gospel in this great empire; and though we may reasonably enough suppose, that they have set it out to the greatest advantage, yet, all things impartially considered,

which consumed most part of the palace, with several other concomitant prodigies, opened the eyes of the unjust judges, and convinced them that Heaven interested itself in favour of the prisoners, who were immediately set at liberty; and Father *Adam* permitted to return to his place, till the young emperor ordered it otherwise (3). These two instances may serve as samples of the rest, which *credat quicunque vult*; only one cannot forbear wondering that Providence should display itself in such signal manner in favour of these preachers of Christianity; and yet suffer them to fall so soon after into such violent and unchristian divisions, as proved the main cause of its utter extirpation out of the empire.

However, those good fathers did not so far trust to these miracles, as to omit other means to recommend themselves, and their religion, to the *Chinese* nation: and we must not omit one signal advantage which they gained over the bonzas, by means of some *quinquina*, or jesuits-powder, then altogether unknown in *China*, and brought thither from *France* by Father *Fountenay*, one of their society. The emperor had languished some time under a tertian ague, which was very uneasy to him; and, upon the proclamation being made at *Pe king*, according to custom, that those, who knew any effectual remedy against that distemper, should come and declare it at court, one of the bonzas came, and pretended to cure, as is usual in such cases, some persons, afflicted with the same disease, by a glass of water, over which he had repeated some words, and performed some magical ceremonies. The medicine not succeeding, two eminent Jesuits proposed the trying of the *quinquina*; which effectually performed the cure. Father *Fountenay*, when in *England* in the year 1703, told the Royal Society one circumstance which *Du Halde* hath omitted; *viz.* that they prepared three doses of it, one of which the emperor was to chuse for himself; and they to drink the other two before his face, to prevent all suspicion of poison. The emperor, by that means, was easily persuaded to take it, and was perfectly cured by the first dose; and in gratitude to them, for having, as he expressed it, saved his life, assigned them a noble apartment in the *Whang-ching*, or first court of his palace, caused it to be fitted up for them; and, being informed by them, that it was not usual for Jesuits to have houses without a church, granted them a large adjacent field, on which they built a stately one, which was finished, and opened with great ceremony on the 9th of *December* 1702 (4).

(3) *Du Halde, ubi supra, p.* 15, *& seq.* (4) *Ibid. p.* 29, *& seq. Vid. lettres edifiant. vol.* VII. *p.* 222, *& seq.*

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there can no doubt be entertained of its having made a very swift as well as considerable progress through most of its provinces; and which might, in all probability, have proved much greater, and more lasting, had not the unhappy divisions, which began to reign among the several orders of those missionaries, and the persecutions which the Jesuits raised against cardinal *Tournon*, and other fellow-labourers, for too freely censuring their shameful compliance, and that of their proselytes, to some pagan rites (O), put a stop to it.

Divisions among Christians put a stop to its progress.

AFTER

(O) We lately mentioned a kind of worship which the *Chinese* pay to the souls of their ancestors, of some of their great monarchs and eminent men, and especially to their great philosopher and lawgiver *Confucius*; which worship, however, we are told, is styled by the philosophers and literati, who are obliged to comply with it, a mere civil worship, in order to avoid the charge of idolatry. The Jesuits readily took hold of this distinction (if they were not really the authors of it); because, as they alleged to the pope, that paid to the great men above-mentioned, being established by the law, could not be dispensed with without manifest danger to Christianity; and that paid to the souls of their ancestors was so deeply rooted in the *Chinese* nation, that few, if any, would have cared to become Christians, if that had deprived them of the liberty of performing what they esteemed so essential and delightful a part of filial duty; upon which account they thought it very expedient to indulge them in it. But, for both these, they were highly blamed; and at last complained against both to the pope, and to the society *de propaganda fide*; and the distinction between religious and political or civil worship exposed as a mere subterfuge, to palliate a compliance which they judged highly injurious and scandalous to Christianity.

The truth is, these complaints were made by other missionaries of the *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, or some other order, none of whom ever loved that of the Jesuits; and were, in all likelihood, joined with them in the mission, by the political court of *Rome*, to be a check upon that subtle and insinuating society. Upon which account their charge may be reasonably enough supposed to have been in some measure aggravated, and prosecuted with too great animosity. However, the Jesuits, to disculpate themselves, procured, by their great interest at court, an explanation of these *Chinese* ceremonies to be drawn up by two learned mandarins, and to be approved and confirmed by the emperor, to the following effect (5):

"When the *Chinese* honour "*Confucius*, they do it to shew "their respect to him on ac- "count of the doctrine which "he hath left among them; "and, having once embraced "it, how can they better per-

(5) *Jesuits letters. See also the book above-quoted, De Cultu Sinensium.*

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AFTER having said thus much on so remarkable a transaction as the introducing and propagating of Christianity thro' this

" form these due honours to " him, than by prostrating " themselves, and touching the " ground with their heads, to " him whom the whole empire " acknowleges as their ma- " ster. As to the libations, " and other rites, performed to " their deceased parents, they " are only paid as a mark of " respect, and acknowlegement " that they revere them as the " heads of their race and fa- " mily. And as to the pictures " (statues it should rather be) " which they set up in honour " of their ancestors, they do " not mean by it, that their " souls reside in them, neither " come they to ask any favours " from them; but only set " meat, and other presents, be- " fore those pictures, to express " their constant love towards " them, and their sorrow for " being deprived of them.

" As for the sacrifices which " the antient kings and empe- " rors were wont to offer to " heaven, they are such as the " *Chinese* philosophers style " *Kiao-che*, that is, the sacrifices " which are made to heaven " and earth, by which, they " say, *Shang-ti*, or the sovereign " Lord, is honoured; and it " is for this reason that the " little pictures, before which " those sacrifices are offered, " bear this inscription to *Shang-* " *ti*, that is to say, To the so- " vereign Lord: from whence " it is evident, that they do not " offer sacrifices to the visible " and material heaven, but only " to the Lord and Creator of " heaven and earth; and, be- " cause their veneration and " respect for him will not per- " mit them to call him by his " proper name, they invoke him " under the appellations of *the* " *supreme heaven, the bountiful* " *heaven, the universal heaven.*"

The emperor *Cambi*'s (or rather *Kang-hi*'s) approbation was to this effect: " That which is " contained in this writing is " very right, and conformable " to the grand doctrine: to pay " our devoirs to heaven, to our " lords, to our parents, to our " masters, and to our ancestors, " is a law common to all the " world. The things contained " in this writing are very true, " and need no amendment."

But neither this declaration, nor any other apologies which the Jesuits made for their conduct, could hinder its being publicly condemned by the pope's legate at *Canton*, *Anno* 1707, by a decree dated from that city, forbidding all Christians, both proselytes and others, to pay any such honours either to *Confucius*, or to the pictures of their ancestors. Upon which they found themselves obliged to procure a more favourable one in their behalf from the pope, *Anno* 1715; which ordained, that the word *Tyen-chi*, that is, Lord of heaven, should be used to signify the true God, as had been long since done by the missionaries; and that the same conduct should be observed with respect to the ceremonies to be allowed to Christians, confining them only to such as were *purely of a political and civil nature:* and, lastly, that

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this vast empire, we shall not go so far out of our bounds or province, as to enter into a detail of those disputes which occasioned the total suppression of it; much less of the intrigues of the Jesuits at the court of *Rome*, and the pope's partial behaviour to that society, the subject being so well known to most of the learned in *Europe*; even those who only read Father *Du Halde's* account of it [P], and consider that he was one of them, and writes rather a vindication of his brethren against Cardinal *Tournon*, bishop *Maigrot*, and other of their opposers, will easily perceive where the fault chiefly lay; and those, who are desirous to see those transactions more impartially stated, may read it at full length in a book intituled, *De Cultu Sinensium*, printed at *Cologne*, *Anno* 1700.

ALL that we need to add, by way of conclusion to this article, is, that, after the conquest of *China* by the *Tartars*, the two emperors *Shun-chi* and *Khang-li* likewise favoured them with their special friendship and protection during their whole reigns; but, immediately after the demise of the latter, a

[P] DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 7.

the apostolic commissary, and visitor-general, for the time being, in *China*, or his deputy, should be consulted, if any difficulty arose upon that head. This decree was directed to the pope's legate, bishop *Tournon*, with the title of cardinal; but he died before it arrived, and, as is supposed, of grief, on account of the persecutions raised against him by the Jesuits.

It proved, however, a means of increasing, rather than of removing, the difficulties about which both parties contended; they still differing as much as ever about what ceremonies were purely civil and political, or not so. Upon which the pope thought fit to send a new legate thither, to compromise those disputes, *Anno* 1720: but he was, soon after his arrival at *Canton*, not only forbid to come to court, but received express orders from the emperor to leave *China*, with all the other missionaries; for that the pope's decree being inconsistent with the laws and usages of the empire, the Christian religion could no longer subsist there. He was, however, permitted, *Du Halde* tells us, to wait upon the emperor; and was received and dismissed with singular honours, and permitted to leave *China* only to go and give the pope an account of the state of the Christian mission, and with a promise to return back in three years with the same character; but the death of that monarch, which happened soon after, and was followed by the total proscription of Christianity, put a stop both to his legation, and the further progress of that mission (6).

(6) *Jesuits Letters. See also the book above quoted, De Cultu Sinensium. Vid.* & *Du Halde, vol.* ii. *p.* 31, *&c seq.*

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Remonstrances and edicts against the missionaries.

number of petitions and remonstrances were presented both to his son and successor, and to the *tribunal of rites*, against the Christian religion; upon which it was proscribed by several edicts, and these published in most of the capitals of the empire. The tribunal above-mentioned gave this decision against the missionaries (or, as they are there styled, *Europeans*): That such of them as were at court might be kept there, as they were useful for reforming the calendar, and other services; but that those who were dispersed in the provinces, were not only useless, but dangerous, as they built churches, and drew the ignorant people, both men and women, to their religion; and should therefore be all sent away to *Ma-kau* (a *Portuguese* town on the *Chinese* coast, and lately described). This order was confirmed by the emperor, in words to this effect, written with the red pencil: That it should be done according to the above decree; and that the *Europeans*, as foreigners, should be sent to *Ma-kau*: but that, to prevent any insult being offered to them in their way thither, a mandarin should be appointed to conduct them safe thro' every province, and convenient time allowed them for repairing to that place.

Emperor's decree against them.

The Jesuits made use indeed of all their arts, and interest they had with the emperor and mandarins, to ward off the fatal blow; but all they could obtain from him, was, to have the city of *Canton*, instead of *Ma-kau*, to be the place of their exile; and this only on condition that they behaved so as to give no cause of complaint. This last order was immediately published in all the gazettes, and in all the provinces of the empire; and the missionaries, without distinction, were all driven out of their churches, and conducted either to *Pe-king* or *Canton*; the emperor further declaring, in a new book written for the instruction of his subjects, that he tolerated only some few of them, on account of the advantages which the empire received from their skill in arts and sciences. Pursuant to those edicts, more than 300 churches were destroyed, or turned into pagods, schools for the literati, and other common uses; and above 300,000 Christians deprived of their pastors, and exposed to the mercy of the unbelievers, and without any prospect of seeing their religion restored.

Demolition of their churches.

The Jesuits, however, have still three *Chinese* natives, and the society *de propaganda fide* a few priests of the same country, who privately mingle with the new converts, and officiate among them; and, as these are too few for so great a number of converts, they employ some of the most skilful catechists, who disperse themselves among the provinces, furnish them with calendars, books of devotion, and other helps,

Sad state of Christianity at present.

and

and endeavour to keep up the ſpirit of Chriſtianity among as many as they can; for the doing of which with more ſafety, they put themſelves under the protection of ſome mandarins, which is not to be obtained but by ſome conſiderable preſents; and this is the preſent melancholy ſtate of Chriſtianity in the *Chineſe* empire [q].

both in China, and other parts of India.

BUT this is far enough from being the only country in which not only the Chriſtian religion, but the very names of Chriſtian, *Praguay* or *Portugueſe*, and *European*, are held in the utmoſt abhorrence, thro' the miſconduct, or rather ill deſigns, of thoſe who are ſent to propagate it; and where, after a moſt promiſing proſpect of a plentiful, if not an univerſal converſion, and the greateſt encouragements given to them by the reigning monarchs and great men, all their hopes have been quaſhed as in an inſtant; the preachers, and their proſelytes, perſecuted with the greateſt ſeverity, their religion proſcribed and deteſted; all farther avenues cloſely ſtopped, and carefully watched againſt; and as many as have ſince attempted, under any diſguiſe, or upon any pretence, to gain admittance, have been put to the moſt ſpeedy and excruciating deaths. That this has been the caſe of a great number of thoſe *Romiſh* miſſionaries, not only in *Ton-king*, *Cochin China*, and *Korea*, as we have ſeen in the preceding volume, but in *Japan*, *Siam*, *Tibet*, and the greateſt part of *Induſtan*, we have from their own teſtimony, and the letters that have been tranſmitted from time to time from thoſe parts, and are to be found in that large collection printed at *Paris*, under the title of *Lettres curieuſes et edifiantes*; and with this aggravating circumſtance, that thoſe miſſionaries, who attempt to penetrate into any of thoſe *Indian* dominions, to avoid the ſuſpicion of being either Chriſtians, *Praguays*, or *Europeans*, which would not fail of proving fatal to them, are obliged to diſguiſe themſelves under the name, garb, and profeſſion, of eaſtern *janjaſſi's*, or penitents, ſuch as we have deſcribed in a former chapter, and to conform to all their rules of living; that is, to abſtain from eating any thing that has life, drinking any thing exhilarating, to eat but once in twenty-four hours, to lie and fare hard, ſleep little, and riſe by the earlieſt dawn, and obſerve a great number of other auſterities peculiar to that ſect; the omiſſion of any one of which would render them ſuſpected, and deſpicable to the brotherhood. To avoid, moreover, the ſuſpicion of their being *Europeans*, on account of the difference of their complexion, they affect to call themſelves northern *janjaſſi*, or teachers; and tell the *Indians*, that they come

How the miſſionaries diſguiſe themſelves.

The names of Chriſtian and European *deteſted.*

[q] DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 35, & ſeq.

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among them with no other view than to inſtruct them in a more worthy way of worſhipping the ſupreme Creator, to give them more juſt ideas of his attributes and perfections, and to direct them into a better way of obtaining his favour and bleſſings in this and in the next life, than any they have been able to learn from their own teachers. By theſe, and ſuch-like diſintereſted ſuggeſtions, they introduce themſelves among them; by their learning and addreſs they quickly gain the eſteem and protection of the great; whilſt the auſterity of their life draws upon them the eyes and admiration of the vulgar: the reſult of which is, that they ſoon make a ſufficient number of proſelytes to build a church, and perform the divine worſhip. The miſſion goes on and flouriſhes, without meeting with any oppoſition, except from the idolatrous prieſts, who are great enemies to, becauſe great loſers by, this new religion, which is levelled againſt their own. But no ſooner is the pretended *ſanjaſſi* diſcovered, or even barely ſuſpected, to be an *European*, and his doctrine that of the *Praguays*, or *Portugueſe*, than a dreadful perſecution is raiſed againſt the preacher and his converts, and their religion is proſcribed and forbidden, under pain of death: ſo odious and deteſted are become the very names of Chriſtian and *European* all over the eaſtern parts of *India*, even to the farthermoſt boundaries of the *Chineſe* dominions *.

Whether there were any Jews *in* China.

WHETHER any *Jews* were ever ſettled or tolerated in *China*, hath been a queſtion among us in *Europe* till the beginning of this century; though whoever conſiders how they ſwarm in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where the laws are ſo ſevere againſt them, could hardly find any room to doubt of their being invited in much greater numbers into that rich and opulent empire, by the ſame proſpect of a gainful commerce, where there are not, that we can find, any laws, or imperial edicts, to interdict them from it: but all that while our news from thence made no particular mention of them. Father *Ricci*, and ſome others of the firſt miſſionaries, ſeem indeed to hint, that there were ſome of that nation diſperſed about the country; but, whether they met with any difficulty in it, or did not think it worth their while to find them out, we heard nothing farther about them till the year 1704, when Father *Paulo Gozani*, a Jeſuit miſſionary, being come upon ſome occaſion into the province of *Ho-nan*, had the good fortune to find a conſiderable ſynagogue of them, and, as they themſelves told him, the only one in the whole empire, in the city of *Kay-fong-fu*, the capital of that province, and ſituate in

A ſynagogue of them in Ho-nan.

* Vid. Recueil de Lettres cur. & edifiant. paſſ.

the

the very centre of the *Chineſe* dominions. He ſoon contracted an acquaintance with ſome of their learned chiefs; who, on account of his character, ſhewed him a more than ordinary reſpect, introduced him into their ſynagogue, and ſhewed him one of the volumes, or parchment rolls, of the pentateuch †, written in *Hebrew*, and in fair and legible characters, together with ſome others of the Old Teſtament, as thoſe of *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, ſome of the prophets, and ſome others containing their liturgy, commentaries, and the like: theſe laſt much worn, and kept in boxes under their ſeats; but all of them written in the *Hebrew* tongue and character. They owned to him, that they had loſt ſome of the ſacred books, and ſome of their targums or paraphraſes, expoſitors, *&c.* by a violent overflowing of the great river *Hoam-ho* (*Whang-ho*), or yellow river, which had laid that capital wholly under water, and had likewiſe much damaged their thorah, or roll of the pentateuch: upon which they ordered twelve fair copies to be taken of it, which are ſtill preſerved in the like number of partitions in the tabernacle, where it is kept.

Their ſacred books in Hebrew.

Twelve new copies of the pentateuch.

THEY informed him, that they divided the *Chin-kin*, or five books of *Moſes*, which they diſtinguiſh, like all other *Jews*, by the name of the firſt word in each book, as *Bereſhith*, *Elleſhemoth*, &c. into fifty-two paraſhah's, or leſſons, one for every ſabbath-day throughout the year; which diviſion is ſuppoſed to have been inſtituted by *Ezra* ‡. They retain the ſame number of letters, which they reckon twenty-ſeven, including the five final ones §; but whether they have admitted the uſe of the vowel points, we are not told; our author not being, as he frankly owns, acquainted with the *Hebrew* tongue, and conſequently not capable of making all the inquiries one could have wiſhed, about this and other curious matters. They acquainted him furthermore, that two famed Jeſuits, *viz.* Father *Roderigo de Sigueredo*, who flouriſhed under the laſt dynaſty, and Father *Enriquez*, who flouriſhed about the beginning of this, had had frequent conferences with the then chiefs of that ſynagogue, but without coming to any agreement; from which, as well as from thoſe two learned men neglecting to get a tranſcript of their pentateuch, he ſuppoſes that they found it corrupt and mutilated: and concludes, from the whole, that thoſe *Jews* are of the *Talmudiſt* ſect.

† De his, vid. Antient Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 104. ‡ Ibid. vol. x. p. 194, & ſeq. § Vid. ibid. vol. iii. p. 211; & ſeq.

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Their synagogue described.

THEIR ſynagogue is there built much after the manner that they are in other parts of the world, excepting that it is turned towards the weſt, that is, towards *Jeruſalem*, towards which they turn their face when they pray, as all others did, which were ſituate eaſtward of that metropolis, once the centre of their worſhip. It is moreover divided into three ailes, or partitions; but whether in imitation of the three courts of *Solomon*'s temple, as Father *Gobien*, the publiſher of this account, would inſinuate in his remarks, at the end of it, or no, is ſcarcely worth inquiring after, or eaſy to determine from the imperfect ſketch here given of it: but, if ſo, it differs in that particular, from all thoſe we have ſeen in *Europe*, if not from all that are in the world.

Reading-deſk.

IN the centre of the middlemoſt aile is placed their reading-deſk, or, as it is ſtyled, *Moſes*'s chair, where the law, and other portions of the Old Teſtament, and their uſual liturgy, are read with great ceremony. This chair, or deſk, our author tells us, is grand and lofty, and richly adorned with crimſon velvet, with gold fringe, taſſels, *&c.* with ſtately candleſticks, and large candles, perfume-pots, and other ornaments; and over it, inſtead of the emperor's arms, which their law doth not permit them to repreſent, is fixed a fine large board, with his name and titles ſuperbly inſcribed upon it.

The tabernacle railed in.

At the farther end of the ſame aile, and facing the chair above-mentioned, is the tabernacle, or repoſitory of the ſacred roll of the law, of the twelve tranſcripts lately ſpoken of, each of them in a ſeparate niche, ſhut up with folding-doors, and a rich curtain drawn before it; the whole incloſed within a handſome baluſtrade, into which none but their khakam, or chief officer, is permitted to ſet his foot.

Various inſcriptions.

The reſt of the ſynagogue is decorated with inſcriptions taken from the pentateuch, and other ſacred books, and proper to inſpire them with devotion; they alſo cover their heads with the uſual thaled, or veil, all the time they are praying.

Their rites the ſame with thoſe of other Jews.

THEY ſtrictly retain the rite of circumciſion, and obſervance of the ſabbath, during which they ſuffer no fire to be kindled in their houſes: the three grand feaſts, of the paſſover, weeks or pentecoſt, and of the tabernacles, together with other occaſional feſtivals, faſts, and other antient inſtitutions, are likewiſe kept with great ſtrictneſs among them, tho' in ſome other caſes they readily comply with the *Chineſe* cuſtoms, and religious ceremonies. They call themſelves *Kiao-kin-kiao*, a name which was at firſt given to them by the *Chineſe*, on account of their abſtaining from blood, and their peculiar way of killing the animals they eat; but which they gladly retained,

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tained, in order to distinguish themselves from the *Mohammedans*, who are called *Tee-mo-kiao*, with whom they entertain not the least commerce, and from whom they affect to distinguish themselves by some peculiarities in their dress, and the different turn of their whiskers.

Names of God borrowed from the Chinese.

They call the Supreme Being by the *Chinese* name *Tyen*, and worship him under the titles of *Cham-tien*, *Cham-ti*, *Sham-ti*, or rather *Shang-tyen*, the Lord of heaven, *Shang-ti*, the supreme Lord, *Teao-van-voe-tche*, or Creator of all things, and of *Van-vue-tchu-tcai*, or Governor of the universe; which names, they owned they had taken from the *Chinese* books, that of *Tyen* signifying properly heaven, as we have already observed upon another occasion *. Their law they call *Tyen-kiao*, or the law of God, or of heaven; they likewise style it sometimes *Kow-kiao*, or the antient law; and *Iſlael's Kiao*, or the law of *Israel*: where, by the way, we cannot but observe, that they have, by long disuse, lost the pronunciation of the *R*, for which they substitute the *L*, as do the *Chinese*, among whom that letter is never used, when they pronounce some *European* name that hath it, as *Aalon*, *Miliam*, instead of *Aaron*, *Miriam*, &c.

Conform with several Chinese rites.

Again, as they have their literati and graduates, our author asked them, whether they paid the usual honours to *Confucius* that the rest do? To which they answered, one and all, in the affirmative; and added, moreover, that they performed the same ceremonies that other literati did, at the halls of their great men. They likewise owned to him, that they all conformed to the solemn rites which are performed to their ancestors, with this only difference, that, instead of offering swine's-flesh, which is forbidden by their law, they substituted that of some other clean animal; and that, in their more usual ceremonies to the deceased, they contented themselves with setting before them some dishes of meat, sweetmeats, and perfumes, served in china-ware, accompanied with profound prostrations, after the manner of the country.

Pay homage to Confucius, and to their ancestors.

Their hall described.

They conducted our author to this grand hall of ancestors, which is contiguous to their *Ly-pai-sou*, or synagogue, and where those rites are performed every spring and fall. Here, instead of such pictures and figures as are used by the *Chinese*, but forbidden by their law, they had only a number of perfume-pans, or boxes, answerable to that of their *Chimgims*, or great men, the largest of which was that of their great father *Abraham*, and was placed in the heart of the hall. Next to that were those of *Isaac* and *Jacob*; and, next to

* See before, p. 119 (I).

them,

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them, those of his twelve sons, whom they styled *Che-cum-pai-tse*, patriarchs, or heads of the twelve tribes. The next in rank and dignity were those of *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, *Ezra*, and other illustrious persons of both sexes, belonging to their nation; excepting, however, that the mandarin, who is over them, is intitled to have his tablet set up in this hall, inscribed with his own name, and all his titles.

Never heard of Jesus Christ.

THE missionary, being thence conducted to a house of entertainment, took occasion to ask them some questions about the promised Messias; and tells us, that they seemed greatly surprised at what he told them concerning Jesus Christ: but gave him no other answer, than that their sacred books made indeed mention of one *Jesus*, the son of *Sirach*; but that they had never heard any thing concerning the other of whom he spoke. He took likewise that opportunity to compare some parts of his own bible with their *Hebrew* one, particularly that which relates to the lives of the patriarchs from *Adam* to *Noah*; and assures us, that they agreed exactly in every particular. Now, if his bible was the vulgate *Latin*, of which there is not any room to doubt, that being the only one authorized by his church, it follows, that their *Hebrew* is exactly conformable to those we have in *Europe*, because the vulgate is so; and, consequently, that the æra between *Adam* and *Noah*, or the creation and the flood, according to the septuagint, exceeds them by 606 years, as the reader may see by the tables we have given of it at the beginning of the antient history †. As for the occasion of this present remark, it will be best seen when we come to speak of the *Chinese* chronology, towards the end of this chapter.

Conformity of their bible with ours, but not with the septuagint.

The time of their first coming into China.

ALL that needs be added concerning those *Jews*, is, the time in which they first settled in that empire; concerning which, they told our author in general terms, that it was during the *Han-chau*, or fifth dynasty, which began 206 years before, and ended in the 220th year after the birth of Christ; but in what part of it, they did not tell, and, in all likelihood, could not inform him: but, supposing it had been at the very latter end of it, it is plain they could not be *Talmudists*, as he suspects them, much less guilty of mutilating and corrupting their sacred books with their false and fabulous glosses; seeing neither of the *Talmuds*, nor any of their fabulous traditions and commentaries, are of so old a date by several centuries, as we have shewn in our antient history ‡. Neither is it just, on the other hand, to suppose

If true, they could not be Talmudists.

† Vol. i. c. 1. sect. 3. p. 143, & seq. ‡ Vol. x. p. 490, & seq. & notes.

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the *Talmudists* to have corrupted the sacred text, which they have been scrupulous to preserve, even to a superstitious degree, though they have visibly perverted the sense of it by their false glosses and comments. Our author, therefore, seems plainly to have misapprehended what they told him out of the latter to have been quoted out of the former: but as their adopting the fabulous traditions of the *Mishnah* and *Ghemarra* shews them to have been infected with the *Talmudic* leaven, so they must of course have imposed upon him with respect to the time of their first coming into that country, and that it must have been of a much recenter date. This is no strange supposition, especially from a *Jew* to a Jesuit; and, if so, may we not as justly suspect what they told him about their having no other synagogue in the empire; and what they further added to him, probably from the same spirit of diffidence and fear, that, though they were pretty numerous at their first coming, they were at that time reduced to seven families, whose names were *Thao*, *Kin*, *Che*, *Theman*, *Li*, and *Ngni* *.

But is probably antedated.

They are reduced to seven families.

THUS far our author's account goes, of those that he met with in that great city. How many thousand more there may be of them, dispersed and disguised throughout the empire, and who outwardly conform to the religion and customs of the country, as they do in *Portugal*, *Spain*, and other Christian countries, where, instead of being tolerated, they are proscribed by the laws, can only be conjectured by those who know what stratagems they will use, what hazards they will run, for the sake of gain. But we have dwelt long enough upon this one article, and shall now proceed to a new topic.

There are probably more of them in other provinces.

SECT. III.

Of the Government, Laws, Politics, &c. of the Chinese.

THE *Chinese* nation had been, from its first beginning, so inured to, and, we may add, so highly delighted with, a monarchical government, that, when the *Dutch* ambassadors made their first application to it, they found it very difficult to make them comprehend what they meant by the high and mighty lords, the states general, and the republic of *Holland*. What their antient form and state was, we have already given an account of in a former part †, as far as could be collected

Chinese *government monarchical and despotic.*

* See Lettres eur. & edifiant. vol. vii. p. 4——28. † See Ant. Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 124, & seq.

from

from the *Chinese* records, for no mention is made of it in any other authors); neither is there any reason, from the singular tenaciousness of that nation for its antient laws, customs, *&c.* or from what we read of the reigns of so long a succession of monarchs, to suppose that it ever received any considerable alteration; so far from it, that we find their very conquerors, contrary to the usual practice in such cases, of altering and inverting, have shewn a singular readiness to conform to it, and made as few changes in it as they possibly could: and this not so much out of complaisance to the conquered, as from an unavoidable esteem and regard for the excellency of their laws and constitution; insomuch that, in this respect, they seem rather to have submitted to, than to have given their laws to, their new subjects.

It cannot, however, be denied, nor indeed is it at all to be wondered at, that this vast overgrown state hath formerly split itself into a number of petty kingdoms, some of which (tho' all of them according to the fundamental constitution of that monarchy, were dependent on a supreme emperor) would yet now-and-then shake off their subjection, and make themselves despotic in their respective states; but time and fortune have never failed to reduce them back to their former dependency (P); so that there is no reason to doubt of its having continued, in the main, much in the same despotic form of monarchical government in which the *Tartars* found

(P) This is plainly hinted by the *Chinese* author often quoted (7), who speaks of several such revolutions, civil wars, *&c.* which made a short alteration in the form of government, but which soon after disappeared; after which, things returned to their former state. He adds, that the empire was one while divided into 100, nay, into 300, parts or polyarchies, and afterwards reduced to seven, then to three, and at length to its primitive state of one intire monarchy, solely subject to one sovereign (8).

We need not therefore wonder that they should be at such a loss what to make of the pompous language and titles used by the *Dutch* ambassadors to them, as we lately hinted out of *Nieuhoff* (9); much less at their not being able to comprehend, as the same author adds, how such a political state (which appeared to them rather as a monster with many heads, the spurious offspring of lawless ambition and stubbornness, begotten and bred, as they supposed, in times of anarchy and confusion) could possibly subsist without some sovereign power to curb and suppress the one, and steer and govern the other (10).

(7) *Dion. Kao, apud Isbrandæ Ides, ch.* 25. (8) *Ibid.* (9) *Dutch Embassy to China.* (10) *Le Compte, ubi sup. part* 2. *letter* 1.

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it at the time of their conquering it: ſince that time it is become, if any thing, rather more abſolute and arbitrary than ever; ſeeing the power of thoſe new monarchs extends itſelf not only over all civil and military, but, as we have ſeen under the laſt article, is abſolute and uncontrouled in all religious matters.

THE *Chineſe* monarchs, beſides their own proper names, were wont to aſſume ſome high and ſwollen titles, ſuch as *holy ſons of heaven, lords of the whole world, ſole governors over the earth, great fathers of the people*, and others of the like pompous ſound; beſides which, when the government paſſed from one branch or family to another, he who was the firſt or head of it gave his name to it, which continued as long as the dynaſty remained in his family, which was, from him, called the dynaſty (or rather, as the *Chineſe* word *Chau* imports, the epocha, or term of years) of ſuch a king. Since the conqueſt by the *Tartars*, that monarch ſtyles himſelf *Cham*, or *Kang*, or emperor; and his power extends itſelf not only over all the ſixteen provinces deſcribed in the firſt ſection, but likewiſe over ſeveral others of eaſtern *Tartary*, over ſome of which he hath an abſolute ſway, whilſt others are only tributary, and ſome of them only pay a kind of homage to him; but is no-where more deſpotic and arbitrary than in theſe his new-conquered dominions.

Emperors pompous titles.

Dynaſties, from whom named.

Their extenſive power.

HERE he hath the power of life and death not only over all his ſubjects, but even over all the princes of the blood. His will is the ſole law, and his commands admit not the leaſt diſpute or delay, under the ſevereſt penalties. He is indeed obliged to govern according to the laws; and to conſult his proper courts and council in all important matters, whether civil or criminal, military or religious: but, as he is the ſupreme and uncontrouled interpreter of the former, and bears an abſolute ſway over the latter; or, in caſe of any too ſtrenuous oppoſition from theſe, can diſplace, puniſh, or new-mould them at pleaſure; the whole government muſt centre at laſt in his ſole will. The crown is hereditary in his family; yet he hath the power to alter the ſucceſſion, and either during his life, or even on his death-bed, may name his ſucceſſor out of what branch of it he pleaſes, or even out of it, as ſome affirm; but, in this laſt caſe, his choice muſt be confirmed or ratified by his great or ſupreme council, which conſiſts of princes of the blood, and the chief miniſters of ſtate; for their concurrence is eſteemed of ſuch conſequence, that not only the *Chineſe* monarchs before the conqueſt, but even thoſe of the *Tartaric* race, have always thought it neceſſary, before they ventured to enact any new laws, to re-

Abſolute ſway.

Crown hereditary.

Their grand council.

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verse or suspend the old ones: insomuch that we read of some instances, in which, though the emperor and his *Tartars* have agreed upon passing some decree, especially in matters of religion, or such as related to the antient *Chinese* laws and customs, yet they have chosen to lay it aside when they have found too great a majority of the *Chinese* against it, rather than run the hazard of a rebellion [s]. But these instances we may say, happened when those monarchs were not quite so firmly settled on the throne: for it hath since plainly appeared, that the late emperor *Kang-hi*, both in these religious matters which were brought before him, and in his appointing his fourth son to succeed him, ventured to act in a more despotic and uncontrouled manner; and no wonder he should, when he saw himself so firmly secured of the whole imperial authority, and the interest, happiness, lives, and fortunes, of all his subjects, so intirely at his disposal [t].

Great honours paid to the emperor, during his sickness.

THE honours paid to those monarchs, both before and since the conquest, is next to, or rather, a kind of adoration. They seldom are seen but on solemn occasions, and with the greatest splendor and retinue. They are never approached but with deep prostrations, nor spoken to but with bent knees: neither are the grandees of his court, nor the princes of the blood, nor even his own brothers, exempt from this ceremony; but all bow before his throne, with their faces to the ground, whether he be present or absent. There are moreover certain set days in the week, or month, in which the nobility by turns are obliged to appear at court, and pay him that homage, and acknowlege his authority, by the most respectful genuflexions, prostrations, and other marks of the deepest submission, whether he be there, or not. When he is ill, especially if dangerously so, the palace is filled continually with mandarins of every order, who spend whole nights and days in a large court, in habits suitable to the mournful occasion, and invoking heaven for his recovery. Neither rain, snow, cold, or any other inconveniency, will permit them to dispense with this duty, as long as he continues in pain or danger; and any one, who saw the people at such a time, would think that they had no other fear or concern but about the loss of him [u]. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering how much their interest, their happiness, or even their lives, depend upon his recovery; and the great changes which commonly happen under every new reign, as he is in most respects

[s] PALAFOX Conquest of China. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. [t] Vid. DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 30, & seq. LE COMPTE, ubi supra. MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. [u] LE COMPTE, & al. ubi sup.

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the sole disposer of all state dignities, of all places of honour and trust, both civil and military *.

Their supreme councils

HOWEVER, though their power be so despotic and uncontrouled, yet they seldom make such an absolute use of it, as to go contrary to the antient laws; but, in all things, consult their supreme councils, to whom all matters relating to the empire are referred, and commonly decide them according to their advice: and this they are obliged to do, upon two accounts; *viz.* to avoid the suspicion of tyranny, which is so contrary to the repeated maxims of their old lawgiver, which all condemn it, with one voice, and so hated by the whole nation, that it seldom fails of occasioning some revolt or insurrection; for which reason, they are very fearful of forfeiting the endearing title of fathers of the people, a title for which they are always most applauded and loved by their subjects, and is a more considerable topic in all their panegyrics on them, than their power, grandeur, learning, or any other princely quality. The other reason is, that as the emperor is to be informed with all matters of importance that are transacted in his empire, and every sentence of the inferior courts, especially in capital cases, must either be ratified or reversed by him, he would be overwhelmed with the multiplicity and variety of matters, that are continually brought before him, without the assistance of those councils, whose business it is to examine, digest, and prepare them for his definitive sentence. So that though he is represented, by some writers, as living and wantoning in ease, with his wives, concubines, and eunuchs, in his seraglio, like other eastern monarchs, and many of them have, doubtless, done so, and left state matters to the care of their kolaws, mandarins, and other officers, and commonly to their own great detriment, if not total ruin; yet those, who give such a constant attendance on the affairs of the empire, must be so far from living in ease and luxury, that they must be supposed to be the most busy and assiduous of all their subjects (Q). And such have been many

A wast employment, and assiduity.

* LE COMPTE, & al. ubi sup.

(Q) This will still more plainly appear, if we add the petitions that are said to be continually presented to him; the grievances which, from all parts of the empire, are laid before him; the representations which his mandarins are allowed to make to him, either against himself, or any of his viceroys, governors, the princes of the blood, generals, and other officers. All which, we are told, he is obliged, by the constitution of the empire, to read himself, and refer to such of his coun-

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many of those monarchs, if we may believe the relations we have from thence; according to which, this government is one of the most regular in the world, in which the tribunals and magistracy are established in the most exact and uniform manner that human prudence can contrive, for the due ad-

councils, to whose cognizance the cases properly belong, in order to regulate his determination according to their report.

We read of several representations which have been made to those monarchs, for their not acting agreeably to the constitutions of the empire: but these are not often attended to; and sometimes meet with a severe repulse. *Le Compte* gives us some instances of both. In the one, they laid before him the ill consequences of his so often going into *Tartary*, and his making such long stay there, to the great prejudice of his subjects, *&c.*; but this he paid so little regard to, that he scarce gave them any other reason for those journies, than that they were for his health. Another was made to him, by three eminent kolaws, relating to the education of the young prince; for which they were all turned out of their places. But as irksome and unsuccessful as this kind of remonstrances may be to their monarchs, there want not those noble and public-spirited ministers, who will not be afraid of preferring them, at all hazards; of which we may have occasion to give some signal instances in the sequel.

As for those against the grandees, or even princes of the blood, they have met with better success. We read, in the same author, of one that was presented against three kolaws, or chief ministers of state, who had under-hand taken money, for some services done in the execution of their office. Upon which the emperor immediately cashiered and dismissed them. What befel to two of them afterwards, our author could not learn; but the third, who had been a long while a magistrate, and in high esteem for his learning, and revered for his old age, was reduced to the condition of a common soldier, and forced to stand centinel at one of the palace-gates.

Another was likewise presented to the same emperor, against some of the princes of the blood, intimating, that their unworthy behaviour was likely, in time, to bring their rank into contempt. Upon which he issued out an edict, that none should from thenceforth bear that title, without his express leave; which he took care to give only to such who, by their virtue, prudence, and diligence in their offices, had rendered themselves worthy of it (11).

These few instances will suffice to shew, what a *Chinese* emperor's employment must be in his retirement, who hath the good and welfare of his subjects at heart.

(11) *Le Compte, ubi sup. Martini, Du Halde, & al.*

ministration

miniſtration of juſtice, and the exact diſcharge of all the offices of a well regulated ſtate [x].

Two ſupreme councils.

For the more eaſy management of ſuch a great variety of affairs, thoſe monarchs are aſſiſted by two ſovereign councils, which ſit at *Pe-king*, the capital of the empire; the one ſtyled extraordinary, and compoſed of the princes of the blood only; and the other ordinary, conſiſting of the ſame princes of the blood, and of a good number of kolaws, or chief miniſters of ſtate. The firſt of theſe only ſits upon extraordinary occaſions; but the other, like our privy-council, is conſtantly attending on affairs of ſtate. Beſides theſe two (which, by way of eminence, are ſtyled *ſupreme*), and ſubordinate to them, are ſix courts, or ſuperior tribunals, for civil, and five for military, affairs, all likewiſe reſiding in that metropolis, whoſe authority extends to the whole empire; and each of them hath its particular province, or buſineſs, aſſigned to them, in ſuch a manner, as that they ſhall be a conſtant check upon one another; and, in matters of great conſequence, the concurrence of three or more of them muſt be had, before the buſineſs can be diſpatched. Thoſe tribunals are as follow (R):

Six ſuperior tribunals.

1. THE

[x] LE COMPTE, & al. ubi ſup.

(R) Theſe mandarins have been, from the earlieſt times, divided into nine orders, in ſuch perfect ſubordination to each other, that nothing can exceed the reſpect and ſubmiſſion which the inferior bear to the ſuperior ones.

The firſt order is, that of the kolaws, or chief miniſters of ſtate, chief preſidents of the ſupreme courts, and other principal officers of the army. Their number is not fixed, but depends on the will of the emperor; but is ſeldom more than five or ſix; and theſe have their tribunals and apartments in the palace. He who is at the head of them is ſtyled *Shew-ſyang*, and is preſident of the council, and in the greateſt confidence with the emperor.

The ſecond order are a kind of aſſiſtants to the firſt, and bear the title of *Ta-hye-ſe*, or *literati*, and are men of approved capacity. Out of their number are commonly choſen the viceroys, governors, and preſidents of other tribunals.

The third order, ſtyled *Chong-ſhu-ko*, or *ſchool of mandarins*, are the emperor's ſecretaries, whoſe buſineſs is to write down all matters that are deliberated by the ſeveral tribunals. Theſe are taken out of the fourth fifth, and ſixth orders, and, with the two ſuperior ones above-mentioned, compoſe the emperor's privy-council.

Out of theſe three orders are choſen the preſidents, and chief members, of the ſix tribunals above-mentioned: with this difference,

1. Li-pu. 1. THE court of *Li-pu*, or *Li-pou*; that is, *the court, or tribunal, of mandarins*; which presides over all the mandarins, and other ministers of state; and is to furnish all the provinces with proper officers, to watch over their conduct, examine their qualifications, and give an account thereof to the emperor. These may be properly styled the *inquisitors of state*; according to whose report, those officers under their cognizance are either advanced to higher posts, or are degraded from their old ones, according to their merit or demerit, though not without the emperor's approbation previously obtained (S).

2. Hû-pû. 2. THE court of *Hû-pû*, or *Hou-pou*; that is, *the high treasurer of the king*; hath the care of the treasury, finances, together with the private estate, treasure, revenues, and expences, of the emperor; of paying all the salaries and pensions to the petty kings, viceroys, and other ministers of state. This tribunal hath likewise the keeping of the rolls, and registers, which are made every year, of all the families, number of men, measure of land, and the duties arising from them to the emperor.

3. Li-pu. 3. THE court of *Li-pu*, or *Li-pou*, or *tribunal of rights* (T), inspects all religious matters, as, the observation of antient rites

ference, that the *Tartars* have, since the conquest, doubled the number of members of those courts, both superior and inferior, by placing as many of their own nation as of the *Chinese*, in every one; by which means the former was brought into the administration, without excluding the latter, who might, in such a case, have been less able to brook the *Tartarian* yoke (12).

(S) Every one of these six tribunals hath a number of inferior ones to assist them, and proper matters for their inspection; but it would carry us too far to enter into a particular detail of each tribunal. This of *Li-pu*, for instance, hath four of them. The first of which is charged with the choice of those who, by their learning, virtue, and other qualities, are intitled to serve in the highest posts. The second examines the conduct of those candidates. The third seals all judicial acts, assigns and examines the respective seals of the mandarins so chosen, as well as those of all the dispatches to and from the court, whether they be true or counterfeit. The fourth examines the merit of all the grandees of the empire; that is, of the princes of the blood, petty kings, dukes, and nobles of all ranks.

(T) Though this tribunal seems to be called by the same name as the first, yet it is plain, from their different provinces, that there is a manifest difference between them, which, however, is only determined by the pro-

(12) *Vid. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 248. & al. sup. citat.*

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rites and ceremonies, all arts and sciences, and those that are candidates for degrees. It defrays the charges of the temples, sacrifices, &c.; and receives and dismisses foreign ambassadors.

4. Ping-pu.

4. THE court of *Ping-pu*, or *tribunal of arms*, superintends all the soldiery in the empire; examines their arms, exercises, &c.; grants commissions to the army and fleet; orders levies to be made for both; replenishes the magazines, and keeps all the garrisons, towns, and fortresses, in repair, and furnishes the soldiery with arms.

5. Hing-pu.

5. THE court of *Hing-pu*, or *Him-pou*, superintends all criminal causes brought hither from the inferior courts, by appeal, and passes a final sentence in all criminal matters: and under it are fourteen subordinate tribunals, according to the number of the provinces.

6. Kong-pû.

6. THE court of *Kong-pu*, or *Cam-pou*, or *tribunal of public works*, superintends all public structures; such as, the king's palaces, fortifications, public roads, public temples, palaces, sepulchres, bridges, towers, triumphal arches, dykes, navigable rivers, lakes, canals, &c.; and hath four inferior courts under it, who prepare matters for their inspection. Both upper and lower tribunals have likewise different chambers, or committees, appointed to their respective businesses, for the more regular and ready dispatch of them. Every high court hath a chief inspector appointed by the emperor, who gives him an account of their proceedings, as well as of their failings and misbehaviour. These are commonly of the first rank of mandarins, or kolaws; and are in such authority, that the very princes of the blood stand in awe of them [y].

The four military tribunals.

OF the four, or, according to others, five military courts, which are, in some measure, subordinate to the fourth superior one, called *Ping-pu*, or *tribunal of arms*; the first disposes of all military employments; and sees that the troops be well armed and disciplined. The second distributes the officers and soldiers into their respective stations, for the securing the public tranquility, and the cities and high-roads from robbers and highwaymen. The third superintends the horses of the empire, the posts, stages, imperial inns, and barges appointed

[y] LE COMPTE, ubi sup. Vid. & DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 248. & seq.

nunciation. In this, *Li* signifies *Right*, and *pu*, or *pou*, *tribunal*; but in the other, by small change of sound in the first monosyllable, it signifies *the tribunal of the mandarins* (13).

(13) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 249.

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to convey provisions for the soldiers to their respective stations. The fourth orders the making all sorts of arms, and laying them up in arsenals [z].

The courts inspected by proper officers,

THERE are several other courts of the military rank, of which we shall take notice, when we come to speak of the military government; and only observe here, that all these tribunals have likewise an inspector set over them by the emperor, who gives him an account of every thing that is transacted in them, and of the behaviour of every member; and these are obliged, by their office, not only to assist at all their assemblies, and watch over their conduct there, but even to pry into their more private management (U), and make a faithful report of all to him. This obliges every member to speak and behave with the utmost circumspection. And several provinces of those courts are so prudently linked together, as to be a check to each other. Thus, for instance, the army, which is under the command of the *Pin-pu*, or fourth tribunal, and paid by that of the *Ho-pu*, shall be ordered to march by the former, but cannot stir till their subsistence-money is sent to them by the latter.

are a check to each other.

Viceroys, and other magistrates, subordinate to the tribunals.

SUBORDINATE to the above-mentioned tribunals, are the viceroys and governors of provinces, judges, and magistrates, and all inferior officers, in city and country, for the easier dispensing of justice to the subjects, and maintaining the peace of the empire. It is even affirmed, by most writers, that all those viceroys, governors, *&c.* are obliged, from time to time, to transmit to court a full and just account of their administration, and with it a note of all the miscarriages and mismanagements laid to their charge, to be examined by the superior tribunals; and, in case they be found to have concealed or palliated them, are liable to be severely punished. This was indeed practicable enough before the conquest, when the *Chinese* monarchs had, besides the inspectors over

[z] De his, vide MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(U) These inspectors, or, as the *Chinese* call them, ko-taus, are commonly men of such penetration, that nothing hardly escapes them; and therefore, much dreaded by the ministers of state, and other officers. Some of them have been intrepid enough to censure and accuse princes, and persons of the highest rank, and to run the risque not only of their places, but of their lives, rather than desist from what they thought justice and equity, and the good of the state, exacted from them (14).

(14) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 230. *Le Compte, ubi sup & al.*

every

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every court, some private ones in every province, who were to give the emperor an account of every fraud, bribery, and oppression, committed by any of those officers. But the *Tartarian* monarchs found afterwards, that those spies, or informers, had so grosly abused their trust, by making their reports rather according as they were bribed, than to the merit or demerit of those under their inspection, that they thought fit to set them wholly aside, and only oblige the persons in the administration to be their own accusers, by sending the above-mentioned transcript of all their good and bad actions. That this, however, is seldom practised, is very plain, from the common complaint of all those writers against the avarice, bribery, and corruption, which reign through the whole empire, from the highest tribunals down to the lowest offices; insomuch, that he who can bribe highest is morally sure to carry his point, let his merit or demerit be what it will. It is therefore in vain they tell us, that the *Chinese* government and laws are the best calculated to make a people happy, above all others, if those that are at the head of affairs are such rapacious creatures, as to make all places, and even justice itself, venal; and if their laws, like those excellent ones of a certain country in *Europe*, are so little observed or regarded, that ministers, magistrates, and people, are suffered to act not only in contradiction, but open defiance, to them, and a circulation of bribery is left to run from the highest to the lowest rank.

Inspectors of the provinces set aside.

Chinese laws abused.

Besides these tribunals, which do always reside at *Peking*, every province hath a supreme one, under its viceroy, or governor (W), and that hath several inferior ones under it, and a certain number of inferior mandarins, to assist that minister in the dispatch of affairs. Next to the provincial ones, are those of the *Fû's*, or capital cities of each province, of

Provincial tribunals.

(W) There is a difference of names, as well as dignity and power, between these governors; the one, who is called *Fû-yuen*, is only viceroy of one province; and the other, styled *Tsong-tu*, hath a government over two or three. Both are nominated by the emperor; and both are at the head of the supreme tribunal of the province, wherein all causes, civil and criminal, are decided. To them the imperial commands are transmitted, and by them dispersed through all the other cities and districts of the province. Only the *Tsong-tu's* dignity is reckoned more considerable, as it is more extensive; so that he cannot be advanced to any higher, except he be made a minister of state, or president of one of the supreme courts (15).

(15) *Du Halde, & al. ubi supra.*

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which we ſpoke, in the firſt ſection of this chapter; and theſe are under a mandarin, who is ſtyled *Chi-fû*, under whom are the *Chi-chews* and *Chi-yiens*, or mandarins of the cities of the ſecond and third rank, with their reſpective inferior tribunals; and theſe are ſubordinate to each other, and all to the ſupreme or provincial one, which hath none above it, except that of *Pe-king*. And thus much may ſuffice for the civil; let us now take a ſhort view of the military government [a].

Military government; and five courts.

We have already taken notice of the four tribunals ſubordinate to the fourth ſupreme one, called *Ping-pu*, and their particular provinces. There are five others likewiſe reſiding at *Pe-king*, ſtyled *U-fû*; that is, *the five claſſes, or troops, of the military mandarins*; the firſt of which is, that of the mandarins of the rear-guard; the ſecond, that of the left-wing; the third, that of the right; the fourth, that of the main body; and the fifth, that of the van-guard. Each of them hath a preſident, and two aſſiſtants, who are of the firſt order of mandarins; and all of them are ſubordinate to a ſupreme tribunal of war, called *Tang-ching-fû*, whoſe preſident is one of the greateſt nobles of the empire, and hath authority over them, and all the officers and ſoldiers of the court. He hath likewiſe a mandarin, and two inſpectors, to be a check over him: and his tribunal is ſubordinate to the fourth and ſixth ſupreme ones, which prevents his abuſing his extenſive power.

Mandarins, how examined.

All the military mandarins are obliged to undergo the ſame examination as thoſe of the *literati* order; that is, as thoſe muſt give proofs of their knowlege and learning, to be admitted to their reſpective degrees, ſo muſt theſe of their ſtrength, courage, dexterity, and experience, in the art of war. The principal military mandarin, anſwering to our general, hath a number of inferior ones under him, anſwering to our lieutenant-generals, *&c.* and all of them have a train and inſignia ſuitable to their rank, and are always attended by a company of officers under their command. Theſe are obliged to exerciſe and review the ſoldiery often; but thoſe exerciſes have nothing regular in them, conſiſting only in ſome diſorderly marches, when they attend their mandarins, or in forming of ſquadrons, marching, filing off, rallying, encountering each other, at the ſound of their horns or trumpets, and in a dexterous uſing and handling their ſabres, bows, muſkets, cuiraſſes, helmets, *&c.* and keeping

Soldiers, how exerciſed.

[a] Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, ubi ſup. p. 249. & ſeq.

them

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them clean, and in right order; and as the military life is neither laborious nor dangerous in time of peace, it is beſtowed, as a favour, on thoſe who can make moſt friends with the military mandarins, their ſervice being commonly confined to the places where they dwell, and have their families, ſo that they may at proper times follow their own employments.

THE military mandarins are computed to amount to 18,000, and the ſoldiery to above 700,000, who are all diſperſed thro' the ſeveral provinces, eſpecially the frontier ones of the empire, and along the *Chineſe* wall, and are ſtationed in the military cities, towns, fortreſſes, and caſtles, we have elſewhere deſcribed; and, being commonly well cloathed and armed, make a very good appearance either in their marches or reviews; but come vaſtly ſhort of thoſe of *Europe* in courage or diſcipline, and are eaſily put into diſorder, and routed; and, as the country hath now been a conſiderable time free from foreign or domeſtic wars, they have had little employment, except in ſuppreſſing the highwaymen and banditti in the inland, and the pirates on the ſea-coaſts, and in guarding the frontier towns. Their pay is about five-pence and about a pint of rice *per* day, and the horſe in proportion [b]. *Number of them.* *How employed, cloathed, and paid.*

THEIR artillery, till the Jeſuits taught them a better way of caſting and uſing it, was very pitiful, and hardly worthy of that name (X); and though it be allowed, that they had *Their artillery imperfect.*

the

[b] MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 249, & ſeq.

(X) All that we find mentioned of their old artillery, is only a few ſhort and thick bombards, kept rather for ſhew than uſe, at the gates of *Nang-king*; but antient enough to ſhew, that they had ſome notion of cannon, though little or nothing of the *European* way of uſing them. We read likewiſe of ſome ſort of patereroes, which they had in their veſſels, of the uſe of which they knew little more than of that of their bombards.

The firſt they ever ſaw of the *European* fabricature were three handſome ones, which the *Portugueſe* of *Ma-kau*, or *Macao*, made a preſent of to the emperor, *Anno* 1621, together with proper artiſts to manage them. The firſt trial of them was made before ſome mandarins, who were much ſurpriſed at the novelty; and much more at one of the pieces recoiling, and killing a *Portugueſe*, and two *Chineſe*, who did not get out of the way time enough. They were ſtill more terrified at the havock which they ſaw them make among the *Tartars*, who came in ſwarms towards the

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the invention of gunpowder much earlier than the *Europeans*, they hardly uſed it for any thing but fireworks, in which they excel. This made them at firſt be much ſurpriſed and terrified at our *European* guns, and the havock they made both in their being fired, and their recoiling; inſomuch that they fled from them in the greateſt panic, and could hardly be perſuaded to come near them again: but, ſince then, the good miſſionaries have not only reconciled them to thoſe frightful engines of deſtruction, but taught them the way of caſting and uſing of them, ſo that they are now as well underſtood by them as by us; eſpecially as Father *Verbieſt*, the emperor's chief mathematician, did, by his order, caſt, in one year, 132, and, in a little time after, 320 more, after the beſt *European* manner; and ſoon after publiſhed a treatiſe on founding and uſing of cannon, and preſented it to that monarch, with forty-four tables, or cuts, ſhewing the whole art, and the manner of uſing the inſtruments neceſſary for levelling them. For this ſingular piece of ſervice, Father *Verbieſt* was highly honoured by that monarch, and all the military tribe of mandarins, who were preſent at the trial of them, and ſurpriſed at the exactneſs with which they hit the mark; whilſt the good father was ſeverely lampooned for it in *Spain* and *Italy*, as a perſon who deſerved to be doubly excommunicated, for furniſhing an infidel prince with ſuch deſtructive arms: however, Pope *Innocent* XI. did not ſuffer him to labour long under thoſe cenſures; but, by a particular brief, highly applauded what he had done, as tending to promote the converſion of the *Chineſe*; and exhorted him to go on in the ſame laudable track, promiſing him his apoſtolical bleſſing, and pontifical aſſiſtance and protection in it. Beſides, thoſe pieces appear to have been of a religious caſt, and had been bleſſed in a ſolemn manner: for the good father had before erected an altar in the foundery, with a crucifix upon it; and, in his ſurplice and ſtole, paid his homage to it, with the ſame proſtrations and ceremonies as the *Chineſe* uſe to their images; and gave each gun the name of a he or ſhe ſaint, which he cauſed to be engraven on their breech; which, we are told, was done to prevent the *Chineſe* uſing any of their ſuperſtitious ceremonies about them, who commonly offer ſacrifices to the ſpirit of the air, mountains, rivers, lakes, *&c.* according to

That of Europe *introduced and admired.*

Verbieſt *caſts ſome hundreds of cannon.*

His way of bleſſing them.

great wall, inſomuch that they fled from them in the greateſt fright and confuſion, and never dared come near them more (16).

(16) *Du Halde, ubi ſup. Vid. & Martini, Le Compte, & al.*

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the nature of the work they go about, or put the laſt hand to [c].

Government of the provinc. c. cities, &c.

HAVING taken thus far a view of the civil and military government of the empire, there remains that we ſay a few words of that of the provinces, capital cities, and of the diſtricts under them. We have already hinted, that every province hath a viceroy, or governor, who commonly reſides at the metropolis of it, and is the ſupreme judge and magiſtrate of it, excepting only his being ſubordinate to the ſupreme tribunals of *Pe-king*. He ſits as preſident of the provincial courts, and ſuperintends all the governors, judges, and members of the inferior ones, as well as the governors of all the cities of the firſt, ſecond, and third order, and all the inferior magiſtrates of every diſtrict. Every city, beſides its own governor and tribunal, is divided into a certain number of wards, every one of which hath its own reſpective head, who is as anſwerable to the governor for every miſdemeanor that happens within his precinct, as the maſter of every family is to him for what is done within his own walls, whether by children, ſervants, or lodgers; and, in ſome caſes, as of a tumult, robbery, murder, and the like, the houſes on each ſide are ſo for what is committed in that one. Not only the gates of each city, but even of each ward, are ſhut up at nights, and kept by a ſufficient guard, who watch over all that paſſes within their reſpective boundaries; ſeize on all diſorderly perſons, ſuſpicious ſtrangers, and all night-walkers, who can't give a good account of their errand, and bring them on the next morning to the governor, to be either puniſhed or releaſed: but, for this, we ſhall refer the reader to what hath been ſaid in the firſt ſection [d]. One thing, which we did not there take notice of, we ſhall add, concerning their extreme care of keeping every part of the city in the profoundeſt peace that is poſſible; *viz.* that they ſuffer none of their common proſtitutes to live within the walls, but in ſome outſkirts of the ſuburbs, becauſe they are apt to cauſe diſturbances. Some of the governors will oblige a certain number of them, as ten or more, to live together in one houſe, and under the care and government of a man, who ſhall be anſwerable for their behaviour. Some governors will even deny them the liberty of living within their diſtricts, and ſeverely puniſh as many as are found to do ſo after ſuch a prohibition; ſo that they can, at the moſt, be ſaid to be but barely tolerated [e].

Wards.

Guard and watch.

Common proſtitutes, how tolerated.

[c] DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 262, & ſeq. [d] See before, p. 21, & ſeq. & (E). [e] DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 265. & al. ſup. citat.

EVERY

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The viceroy and his mandarins join in oppressing the people.

EVERY province, besides its own viceroy, hath several orders of mandarins, which are subordinate; and might be such an effectual check to him, that it would be impossible for him to be guilty of mal-administration without their knowledge and connivance: but the misfortune is, they find it so much their interest to wink at one another's crimes, that the people are fleeced and oppressed by them all in their turns. The first class of these mandarins are the judges of the courts, who determine civil and criminal causes; the next attend the affairs of the treasury and revenue; and the third command over the militia. All these, according to the *Chinese* constitution, ought to remain in their offices no longer than three years; and are never to be natives of the province where they officiate, lest, if they be of mean descent, they should be despised; and, if rich, they should be too well respected, or become too powerful, in it. This is esteemed one of their wise maxims in politics, in which they excel; to which we may add another, equally just and salutary, if strictly kept, *viz.* never to sell any office, but to confer them on persons merely out of regard to their merit, learning, and probity; and to allow them sufficient salaries, that they may be enabled to discharge their offices, and administer justice without fees or bribery.

Some wise state maxims.

Eluded by them.

THEIR palaces, and places of residence, are likewise provided for them at the charge of the government, to prevent their running into profusion of furniture, *&c.* notwithstanding all which wise precautions, those governors and mandarins find means of amassing vast estates in those few years, and to conceal their extortions from the emperor; so that it plainly appears they all in general combine to conceal them from him, that they may more easily divide the spoil among themselves. Thus we are told the supreme tribunal at *Peking* extorts vast sums from the viceroys of the provinces, and these again from the mandarins under them, who, by consequence, must fleece their inferior officers; and all of them join hands in oppressing the people, who dare neither resist nor complain, for fear of being ruined. Upon the whole, the *Chinese* appear to be little better than a nation of signal hypocrites, who boast of the equity and excellence of their laws, and stick at no violation of them; and, under the fairest outside, and pretence of justice and probity, indulge themselves in all manner of extortions, fraud, and villainy: for we must not imagine this shameful depravity and corruption to be confined to the placemen, and officers of the government, it being observed to run no less through all the inferior ranks, from the richest merchants and tradesmen to the lowest porter

Extortion and fraud run thro' the whole nation.

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or mechanic, who, though they cannot oppreſs like the great ones, are commonly given to cheating and cozening all they deal with; inſomuch that there is ſcarce any country in the eaſt, where oppreſſion, corruption, and all manner of fraud, is more univerſally practiſed, according to the unanimous report of all who have written of it.

Nobility not hereditary.

THERE may be added another cauſe of this general corruption; *viz.* their conſtitution not allowing of hereditary nobility, or diſtinction of quality, but ſuch as ariſes from their offices, and the dignities beſtowed on them by the emperor; ſo that tho' a man be arrived at ſome of the higheſt of them, yet his children have ſtill their fortunes to make; and if they either want ability, or are given to pleaſure, may, and do often, deſcend to the loweſt rank and occupations: the preventing of which, by making ſome handſome proviſion for them, or getting them into ſome civil or military poſts, by dint of preſents, proves a new ſource of avarice and corruption; to ſay nothing of the figure, ſtate, and retinue, which thoſe miniſters are obliged to keep up; all which, added to the exactions they labour under from thoſe above them, help to keep them poor, craving, and extorting.

Another cauſe of avarice and corruption.

EVEN the princes of the blood, who are alone intitled to the dignity of nobles by birth (except the family of the great *Confucius*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by), are ſubjected to the ſame neceſſity of bribing the kolaws and inſpectors, in order to get into, or preſerve themſelves in, ſuch high poſts as the emperor is pleaſed to nominate them to; and, in order to keep up the grandeur of their rank, prove often as voracious as the mandarins; and as for thoſe who cannot obtain ſome ſuch advantageous poſts, they are often forced to conceal the only badge of their rank (which is a yellow girdle, and is common to all the imperial race), becauſe they cannot appear in an equipage ſuitable to it: and yet it muſt be obſerved here, that, by theſe, are not meant the deſcendants of the former *Chineſe* monarchs, whoſe race is quite extinct (Y), but

Princes of the blood, who.

(Y) We ſhall ſee, in the hiſtorical part, how every dynaſty endeavoured to extirpate thoſe of the foregoing. We are told, that, at the time of the conqueſt, there were ſtill above 3000 families of theſe princes of the dynaſty of *Ming*, in the city of *Kyang-chew*, ſeveral of whom were reduced to the loweſt poverty: the greateſt part of them deſtroyed by the pirates, who made themſelves maſters of *Pe-king*; and thoſe who eſcaped were forced to lay aſide their yellow girdle, change their names, and mix themſelves with the people. It was but lately that one of them, who was reduced to be a ſervant of the

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but those of the *Tartarian* emperors, who are not consequently above five generations backwards; but who are, however, multiplied to some thousands in that short time; polygamy, as well as poverty, causing them to increase to such a degree, that their pensions and appenage are thereby continually lessened, for they are allowed neither lands nor estates[f].

Confucius's family the only noble one.

As to the family of *Kong-fû-tse*, or *Confucius*, above-mentioned, they are still to this day looked upon as the most respectable, or indeed the only, nobility, not only on account of the extraordinary merit of that excellent philosopher, but likewise on account of its great antiquity, it having been continued in a direct succession for above 2000 years, from one of his nephews, who is, on that account, styled *Shing-jin-ti-shi-el*, or the nephew of the great sage. There has been always one of the family honoured with the title of *Kong*, or duke, and the place of that philosopher's birth hath been always governed by a mandarin of that family. Upon the whole, if we except the princes of the blood, and the *Confucian* family, the *Chinese* nation may be rightly said to be divided only into three classes; *viz.* the mandarins, the literati, and the plebeians; which distinction seems to have been thus settled by the *Tartarian* emperors since the conquest, as the most effectual to keep their new dominions in greater subjection and dependence.

Their titles.

Another political maxim.

THERE is one more excellent piece of politics among those monarchs, worth taking notice of, and which we shall close this article with; *viz.* their obliging the petty kings, their tributaries, the viceroys, mandarins, and other great officers, to send their children to court, under pretence indeed of giving them a better education, but in reality to remain there, as hostages for their fathers good behaviour and loyalty, and to prevent their forgetting their duty to the emperor. With the same view he obliges those great ministers themselves, as well as the princes his vassals, to reside at court during a

[f] DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

the missionaries, being discovered to be of the royal blood of *Ming*, was forced to flee, to avoid a worse fate from the *Tartars*, who were in search after him (17); so that none are now styled princes of the blood, but those who are related to the present imperial family; and, in favour of these, they have created five honorary titles, the highest of which, that of *Kong*, answers to our dukes, and the others to our marquises, earls, viscounts, *&c.* (18).

(17) *Du Halde, ubi supra, p.* 269.

(18) *Nieuhoff, Navarett. & al.*

certain

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certain time, to attend on the prince by turns; during which time none of them dares, on any pretence, repair either to their respective governments, or to their own paternal estates, without his particular leave, under the severest penalties; neither dare any of them dispense with this attendance, except by a special licence, without the manifest hazard of exposing their families to the severest resentment of those jealous monarchs[g]; and this we may also look upon as another source of the avarice and corruption of those great ministers; who are not only obliged to appear themselves, but to maintain their families there, in the greatest splendor that their circumstances can possibly allow; all which can never be done by their bare salary, if what most authors tell us be true, that the highest of them doth not amount to much above 2000 crowns a year[h].

The splendor of the imperial court.

By what we have just now hinted of the numerous and splendid appearance of these grandees, the reader may easily guess at the magnificence of the imperial court; and indeed, by all the accounts we have of it, nothing can be imagined more grand and superb, especially when that monarch makes his public appearance, as he commonly doth four times in a month, at which times he is accompanied by all those tributary kings, viceroys, mandarins, and other officers in waiting, to the number of 4 or 5000. As often as he is called out of his palace by his imperial function of high-priest, and the only person fit to offer sacrifices to *Tyen*, or to perform any other religious rites, he is always attended by 8000 men, four elephants, a great number of trumpets, several hundreds of horsemen, with banners and other insignia, all dressed and adorned in the most pompous manner; whilst he himself appears commonly on horseback, the harness covered with gold tissue, and glittering with the richest variety of precious stones. The umbrella that is carried over his head, and covers him and his horse, sparkles so with diamonds, that the eye can hardly bear the lustre of them, especially on a clear sunshine. One hundred large gilt lanterns with flambeaux are carried before it; and, after him, follow all the tributary kings, princes of the blood, 200 mandarins and ministers of the first rank, 2000 commanders of his army, 500 youth of quality, attended each by two footmen dressed in fine coronation silk, richly embroidered with gold, silver, *&c.*

Vast retinue.

His retinue is still more numerous whenever he goes out of his capital upon any particular expedition, or to visit some places at a distance from it; at which time his attendance

[g] Du Halde, & al. sup. citat. [h] Iid. ubi sup

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Hunting diversion.

looks more like a little army than a princely escorte. But the grandest of all is, when he goes out to take the usual diversion of hunting, as he commonly doth in the province of *Lyau-tong*, without the great wall [i], or in some of the forests on the frontiers of *Tartary*; at which time he is attended with an army of 40,000 horse, stationed at proper distances along the road, 3000 *Tartarian* archers, and a party of lancers riding before and after him, besides his usual retinue of nobles, viceroys, courtiers, *&c.*

Homage paid to him by his vassals.

It is on these occasions that the *Tartarian* princes, his vassals or tributaries, to the number of thirty or forty, are obliged to come and pay their homage to him, in the most splendid equipages, and with a retinue suitable to their rank: for, tho' vassals, or tributary to him, they are still permitted to bear the title of *Chams*, or emperors, and strive to make the noblest appearance they can, and to outvie one another in the splendor of their train: all which still adds more lustre and magnificence to that of the *Chinese* monarch, and is an effectual means of keeping those princes more steady in their obedience; because he commonly obliges them with some marks of his favour on all such occasions, either by bestowing some of his daughters on them, making them some considerable presents, or assisting them with some of his forces, to protect them from the western or *Muscovite Tartars*.

Vast revenue.

It is not easy to reckon what the imperial revenue amounts to, because a great part of it is paid in goods as well as in specie. *Niewhoff* computed it at about thirty-seven millions sterling *per annum* [k]; and *Le Compte* only to twenty-one or twenty-two millions [l]; others, as *Magaillan*, *Martini*, and *Navaretta*, still differ from them, and from each other; which shews there must be either some considerable fluctuation in it, or, which is more likely, too great a difficulty to come at an exact calculation of it. The last author that wrote upon it makes the whole to amount to about 200,000,000 of taels [m], each tael weighing an ounce of silver, worth 100 *French* sols, or somewhat above five of our shillings, which will be above equivalent to fifty millions sterling. That of grain, such as rice, wheat, and millet, is computed, *communibus annis*, at 40,155,490 sacks, each sack weighing 120 pounds; the salt to 1,315,937 loaves, each loaf weighing 50 pounds; beans for his horses, 210,470 sacks; trusses of

In goods.

[i] See before, p. 94, & seq. See Martini, Navaretta, Le Compte, Du Halde, &c. [k] Dutch Ambassy. [l] State of China, part 2. let. 1. [m] Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 224. See also before, p. 34, & seq. & alib. pass.

hay

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hay and straw, 22,598,597; wrought silks and stuffs, 191,530 pounds weight, each pound of 20 ounces; unwrought silk, 409,896 pounds; callico, 367,480 pieces; linen cloth, 560,280, besides vast quantities of velvet, sattin, damask, and other silks; china-ware, varnish, oil, oxen, sheep, hogs, deer, wild and tame fowl, fish, pot-herbs, meal, biscuits, butter, vinegar, fruits, spices, and other provisions, and several sorts of wines, *&c.*; all which are annually brought into the palace by the imperial barks, amounting to 9999, or, according to others, 10,000 (Z), and employed by the emperor in gathering and bringing his revenue from every province to his capital [n]. All these provisions are levied on the subjects, in particular duties on their respective lands: for it appears from all our accounts of that empire, that lands are there enjoyed in property, and not at the prince's disposal, as in other parts of *India*; and hence it comes that the tenants are here commonly very poor, because they farm the lands from the owners at the rate of half the crop, out of which the landlord pays the taxes; and the tenant, out of his, pays the tillage and manure [o]. *Tribute, how raised.* *Lands how held and let.*

ANOTHER part of the revenue arises from the tribute laid on every male in the empire that is above 20, and under 60, years of age; and is said to amount to an immense sum, though we are not told how great (A). The third is levied out

[n] See MARTINI, MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, NAVARETTA, DU HALDE, &c. See before, p. 12. [o] Iid. ibid.

(Z) Most authors tell us, that the former is the true number of those barges, which the *Chinese* prefer to the latter, as carrying a more pompous sound: for which reason they will not add one more to it (19). Whether the *Chinese* were ever guilty of so low a piece of pride, or whether it was not rather done out of a superstitious regard to the number 9 four times repeated, we will not affirm. *Du Halde* makes use of the round number 10,000; but whether to conceal their weakness in that p int, or because the *Tartars* have since added another barge, out of contempt to the *Chinese* superstition or folly, we are not told.

(A) There have been reckoned formerly, we are told (20), above 58,000,000 of persons that paid this tribute; and, at the poll taken in the emperor *Kang-hi's* reign, there were found 11,052,872 families, and 59,788,364 men able to bear arms, exclusive of the princes officers, civil and military, discharged soldiers, literati, licentiates, doctors, bonzas, and all males under 20, and above 60; all which must amount to

(19) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 224. *See before, p.* 12, *& seq.* (20) *Id. ibid.*

an

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out of the mines and manufactures of the country: besides all which, the emperor hath power to raise new taxes on the people whenever the exigencies of state require it; but, those already settled being commonly more than sufficient to answer all his expences, he is so far from making use of that power, that there scarcely passes a year in which he doth not ease some one or more provinces of a great part of their tribute, if they happen to labour under any famine, or other public calamity [p].

Imperial wives and concubines.

As polygamy is allowed both in *Tartary* and *China*, the emperor hath commonly a good number of wives, tho' but one who is properly called *empress*, or *select consort*, who alone is allowed to sit at table with him. Among those of the next order are reckoned nine of a second, and thirty of the third rank, and all of them styled wives. Next to them are those styled queens, but are in reality rather concubines, and of these he takes as great a number as he pleases, and keeps them in different apartments from the former, except he should take a particular fancy to any one of them, and bring her into the inward court (B). But, in general, he shews

[p] Martini, Magaillan, Le Compte, Navaretta, & Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 244, & seq.

an immense number, seeing the very bonzas are computed at above 1,000,000, and the licentiates, or literary bachelors, to 90,000.

The whole land, and the number of families, being duly surveyed, it is easy to compute what each province, city, and district, is to pay yearly to the tax-gatherers; but these, it seems, are not permitted to seize the goods of those who are slow in their payments, or even refuse it, which would ruin their families: the only course they take, is either bastonading or imprisonment, or quartering upon them some of the old men of each city, which are maintained by the emperor's charity, till they have consumed what is equivalent to their arrears (21).

(B) *Martini* relates a singular story of one of this last sort of ladies, named *Pan*, who, for her wit, beauty, and singular prudence, was become such a great favourite of the emperor *Ching-hi*, or *Kang-hi*, that he could no longer brook that she should lodge in outward and inferior palaces, allotted to those of her rank, but resolved to bring her into one of those more splendid ones of the inward court; but which she refused, with a modesty peculiar to her, and in words to this effect: "I have "learned from some of our an- "tient paintings, for I am ig-

(21) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 244.

"norant

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shews the most respect and favour to those who bring him most children, and especially to the mother of the first son, though they are all inferior to the imperial consort, and obliged to wait on her whilst she sits at table with him. However, with respect to their children, those of the lower rank stand as good a chance to succeed in the empire as those of the first, some of them having been raised to that dignity by the bare will and nomination of the emperor; for tho' he commonly bestows some high title on those women he takes to his bed, especially when they are the daughters or sisters of some *Tartarian* princes, yet doth it not appear that he ever endows her by any contract, or other engagement, as shall intitle her issue by him to the succession; no, not even the empress consort, though she be at the head of all the rest (C); for that right of naming a successor he wholly reserves to himself.

Their children equally capable of succeeding to the throne.

" norant of letters, that good " emperors admitted none near " their persons but the wisest " and most faithful ministers; " and that bad ones, on the " contrary, delighted to have " such women about them as " debauched them into the " greatest irregularities and " crimes. You are now desi- " rous to prefer me to your own " imperial consort: but take " care, lest, by such a step, you " do not begin to tread in those " of wicked monarchs. As " for me, who have a sincere " love and esteem for you, who " am always proud of being " commended by you, and the " height of all whose wishes " is, to see you excel daily more " and more in all kinds of " princely virtues, I cannot con- " sent we should increase the " number, you of bad empe- " rors, and I of wicked wo- " men. You have a worthy " empress at the head of your " other wives, and it is her " whom you ought to keep " near your person, and not " such a one as I, who am only " a servant to you both." This signal instance of female modesty, our author adds, was highly applauded by the emperor; and much more so by the empress, who failed not to send her her thanks, as soon as she was apprised of it (21).

(C) It is also upon the same politic account that none of those wives, or other ladies, are allowed any share in their government and councils, though there have been instances of some of them being much fitter for it than those that sat at the helm; but this is a maxim which runs through most eastern countries, that that sex is excluded by nature from all government, either civil or even domestic; and for that reason it is that they call *Europe* the kingdom of ladies, in contempt; where, they have been told, they were suffered to succeed to the crown, and to be invested with the sovereign power (22).

(21) *Martin. Histor. Sinic. l.* x. *temp.* 11. (22) *Navaretta*, | *Martini*, *Le Compte, Nieuhoff, & al.*

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As soon, therefore, as he hath once named one to it, whether elder or younger, all the rest readily submit; and live in palaces assigned to them, either in the capital, or some other cities, but without any government, and never remove from them without the emperor's leave. Their appenage is duly paid to them by the treasurer of the province where they reside, and live as private gentlemen; nor dare they ever complain of an injury being done to their birthright, though the person nominated to the succession, or upon the throne, be ever so much younger, which, in either case, would be interpreted as no less a crime than treason.

The imperial palace described.

HAVING mentioned the various apartments, or rather palaces, of the imperial wives and concubines, it may be expected that we should subjoin a particular description of them here: but, as that would unavoidably carry us beyond our bounds, we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to what we have said on this head in the last section, when we were describing the metropolis of *Pe-king*[q]; and only mention here that stately part of it called the hall of audience, where foreign ambassadors are admitted to the imperial presence, in order to give them a clearer idea of that august ceremony.

Hall of audience described.

THIS noble fabric stands in one of the inner courts of the palace, and in the centre of a square solid basis, of an extraordinary bigness, the top of which is surrounded by a spacious balustrade, and over it another building somewhat less, and over that three more, all decreasing in size as they do in height, and all of them of white marble. On the uppermost of these is a large room of state, supported by four rows of pillars of a considerable height, and beautifully gilt and varnished, where the imperial throne is placed, and the roof covered with shining yellow tiles. Those vast bases, with their balustrades, which are disposed in form of an amphitheatre, make a magnificent appearance; and, with their varnish and gilding, quite dazzle the eye. Here the emperor, attended by a great number of his grandees, and prime ministers, in their robes, by the princes of the blood, tributary kings, *&c.* all prostrate on their faces before the throne, and each of them at a proper distance from it, according to their rank, gives audience to the ambassadors, who are conducted to the throne by some of the viceroys in waiting. The throne is raised about three or four feet from the ground, in the fashion of an altar, and covered with sables, on which the emperor sits cross-legged, after the manner of the *Tartars*.

Reception of ambassadors.

The throne described.

It is placed against the farther wall, facing the eastern en-

[q] See before, p. 23, & seq.

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trance; and opens with two folding-doors, curiously carved and painted. It is about three fathoms high, and as many in breadth; and before it are two ascents, with six steps each, adorned with rails beautifully wrought and gilt. The platform on which it is raised is likewise encompassed with a balustrade of curious workmanship, and either of beaten gold, or of silver deeply gilt.

THE hall itself is about thirty fathoms long, and ten broad; the sides and top curiously pannelled, carved and varnished; and the floor covered with carpets representing landschapes and histories, with variety of figures and ornaments. As to what relates to the ceremony of receiving, and giving audience to, foreign ambassadors, the reader may see the most material part of it in the next note (D), as we have chiefly taken it from the relation which his excellency Mr. *Izbrands Ides*, formerly ambassador

(D) He was, he says, conducted to the palace by three mandarins, in their robes of state, richly embroidered with gold on the breast and back, some with figures of dragons, others with lions, and a third sort with cranes and tygers. These brought him fifty horses for him and his retinue; and, being alighted at the gate of the outward court, he passed thro' five others, and came to the hall of audience. Here he found his majesty seated upon his throne, attended by a vast number of mandarins, and delivered his credentials to him; and, after a short speech, was reconducted to his house with the same ceremony and attendance. The emperor was dressed in a dark-coloured damask waistcoat, a coat of deep-blue sattin, lined with ermines; he had a string of coral about his neck, and on his head a cap faced with sable, with a red silk tuft or knot, and some peacock-feathers hanging down behind, and boots or buskins of black velvet on his legs; but had neither gold nor jewels about him.

He was afterwards invited to an entertainment at court, to which he was conducted by the same attendance as before; and, after having crossed six courts, was introduced into the palace, where, soon after his entrance, the emperor seated himself on a high throne, attended by some persons who played very finely on the small flute, and a life-guard of twelve men with halberts gilt, and without any point, but adorned with leopards and tygers tails. As soon as the emperor was seated, the music ceased, and the halberdiers sat down cross-legged on each side of the throne. The viceroy, the emperor's uncle, and two other grandees, stood on each side of his majesty; and the ambassador was at first placed about eight yards distance from him, but was presently after ordered to come nearer to him. The viceroy, who received his majesty's command on his knees, conducted him, by the hand, four yards nearer to the throne,

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ambaſſador to the emperor *Shang-ti* from the czar of *Muſcovy*, hath given us of his own [r]. That of Father *Le Compte* was indeed ſomewhat different from it; which may be ſuppoſed to have

[r] Chap. 12, & ſeq.

whilſt his retinue were placed about ten or twelve yards behind him. Here the emperor ſent again the viceroy to inquire after the czar's health; and returned his excellency's anſwer to him in the ſame kneeling poſture.

The covering of the emperor's table, which was of yellow damaſk, being taken off, the ambaſſador, who had one ſpread for himſelf, was deſired to fall to, as were alſo about 200 mandarins more, who were ſeated two and two at their tables alſo. They all ſat croſs-legged upon carpets, and the ambaſſador was forced to ſubmit to that uneaſy poſture. The entertainment conſiſted of cold meats and fruits: and, among the former, the emperor ſent his excellency a cold gooſe, a pig, and a loin of mutton, all roaſted. Three Jeſuits being afterwards ſent for to ſerve as interpreters, and having paid their reſpects to the throne on their knees, one of them was ordered to aſk his excellency ſeveral queſtions concerning his journey, the length and manner of it; and, having communicated his anſwer to the emperor, the viceroy was again bid to bring him nearer to his throne; and, having led him five or ſix ſteps higher, ſet him at the table oppoſite to the imperial one, where, after many other queſtions, a golden cup filled with *kumis* (a *Tartarian* liquor, ſaid to be diſtilled from mares milk) was handed to him by the viceroy; and, after his having drank ſome of it, his retinue, being ordered to advance five or ſix yards nearer, were treated likewiſe with it. Preſently after that ceremony, the viceroy conducted him to his former place; where, after having ſat about a quarter of an hour, the emperor aroſe; and, ſaluting him, retired to his own apartment; and then the mandarins conducted his excellency to ſee a *Chineſe* play of the heroic kind, and interlarded with a farce of two acts.

In his audience of leave, he obſerved a new kind of ceremony, which was uſed upon the emperor's being ſeated on his throne; *viz.* a herald calling aloud to the grandees then preſent to ſtand up, and bow themſelves to the earth; which they did three times, the drums beating, muſic playing, and bells ringing, all the while. His excellency was afterwards brought up, and placed within nine or ten yards of the throne, between two *Tartarian* lords, and there made his compliments to the emperor; after which, he was reconducted to his own houſe with the uſual ceremony, and in one of the emperor's chariots, drawn by an elephant (23).

(23) *Eckeland's Hiſt Ambaſſy*, c. 4, & ſeq.

been

been more suitable to the character in which he appeared, or perhaps, as likely, to the mourning which the emperor and court were then in for the death of his mother, who therefore chose to be seen in that state, rather than in the usual splendor of a *Chinese* monarch[s]. However, either of those audiences sufficiently shews the politeness and magnificence of that court, as well as the vast respect it pays to its princes.

The Chinese laws depend on the monarch's will.

We have already taken notice, that the *Chinese* laws had their original from the canonical books of the first and second rank, of which books we have given an account in a former part of this work[t]. But, as their monarchs are the sole interpreters of them, so that no sentence can be valid, whether in civil or criminal cases, how conformably soever to those laws, till it hath been ratified and confirmed by them; and as all the edicts and declarations have the force of laws, and admit of no dispute or demur, under the severest penalties, so one may say that the sole legislative power is lodged in their breast, and wholly depends upon their will. Whether their power was antiently so extensive, we dare not say; the contrary seems rather more probable, both from their history, and from the imperial collections of edicts of the several dynasties, since compiled by order of the emperor *Kang-hi*, with his judicious remarks at the end of almost every one, and written with the red pencil, that is, with his own hand, and translated into *Latin* by Father *Hervieu*, one of the missionaries in *China*. From both these it appears, that several of those antient emperors have repealed and annulled some of their old established laws; and substituted others in their stead, which they thought more beneficial to the commonwealth, though it must be also owned, that they seem rather, from the tenor of their declarations, to have recommended the doing of it to their supreme courts and councils, than to have done it by their sole authority: such, for instance, were some of the declarations of the emperor *Yen-ti*, in one of which, viz. against prosecuting those that criticised upon the then form of government, after having given his reasons against the law that condemned them to be prosecuted, he concludes in these words: *No; I can never suffer the continuation of such a law, and therefore let it be repealed*; and in another, which subjected the parents, children, and relations, of a criminal, to the same punishment, which he calls *a cruel and unjust one*, he concludes with saying, *such that law seems to me, of which I cannot see the good tendency: let it be maturely*

Some of their excellent declarations.

[s] State of China, part 1. let. 2.

[t] See before, Un. Hist. vol. xx. p. 126, & seq.

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deliberated, whether it be not necessary to have it repealed. We shall give our readers the substance of two or three other such declarations in the margin (E), that they may see not only how much

(E) That against involving the innocent relations in the punishment of a criminal, runs in words to this effect: "Laws, "being the rules of govern- "ment, ought to be faultless; "and should not only punish "the guilty, but protect the "innocent: yet I find, among "our laws, one still in force, "by which, when a man is "criminal, his father, mother, "wife, and children, are in- "volved in his punishment, and "the least punishment they "have to dread is slavery. "This law I can by no means "approve of: it is a sure ma- "xim, that laws, when per- "fectly just, are the surest "means of keeping the people "in their duty. When punish- "ment falls only on the head "of the guilty, all the world "commends the judgment. "The first duty of a magistrate "is, to guide the people like a "good shepherd, and to pre- "vent their going astray. If "our magistrates have not suc- "ceeded in this, and have still "laws to judge by, which are "not consistent with the strict- "est equity, those laws, though "well designed at first, turn to "the prejudice of the people, "and favour of cruelty." Such is the law I have mentioned; and therefore the emperor *Kang-hi*'s remark upon it is as follows:

These wise princes, the antient [Chinese] *emperors, often descended from the majesty of their throne, to bewail and weep over the guilty. How unreasonable is it to include, in the punishment of a malefactor, his father, his mother, his wife, and children? Ven-ti was for the abolishing of that law, and therefore we may conclude him to have been a good prince.*

Another declaration of the same emperor *Ven-ti*, for the promoting of agriculture, is to the following purport: "They "who have the government of "the people in their hands, "ought to inspire them with "all possible concern for what- "ever contributes to the good "of the state: such, without "doubt, is agriculture.

"For this reason I have been "recommending it to them "these ten years; yet I do not "observe that they have suffi- "ciently cultivated their new "grounds, or caused a greater "plenty of grain: on the con- "trary, I see hunger and want "painted on the face of the "poor. Surely either the ma- "gistrates, and subordinate offi- "cers, have not had a due re- "gard to my ordinances on "this head, or they are un- "fit for the rank they possess. "Alas! if the magistrates, who "are immediate witnesses of the "people's misery, are regard- "less of it, what effectual re- "medy can I apply for their "relief: this must be thought "of. In the mean time I re- "mit half of my revenue in "grain for the current year."

The emperor *Kang-hi*'s reflexion upon it is no less remarkably beautiful; and runs to this effect: *Nothing can be more just than*

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much some of those excellent monarchs had the peace and welfare of their subjects at heart, but also how tender they

Condescending style.

than this declaration, or more admirably expressed; even to this day it is affecting, and what must it have been when it was first published?

The reader may see, by these two instances, in how amiable a manner they endeavoured to inforce the observance of their salutary edicts, and the repealing of such old laws as tended to the detriment, rather than the peace and safety, of their subjects; and in how different a style they recommended the one, and condemned the other, from what we usually observe, not only in most of the other eastern monarchs, but even among those in our western kingdoms, where their power is neither so extensive, nor their wealth or strength so great, to support them in their tyrannic government. The reader may see a much greater number of them in the above-mentioned collection, all running in the same gentle and fatherly strain. We shall only single out one more, which, for its excellence in this way, may be termed an original in its kind. It is from the same admirable prince; and the occasion of it, the many constant prayers and supplications offered by his ministers on his behalf, whilst they neglected their duty towards his subjects. It is to this purport:

"I am now arrived at the "14th year of my reign; and "the longer it continues, the "more I am sensible of, and "confounded at, my want of "abilities: and though I have "not hitherto omitted the yearly discharge of those ceremonies prescribed to *Shang-ti*, "and to my ancestors; yet I "am sensible, that, in those "ceremonies, none of those "antient and wise princes had "any view to their own private "interest, or offered up their "petitions for what is commonly termed happiness. On the "contrary, they set all considerations of blood or family-"interest aside, to promote an "able worthy man, though no "way related to them, and "preferred the wise counsel of "another to their own natural "inclinations. Nothing can be "more commendable or wise "than such a disinterestedness "in great princes.

"A present I am given to "understand, that many officers "strive to outdo one another "in their prayers for the good "fortune, of who? not of my "people, but of my person. "This is what cannot by any "means be agreeable to me. "Could I approve that officers "unmindful of their duty, and "unattentive to the welfare of "my people, should be wholly "taken up with promoting that "of a prince who has so little "merit as I have, I should "think it no inconsiderable addition to my other failings. "I therefore ordain, that my "officers, instead of their pompous petitions for me, do "give all possible application "to a conscientious discharge "of their duty."

This declaration, like most

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they were of wounding the antient constitution of the empire by too despotic a use of their power and authority; for one may plainly see, that it was chiefly owing to this strict observance of the fundamentals of their government, that the *Chinese* have been able to preserve it in such wealth and splendor during so long a series of ages; and still continue to do, even under a foreign yoke. It is no less visible likewise, that the present peace, wealth, and grandeur, which both they and the *Tartars* enjoy under this new sett of emperors, is no less owing to the tender regard which these have, as far as possible, shewn to the antient *Chinese* constitution: and one may plainly judge how much the late emperor *Kang-hi* admired it, as well from the strict observance he paid to it, as from the judicious reflexions he made on the declarations above-mentioned. We may add, that he could not have fallen upon a more effectual means to endear the *Chinese* nation to him, and make his yoke sit easy upon them, than by causing those declarations of the best antient *Chinese* kings to be collected and published, with his sagacious animadversions and encomiums upon them; by which he seemed to give them a moral security, that he designed to make them the model of his own conduct and government [a]. Accordingly we find, that he admitted none in his collection, but those which either proposed the repealing of such old laws as were manifestly hurtful to the subjects, or the enacting such new ones as were best calculated to promote their peace and welfare; as the reader may see by the heads of the most remarkable of them, which he will find in the next note (F).

Imitated by the Tartarian emperors.

We

[a] See Du Halde Engl. vol. i. p. 454, & seq.

others, is subscribed, and much approved, by the wise emperor *Kang-hi*; and with this judicious observation, that it is a man's virtue, and not the offerings and prayers of other people, that draws down blessings from *Tyen* (heaven) upon him: to which our author adds an observation of one of the famed literati, named *Tsing-ta-yew*, who flourished under the dynasty of *Tang*; That the good emperor *Yen-ti* ascribed all the defects that happened in the state to his own self; but with regard to happiness, he disdained it all, except where his subjects had their common share in it; in which he was a worthy imitator and successor of our antient monarchs (24).

(F) Besides the three singular ones above-mentioned, the collection mentions these that follow:

(24) See Martini's Collection above quoted, Du Halde's version of it, and the English version of that, vol. i. p. 254, & seq.

4 A

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We may farther observe under this head, from the tenor of several of those imperial declarations, that though the Chinese *Their constitution polished by degrees.*

4. A declaration of the same emperor *Ven-ti*, on occasion of an eclipse of the sun, in the days of *Han*; wherein he acknowleges that phænomenon to be a warning from *Tyen* (heaven), both to him and his subjects, of some future calamity; and, as bad princes often draw them upon the people, he desires his ministers and subjects to examine with the utmost strictness into his conduct, and to acquaint him with what they find amiss in it, that he may, by his reformation, and good example, induce them to do the like, and thereby avert the threatening omen. One of the glosses upon it adds, that this is the first time that a *Chinese* emperor had, upon such an occasion, desired to be told of his faults; but that, since the days of *Ven-ti*, many of those monarchs had followed his example.

5. A declaration of the same, for exchanging some severe mutilations, inflicted on offenders, into some milder punishments. In this the good emperor bewails himself, that under the reign of *Shun*, a prince of extraordinary wisdom, the executing delinquents in effigie was deemed sufficient to keep people within their duty; whereas, in his days, the most severe mutilations, such as cutting off the nose, hand, foot, branding in the forehead, could not deter men from the blackest crimes. However, he ordains the exchanging of these for such other punishments, which, tho' severe according to the nature of the fact, shall not fix an indelible brand, but rather prove a means of their amendment, and being restored to the common privileges of a subject.

6. Another of the same, charging all his ministers, from the highest to the lowest, to inquire after men of the most approved virtue, merit, learning, &c. and to present them to him; and, in the mean time, that those, who were in the highest posts, should assist in examining the four following essential points; *viz.* 1. His daily and personal faults. 2. The defects of the present administration. 3. The injustice of the magistrates. 4. The necessities of the people.

7. Another of the same, giving his reasons for putting an end to a bloody and expensive war, and making peace with *Tan yu*, a *Tartarian* prince, on the north of *China*, and which he concludes with these remarkable words: *In this year, I can say I have acquitted myself of the first duty incumbent on a prince, which is, to establish peace in his family.*

8. Another of the same, in which he exhorts his subjects to give him their advice in his administration, to send him people of virtue and experience, to assist him with their counsels, and to apply and speak to him with freedom. This declaration procured him a memorial from one of his head ministers, so much to his liking, that he issued out a

9th, to the same purpose with the former, but still more earnest and pressing, to the rest of his officers, to come and acquaint him

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Chineſe conſtitution be cried up as ſuch an excellent model of government, yet it had originally, or at leaſt antiently, ſeveral ſevere laws, that favoured rather of tyranny, than of a well-calculated polity between the prince and his ſubjects. Of this nature was that which condemned all the relations of a criminal to the ſame puniſhment with him; and another which hurried the condemned perſons to execution, without allowing them a ſufficient reſpite for farther inquiry; ſo that great numbers of guiltleſs perſons had been unjuſtly put to death, whoſe innocence had manifeſtly appeared afterwards, when it was too late. The reader may ſee many others of the ſame nature in the liſt below, as likewiſe in that of thoſe new ones ſince

him with every defect in the adminiſtration, and to adviſe him how to remove them in the moſt effectual manner.

10. A declaration of the emperor *Suen-ti*, ordering perſons remarkable for their filial piety to be preſented to him, out of every government in his empire, in order to their being promoted by him according to their merit.

11. Another of the ſame, which grants an exemption from all attendance on public ſervice to thoſe who had loſt their father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, till they had performed all the uſual duties of mourning to ſuch parents. What theſe duties are, will be ſeen in the ſequel.

12. Another of the ſame, by which he diſpenſed, for the future, with a ſon's accuſing his parents, or a wife her huſband; but made it capital for a father or a huſband to conceal certain crimes of his ſon, or of his wife.

12. A declaration of the emperor *Ching-ti* to the great miniſters of his empire, recommending to them the care of ſuppreſſing all unneceſſary expences of equipages, clothes, entertainments, weddings, houſes, furniture, gardens, ponds, *&c.* and forbidding all people to go beyond their rank in any of theſe.

13. A declaration of the emperor *Ngay-ti*, for the reformation of muſic, and ſuppreſſing that kind of it which inſpired people with wantonneſs and effeminacy, and diſcharging his own band of muſicians, by way of example to his ſubjects, and by which, the gloſs obſerves, he ſaved the yearly ſalary of 440 perſons. We ſhall go no farther with them; but only obſerve, that theſe excellent declarations from the throne commonly produced ſome good memorials, or diſcourſes, on the ſubject they treated of; which were handled with ſuch politeneſs, and ſtrength of reaſoning, that they ſeldom failed of the deſired effect: they being chiefly written by ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced miniſters of thoſe monarchs, and by thoſe confirmed, and depoſited in their archives, for the benefit of thoſe that were to come after (25).

(25) *See Hervieu's Collection above-quoted, Du Halde's verſion of it, and the Engliſh verſion of that, vol. i. p. 454, &c. &c.*

enacted,

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enacted, by which it will plainly appear, that the *Chinese* government did not arrive to that mildness and excellency, but by degrees, and that it was chiefly owing to those wise and good princes, who made it their chief study to reform and improve it by their wholsome edicts, and laudable example.

Some cruelties still practised.

NEITHER can it be said that this reformation hath been so effectually and universally completed, as to answer the great character which some have given us of this government; witness the corruption and depravity which still reign amongst them; and the great power, or rather tyranny, which the viceroys, or governors, still exert against the subjects, in the fines and corporal punishments they inflict upon them: for though, as we hinted above, no criminal can be put to death, according to their laws, till the emperor hath confirmed the sentence, yet whether the reducing them to begary by fines and confiscation, torture and imprisonments, or bastonading them till they expire under the blows, or become poor miserable cripples by it, as is commonly, and impunely, done by those merciless mandarins, be not much more cruel than the worst death the law condemns any criminal to, and do not argue a defect in their constitution, more fit to be reformed than any of those mentioned in these declarations, will hardly admit of a question.

Various punishments; for treason;

THEIR punishments are either capital, as in cases of rebellion, murder, *&c.* corporal, as in lesser crimes, or pecuniary. Rebellion and treason, being esteemed the greatest of all crimes, are punished with the greatest rigour, *viz.* by cutting the criminal into 10,000 pieces, in the following manner: The executioner, having first tied him to a stake, tears the skin off his forehead and head, and lets it hang over his eyes, to prevent, as some tell us, his seeing how dreadfully the rest of his body is mangled; he next slashes the other parts with a kind of cutlass, till he hath cut almost all his flesh in pieces; and then abandons him to the cruelty of the gazing populace, who commonly dispatch him in the same butcherly manner. This punishment, however, is seldom executed to the last rigour, unless it be under some cruel princes; for, according to the law, it consists only in cutting the body of the criminal into several pieces, ripping up his belly, and taking out his entrails, and throwing the carcase into a river, or ditch, as is commonly done to great malefactors [w] (G).

THE

[w] DU HALDE Engl. vol. i. p. 413, & seq. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al.

(G) This punishment, as was hinted in the last note but one, used to be inflicted on all the near relations of the criminal, till

For disobedience to parents:

THE next crime to rebellion, or treason, against the emperor, is that against the parents, which is punished with the same, if not greater, severity. In this case, if a father charges his son with it before a magistrate, no farther proof is required, and the criminal is immediately condemned and executed, tho' it be but for obstinate disobedience, or disrespect; but if it amounts to a higher guilt, such as mockery, insult, or lifting up a hand against them, especially striking them, the whole country is alarmed, and the appointing of his punishment reserved for the emperor himself. In this last case, the magistrates of the place are turned out with disgrace, and the whole neighbourhood is threatened with some severe punishment, for having given birth to a monster, and suffered it to grow by degrees to that pitch of wickedness, without informing their governors of it. The criminal is condemned to be cut, like a traitor or rebel, into 10,000 pieces, and afterwards burnt; his lands, house or houses, and the houses next to his, to be destroyed, and to remain so, as a monument against so detestable a crime (H),

Their great respect to them.

MURDER

till the emperor *Ven-ti* caused that cruel law to be repealed: and it may, in the same manner, have been mitigated, with respect to the execution of the criminal; by that or some other monarch, tho' originally it was performed according to the letter, and as the name of the punishment implies; so that one may truly say of some of the antient laws of *China*, what the *Greeks* said of those of *Draco* the *Athenian* lawgiver, that they were written in blood (26), till they were afterwards mitigated by princes of a milder disposition.

(H) There is no duty which the *Chinese* laws so much require, or lay so great a stress on, as obedience to parents, whose authority reaches, in some cases, even beyond their funeral, as we shall shew in the sequel. Even the emperors are obliged by them to shew as deep a respect to them as the meanest of their subjects; and we read of one of them, who, having banished his own mother for entertaining a criminal conversation with one of his courtiers, was so importuned by his ministers and subjects with petitions for her recall, and with daily remonstrances against his breach of filial duty, in banishing her, that he was forced at length to yield to them, though not till he had tried to deter them from applying to him in her behalf, not only by some severe edicts, but by putting to death several of those zealous intercessors: insomuch that his grandees entered into a combination not to let one day pass, without one of them preferring a petition to him in their turn,

(26) *See before, Univ. Hist. vol.* vi. *p.* 292, *& seq.*

though

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MURDER is likewise punished with death, according to the nature of it. If a man kills his adversary in a duel, he is strangled, which is there reckoned the lesser punishment; but if by assassination, or with any aggravating circumstances, he is beheaded, which is reckoned the more dishonourable, because his head, the principal part of a man, is severed from the body, so that he doth not go out of the world with the same intire body with which he came into it: in either case, persons above the common rank are always carried to the place of execution either in a sedan, or a covered cart. The emperor, when he confirms any of these sentences of death, commonly subscribes the dead warrant according to the nature of the crime; as, when it is of an atrocious kind, with these words, *As soon as this order is received by you, let him be executed without any delay:* but when the crime is of a common nature, and hath nothing to aggravate it, he writes this sentence under it, *Let the criminal be kept in prison till autumn, and then be executed*; for there is a fixed day in that season, on which all criminals of this nature are to be put to death thro' the empire [x]. *Murder punished by strangling and beheading.*

[x] DU HALDE Engl. vol. i. p. 318, & seq. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al.

though sure to be cut off for it on the spot, till they had carried their point. Accordingly two of them came on different days, and were immediately put to death; and on the next came a third, who brought his herse and coffin with him, and left it at the gate of the palace; and, finding the emperor still more incensed at what he called his insolence, spoke to him to this effect: *What shall we lose by our death, but the sight of a prince upon whom we cannot look but with horror and amazement? Since you will not hear us, we will go and seek your, and the empress your mother's, ancestors; they will hear our complaints: and you will probably, in the dark silence of the night, hear our and their ghosts reproach you for your injustice.* This noble speech drew upon him the most cruel death that monarch could devise; which was, however, so far from deterring, that it spurred a number of other mandarins to follow his example, and to come daily to die martyrs to the cause; till the emperor, wearied with sacrificing so many worthy lives, and fearing it might occasion some revolt, was at length obliged to recall her; so tenacious is the *Chinese* nation of their antient laws with respect to this filial duty (27), that they would not suffer a monarch to shew a just resentment against a mother who had so shamefully sullied the honour of his family.

(27) *Le Compte, part 2, letter 1. Martini hist. Sinic. l. iii. imp. 28, & al.*

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Branding on the cheek. Banishment.

THERE are certain enormities, for which the offenders are burnt on the forehead, or on the two cheeks, with a *Chinese* character, signifying the crime: for others they condemn to banishment, which is often perpetual, if the place be any part of *Tartary*; and these are commonly condemned to receive a certain number of blows of the bastonado, according to the nature of their crime, before they set out. In some cases, they condemn the offender to tow or row in the imperial barks for a certain space, which seldom exceeds three years. Some other punishments they have for lesser offences, such as carrying a weight on their heads from six to ten or more pounds, according to the direction of the mandarin who presides at the tribunal.

The torture; extraordinary.

THEY use two sorts of torture in *China*, to extort confession; the ordinary one, which is however very acute and painful, is a kind of engine, which they clap the hands or feet, or both, of the unhappy person in, which distorts the bones to such a degree, that that on the feet squeezes the ancle-bone quite flat: however, we are told, that they have some remedies to diminish, or even stupefy, the exquisiteness of the pain; and others to restore their limbs in a few days, after having been so terribly distorted. The extraordinary torture is seldom used, except in cases of treason and rebellion, and in order to make the person confess his accomplices, after the fact hath been proved. This last is done by cutting slight gashes on the body, and stripping off the skin in narrow slips or fillets[z]. These are the punishments most in vogue: some there have been, indeed, of a much more cruel nature, formerly inflicted by some of their tyrannic monarchs, one in particular not unlike in its effects, as well as barbarity, to that of *Phalaris*'s bull (L); but those princes were not only detested

[z] See Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 313, & seq.

the rest to procure a wedding-feast. She soon found a man who went and demanded her, on those conditions, of the mandarin; who paid him the money accordingly, and delivered her up to him, free from her shameful and more insupportable yoke (29).

(L) The *Chinese* records mention, among other such detested tyrants, the emperor *Chew*, one of whose concubines, on whom he passionately doated, was the inventress of this new kind of punishment called *Pau-lo*. It was a brass tower, or column, twenty cubits high, and eight in diameter, and hollow in the middle, with three openings for

(29) *Fath. Contancin apud Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 312.]

putting

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detested during their life, but their memory hath been ever odious to this day.

ONE thing must be said in praise of the *Chinese*, with respect to the prisons in which they confine their offenders; *viz.* that they are much more capacious, airy, and sweet, than the common gaols in *Europe*, especially in *England*. They are generally large spacious courts, on whose four sides are the apartments of the criminals, raised upon wooden columns in the form of a gallery; and on the four corners are secured the more notorious rogues, in strong cells and fetters; and these are never let out in the day-time, as the others are, who are allowed the freedom of the court, and of conversing with each other. The women are confined in a separate court, where no man is admitted to come to them, or even to speak to them but through a grate, or the turning-box, by which their victuals, and other necessaries, are conveyed to them. Both prisons are very well guarded, and kept at nights in profound silence. The centinels are relieved every hour; the rest of the guard are ordeerd to patrole all the night; so that all attempts of rescue or escape prove not only vain, but dangerous. Every gaol hath a mandarin, who is trusted with the care of it, and is obliged to visit it frequently; and, if any prisoner is sick, to provide him with a physician, and proper remedies for his recovery; which is done at the emperor's charge. If any dies, the emperor must be acquainted with it (or, in the other provinces, the viceroy), who often sends a superior mandarin thither, to examine whether the inferior one hath done his duty. And thus much may suffice for criminal cases.

Prisons better kept than in Europe.

Well guarded.

THE civil ones are determined by proper tribunals. We took notice in a former section, that every city of the first, second, and third rank, had their proper courts and judges, the latter subordinate to the former, and all of them to that of the metropolis of the province, unto which a plaintiff or defendant might appeal; or even, passing by all the inferior ones, bring his cause to, if he thought he should not obtain justice in the inferior ones. In greater matters, a man may even appeal to the supreme tribunal of *Pe-king*; but in none

Civil causes how judged.

putting in of fuel. To this they fastened the unhappy objects, making them embrace the pillar with their arms and legs. A great fire was afterwards kindled within it, which roasted, and soon after reduced them to ashes, in the presence of this monster of cruelty, who it seems took an unnatural delight in such dreadful spectacles (39).

(30) *Fath. Cantancin apud Du Halde, p.* 314.

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Not managed by lawyers or attorneys.

Law-suits how carried on.

of these cases is the appeal, or even the cause, brought to a court by lawyers, advocates, and attorneys; but every man is to be his own counsellor and manager, unless he gets perhaps some expert person to draw up his plaint or case for him, in such a manner and form as custom requires; which being done, he is to bring it himself to the tribunal; and, being arrived at the second gate, beats on a drum, and then falls on his knees, with his hands lifted up as high as his head, and presents his plaint to the officer in waiting, who comes out to him at the sound of the drum. This last takes the paper from him, and carries it to the tribunal, where it is examined by the judges; and, if the suit proves to be of a frivolous or vexatious nature, or if the plaintiff cannot make good his allegations, he is commonly sent home with a sound drubbing of the bastonado: but if the plaint be just, and well supported, the defendant or accused is sent for by a proper officer of the court, and obliged to appear in person, and to make the best defence he can (M). In some cases the judges allow them a longer day; as when the defendant's witnesses are at some distance, or any circumstance happens, that requires a further examination; otherwise the controversy is decided upon the spot, according to the appearing merit of it. If either of the parties is dissatisfied with the sentence, he may appeal to a superior court, and, from that, to a higher; and, whether they do, or not, the judge of the inferior is obliged to transmit an account of every such tryal to the next superior court, to be there further examined, and be either confirmed or cashiered: for, if the sentence given appear unjust, the superior court is obliged not only to reverse it, and do justice to the injured person, but to punish the inferior judge,

(M) This last circumstance of summoning the defendant is not mentioned by *Magaillan*, or any other writer, nor in what manner he is to make his defence before the tribunal; which was an unpardonable oversight in them. However, we have ventured to insert thus much; as it is impossible for the judges to determine any cause regularly, without hearing both sides; it being unjust and illegal in any well governed nation, especially such as that of the *Chinese*, to forejudge any man, before he be permitted to offer what he has to say in his own defence. This may likewise be concluded from some of the *Chinese* stories which *Du Halde* hath inserted in the history of that country, wherein mention is made of such kind of tryals, and their manner of proceeding (31), which may be reasonably supposed to be founded on the laws and customs of the country.

(31) *Sect.* ii. *p.* 156, *&c seq.*

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for not having done it, whether any appeal be lodged againſt him, or no. This, one would imagine, muſt be a moſt excellent way of adminiſtring juſtice to the ſubjects, and baniſhing fraud and corruption from thoſe tribunals, by making the ſuperior ones to have ſuch a powerful check over the lower: but, as we have lately had occaſion to obſerve, all this is mere formality and grimace; and there is ſuch a fellow-feeling between all thoſe tribunals, or rather the higher ones do ſo prey on the lower, that a plaintiff will ſtand but a poor chance, let his cauſe be ever ſo juſt, if he doth not back it with ſuch round bribes as may turn the ſcale on his ſide. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſcouragements, we are told, that the people in ſome diſtricts are ſo litigious, that they will mortgage their lands, houſes, goods, and all they have, for the pleaſure of going to law, and procuring a baſtonado to be given to an antagoniſt; though it often happens that the defendant, by privately bribing the mandarin with a higher ſum, will divert the blows from his own to the plaintiff's back. Hence ariſe mortal diſcords and enmities among them, which will ſtick in their hearts till they find new opportunities of ſatisfying their revenge; whilſt thoſe miniſters of iniquity, more intent on their gain than their duty, or the peace and welfare of the ſubject, rather ſtrive to blow up, than to ſuppreſs, the flame, in hopes of new preſents and gains, to ſatisfy their boundleſs avarice [a].

Tribunals corrupted by bribery.

Some of the people very litigious.

SECT. IV.

Of the Learning, Arts, Sciences, Language, &c. of the Chineſe.

THE *Chineſe* have doubtleſs been too much cried up by the miſſionaries for their learning, and as unjuſtly undervalued by other writers for their want of it; neither is it poſſible to reconcile what we are told, on the one hand, of their having carried ſome of their ſciences to ſuch a high degree from the times of their earlieſt monarchs, ſeparate as they were from the reſt of the world, with the ſmall improvements they have ſince made to them during the ſpace of near 4000 years; whilſt the *Europeans*, who received theirs ſo recently from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, have ſo far outſtripped not only them, but the *Chineſe*, within the compaſs of two or three centuries. This may be clearly ſeen by what we have already obſerved of their maps of the world, and of the heavenly

Learning, arts, &c. of the Chineſe.

[a] DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 278. LE COMPTE, MAGAILLAN, & al.

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constellations, as well as from the imperfect apparatus of their famed observatory of *Pe-king*[a]. What indifferent astronomers, and worse geographers, they were when the first *European* missionaries came into those parts, is no less manifest, from the reception which they gave to those learned strangers. The progress they have since made under them in those sciences, plainly shews that their inferiority to the *Europeans* was not so much owing to want of genius and capacity, as to their being situate at so great a distance from them, and to their being debarred the benefit of travelling, and corresponding with other learned nations of the world; so that, all things considered, it ought to be rather a wonder that they had made so great a progress in them, with those slight assistances they had only from themselves, than that they came so far behind us in every point. And it appears no inconsiderable commendation of their understanding and capacity, that they so readily submitted to be taught by a people of whom they had scarcely heard before; and to be instructed in such a variety of branches of learning, which they were not only strangers to, but which were so very opposite to those which had, till then, passed for current among them. It is true, indeed, that the Jesuits took care to be well backed by the imperial authority and favour, before they ventured upon any thing of that kind; else the *literati*, who, till then, had looked upon all kinds of science and knowlege to be centred in them, might have given them, in all likelihood, a quite contrary reception, for presuming to introduce a new kind of learning, which cast so disadvantageous a reflexion upon their old. And this is no other than what Father *Verbiest* intimates in some of his letters, that it was with great difficulty, and not without the emperor's interposition, that the generality of their learned submitted to the exchange[a].

Their genius.

Missionaries encouraged by the emperor.

Their great progress.

However that be, whether by compulsion, or their own liking, they soon found reason more than sufficient to acknowlege the superiority of the *Europeans* with respect to several branches of the mathematics, and other sciences; and to admire the surprising experiments which were shewn to them in optics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, statics, catoptrics, perspective, *&c.* as well as their various instruments for navigation, astronomy, mechanics, *&c.* their watches, clocks, chimes, organs, and other such curiosities, as were not only perfectly new to them, but were looked upon, if not as so many new and strange automata, such as the vulgar imagined them, yet as machines

[a] Apud Le Compte, ubi sup. part 2. let. 3. [b] Idem ibid.

vastly

vastly exceeding human capacity and contrivance (A), till, by a longer continuance with them, they were let into both theory

(A) One of the most surprising experiments in optics, which they shewed to that monarch, was a pretty large semicylinder, of a very light kind of wood, in the middle of whose axis was placed a convex glass, which, being turned towards any object, represented it within the tube, in its natural figure. This was so much admired by that monarch, that he ordered a machine of the same nature to be made, and set up in his garden at *Pe-king*, by which he might see every thing that passed in the streets, and places adjacent, without being seen: which was accordingly done, to his no small satisfaction and wonder; but much more so of his empress, and other princesses of the court, who, being confined within the palace, could have no other way of beholding what was done abroad; on which account the object-glass was made of a larger compass, in order to take in a greater scope.

Father *Grimaldi* gave the monarch another instance of the wonderful effects of optics, which astonished all the grandees of the empire. He made, on the four walls of the Jesuits garden, a human figure, of the same length with the wall, which was fifty feet; and, as he had strictly followed the rules, there was nothing to be seen on the front but hills and dales, forests, chaces, *&c.*; but, from a certain point of sight, one observed the figure of a man handsomely shaped, and well-proportioned.

The magic lantern, catoptric instruments, telescopes, microscopes, and other glasses, which they presented to the emperor, and other grandees, did no less excite their admiration; particularly a tube in the form of an octagonal prism, which, being placed parallel to the horizon, exhibited eight different scenes in so lively a manner, that they were easily mistaken by the *Chinese* for the objects themselves.

Among other hydraulics, they presented that monarch with an engine of a new invention, which threw up a continual stream or cascade, and gave motion to a very regular clock, which exhibited the motions of the heavens. These, and a great variety of others in the static, pneumatic, and mechanic way, some curious barometers, thermometers, instruments for discovering the degrees of moisture and dryness, prisms, clocks, watches with chimes, alarums, and other contrivances, which would barely serve for amusements to our learned in *Europe*, we only mention here, to shew how ignorant the *Chinese* nation was in those various branches of the mathematics; so that we need not wonder if such a great variety of new instruments, experiments, books, lectures, and demonstrations, in some measure abated their natural pride, and caused them to look upon the *Europeans* as superior to them at least in all those respects (1).

(1) *Du Halde, ubi supra*, p. 311. *vol.* ii. p. 127, *& seq.*

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and practice; and confounded to find, that any nation so distant from, and till then unknown to, them, should have arrived to a height of knowlege so far surpassing their own. The emperor *Kang-hi*, in particular, was so charmed with every thing he saw and heard from them, that he seemed to grudge every moment he was absent from them, and continued their stedfast friend and benefactor so long as he lived. His example, and the singular favours and honours he shewed to those missionaries, soon encouraged the whole court, and the rest of the grandees, to seek their friendship and acquaintance, and to express an uncommon desire to be instructed in these new branches of *European* learning; so that in a little time the greatest part of the literati and nobles became their disciples, admirers, and patrons; and, by reading the books which they wrote, hearing their lectures, and assisting at their experiments, became themselves almost as well acquainted with them as their masters [b].

Kang-hi *a great admirer of their learning.*

THIS hath been their case ever since; and tho' they have, as we have shewn in a former section, expelled all the missionaries out of the empire, yet they still take care to cultivate what they have learned from them, and to teach it in all their academies: but it will not be amiss, before we go farther, to give some idea of their learning, before it received the improvements above-mentioned. Astronomy was one of the sciences which they valued themselves most upon, as having been very intent, according to their accounts, in observing the motions of the heavens ever since the foundation of their monarchy; and having some severe laws to punish those who were entrusted with that employment by the state, for every neglect, and, in some cases, even with death. And if what we are told by the Jesuits be true, of the exactness with which they calculated eclipses from the earliest times, insomuch that, of the thirty-six mentioned by *Confucius*, there are but two false and two doubtful, and all the rest have been incontestably verified by some of the best astronomers of their society [c], it must be owned that they excelled all other nations in that science: but we hope we have elsewhere given such reasons for our doubting of the truth of that assertion [d], as will at least incline an unprejudiced reader to suspend his judgment about it. Those state astronomers might, in all probability, only record those early eclipses, together with the exact time when, and

Astronomy how cultivated.

Calculateing of eclipses.

[b] VERBIEST apud Le Compte, ubi sup. part 2. letter 3. MAGAILLAN, NAVARETTA, MARTINI, & al. DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 126, & seq. [c] DU HALDE, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 128, & seq. [d] See before, Un. Hist. vol. xx. p. 150, & seq.

sign

ſign where, they happened, as they did all other celeſtial phænomena that came under their obſervations; and in proceſs of time, when the way and method were found out of calculating them, thoſe records might be made to paſs for calculations or predictions (B). Father *Gaubil*, who hath

(B) There is, however, a ſingular paſſage in one of their antient books, called *Shu-king*, the ſenſe of which, if rightly given us by the tranſlator (2), will, if not quite explode what we have offered above as a probable conjecture, at leaſt prove, that they had the art of calculating eclipſes much earlier than any other nation we know. It contains a charge againſt *Hi* and *Ho*, the two ſtate aſtronomers, who, drowned in wine and debauchery, had neglected to give timely notice of an eclipſe which happened on the firſt day of the moon, which was alſo the time of the autumnal equinox, at eight in the morning, not far from the conſtellation *Fang* (a ſtar in the ſign *Scorpio*). *But*, ſays that writer, Hi *and* Ho *pretend they knew nothing of it. Our antient emperors ſeverely puniſhed thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to examine the celeſtial motions, and did not exactly foretel them. It is written in the laws, which they have left us, that if the celeſtial phænomenon be not truly ſet down in the kalendar, or hath not been predicted, ſuch a neglect ought to be puniſhed with death.*

Now, if *Ju*, ſpeaker of the above ſentence, was really cotemporary with the emperors *Yau* and *Shun*, the eighth and ninth in deſcent from *Fo-hi*, as is there affirmed, it will evidently follow, that they had this art much earlier than ſome modern authors are willing to allow them, even though we ſhould retrench ſome centuries from the pretended antiquity of *Fo-hi*; eſpecially, if what *Du Halde* adds may be depended upon, that the above-mentioned eclipſe hath been ſince verified by ſeveral eminent mathematicians among the Jeſuits, and was ſuch as could not be ſeen in any part of *Europe* or *Aſia*, but in *China* (3).

But, if what we have formerly obſerved concerning the great uncertainty of the *Chineſe* chronology (4) be allowed to be well founded, it will appear to be more probable, that this quotation out of the *Shu-king* might imply no more than that *Hi* and *Ho* neglected to make, and record, their due obſervations on this eclipſe, they being, as the text ſays, drowned in their cups and debauchery when it happened; which is more likely to be the caſe, than that they ſhould do ſo when they were compiling their kalendar for that year, if any thing like that was really done in thoſe early days. Laſtly, if thoſe antient records have been deſtroyed, what could hinder thoſe who pretend to have recovered, or revived them, from repreſenting things in a more advantageous light, than ever they appeared in thoſe protocols (5)?

(2) *Du Halde, ubi ſup. vol.* ii. *p.* 127. *& ſeq.* (3) *Id. ibid p.* 128. *& ſeq.* (4) *Vide Univ. Hiſt. vol.* xx. *p.* 109. *& ſeq. & auct. ib. citat.* (5) *Ibid. paſſ.*

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greatly extolled their skill in astronomy, doth himself acknowlege, *That he was not yet certain of their method of calculating; but only that they expressed in numbers the quality of those eclipses, the quantity eclipsed, the parts where visible,* &c. He adds, *that the figures were written above* 100 *years before our Saviour; but that the numbers are obscure, and understood, at present, but by few* Chinese.

The certainty of the Chinese *records.*

BUT whether those early eclipses were really calculated, or only observed, and recorded, by those antient astronomers, nothing can give us a more irrefragable proof of the exactness, and consequently of the authenticity, of their annals and records: and we may add farther, that the various testimonies alleged in favour of their early skill in, and cultivation of, astronomy, are, notwithstanding all the difficulties alleged against them, sufficient to convince the most incredulous, that it manifestly bears a much older date than any other nation can pretend to. But we shall not here anticipate some curious hints and observations, which have been lately communicated to us, by some of our learned correspondents, upon this subject, and which, we flatter ourselves, will strike a much greater light upon these dark and controverted points; but which, we think, will be best deferred, till we come to speak of the origin, chronology, and antiquity, of the *Chinese* nation, which they more properly regard.

Motions and aspects of the planets.

THE same Father *Gaubil* further assures us, that they had curious diagrams of the positions of the heavenly bodies, computed above 120 years before Christ, exhibiting the number and extent of the constellations, what stars answered to their solstices and equinoxes, the declinations of the stars, with the distance of the tropics and the poles. They were acquainted with the motions of the sun and moon from west to east, and likewise of the planets and fixed stars, though they did not determine the motions of the latter till 400 years after Christ. They likewise had a pretty exact knowlege of the solar and lunar months; and gave nearly the same revolutions to *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, and *Mercury*, as we do, though they had no way of accounting for their seeming retrogradations and stations. Some suppose the heavens and planets to revolve about the earth; and others, though few in comparison, about the sun: nor is there any thing to be seen like this last system, in their astronomical calculations, but only in the writings of some private persons [e]. Thus far that learned Jesuit.

[e] GAUBIL, apud Societ. Observat. Math. Vid. & DU HALDE, ubi sup.

WE

We are told by others, of their antient observatory at *Nang-king*, in which were large globes, armillary spheres, quadrants, astrolabes, &c. not unlike those of that of *Pe-king*, which we have elsewhere described [f], and which Father *Ricci*, who viewed them some time after the year 1599, when he first came into *China*, says, looked as fine and beautiful as any he had seen in *Europe*, though they had been exposed above 200 years to all the injuries of the weather (C); but, as to their use and exactness, they stood, like the others, in great need of improvement, or rather were set aside, to make way for a better sett. They had another observatory at *Tong-song*, a city of the third rank, in the province of *Ho-nan* (of which we have likewise given an account, in a former section 8), and which the *Chinese* pretend to have been built by *Chew-kong*, one of the most expert mathematicians their nation ever had, and who is said to have flourished 1200 years before *Ptolemy* was born, and to have spent whole nights in observing the rising, motions, and figures, of the constellations. Among their other observations, upon record, of eclipses, notable conjunctions, &c. we meet with some relating to the transit of comets; but it doth not appear that they had any right notion of those bodies, their motions, orbits, nature, periods, &c. but looked upon them as some portending meteors, such as they interpreted every phænomenon they could not account for: and as for the rest of their astronomical observations, they were no more exact, till they received their farther improvements from *Schaal*, *Verbiest*, and other missionaries, appointed by the emperor *Kang-hi* to reform, or rather to new-model, their old kalendars; for these, notwithstanding the pains which the *Chinese* astronomers pretended to have taken, if they really did so, to regulate them according to the canons formerly compiled by Father *Ricci*, were yet found so

Antient observatories.

That of Tong-song.

No right notion of comets.

Kalendar mended by the Jesuits.

[f] See before, p. 28. & seq. [g] Ibid, p. 70. & seq.

(C) It is not easy to reconcile what these good fathers tell us, of globes, armillary spheres, and other instruments, which necessarily suppose their having a right notion of the figure of the earth, with what they tell us elsewhere, of their supposing it to be flat, and their country in the very center of it, and all the other kingdoms and countries planted about it as so many diminitive ministers attending on their over-grown empire, as, it seems, all their maps did represent it, till the Jesuits gave them a juster notion of it. The reader may see what we have said on this head in the first section (6).

(6) *See before*, p. 6. (D).

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defective, at the beginning of that monarch's reign, as to stand in need of fresh correction, and some farther amendments.

Kalendar mended by the Jesuits.

We shall add another remark, which will much lessen the credit of the *Chinese* nation, with regard to their great application to, and boasted skill in, astronomy, though they had attained to a greater degree of it than they really appear to have done; which is, that their excessive fondness for that science was owing to a superstitious infatuation for astrology.

Chinese *much given to astrology.*

They believed, and do so to this day, that every star or constellation, and every planet, hath a particular influence on all sublunary things, either good or bad, according to their nature, or various configurations; and that it was possible to foretel a vast number, if not all events, by calculating beforehand their motions, transits through every sign, and their various aspects to each other; insomuch, that, like the generality of our almanac-makers, they point out the lucky and unlucky days in each yearly ephemeris, and pretend to foretel wars, famines, sickness, droughts, good or bad seasons, and a vast number of other such trash: and it was, in all probability, to prevent the many frauds and abuses that were committed by those pretended astrologers, and to have those planetary calculations more exact, and the predictions from them more sure and regular, that there was an astrological tribunal erected; which is one of the most considerable in the empire, and subordinate only to that of the rites; whose business it is to present to the emperor, every forty-five days, a complete scheme of the heavenly motions, and aspects, for the next forty-five days; and to set down the alterations of the air, according to the various seasons; together with their predictions relating to diseases, drought, plenty, or scarcity; the days on which there will be winds, rain, hail, thunder, snow, *&c.*; and to give a particular account of the eclipses that are to happen within that space; together with their duration, the day and hour when, the place of heaven where, the number of digits obscured, and the effects they suppose it will produce, according to the signs they happen in, and the configuration of the heavenly bodies at that time. These accounts must be presented to the emperor some months before the eclipse happens, in order to have them conveyed, by proper officers, into every one of the fifteen provinces, exactly calculated according to the longitude and latitude of each of them, and there to be published, in a most solemn manner, and with such strange ceremonies, as shew their great fondness for astrology and superstition, rather than a true and well-

Their astrological tribunal; its office.

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well-founded skill in astronomy; as the reader may see by those few we we have inserted in the following note (D).

Geometry. THEIR geometry is still more superficial; and their method of solving of problems is rather by induction than any settled principles, they having neither theory nor practice, in any tolerable degree; they are indeed more exact in measuring, their method being both easy and exact. But what they most excell in, according to *Du Halde*, is their arithmetic, in which are found all the rules for adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing, exactly laid down in their books; not indeed by arithmetical characters, like ours, from 1 to 9, which they know not the use of, but by the help of an instrument, which they call *Swan-pan*, which the reader

Excell in arithmetic.

(D) The ceremony of it is as follows. First, there is affixed, to all public places, some days before-hand, a scheme of the eclipse, the time when, duration, and other particulars, above-related. The mandarins, having likewise had previous notice, are to appear on the day it happens, dressed in their formalities, at the astronomical tribunal, and to have tables set before them, on which the whole process is delineated, in order to observe the exact time of its beginning and ending, and other particulars, compare them with the scheme, which lies before them, and to communicate to each other their remarks upon the whole transaction.

As soon as they perceive that the luminary begins to be darkened, they fall upon their knees, beat their heads against the ground; while the drums and kettle-drums make a fearful noise along the streets of the city, accompanied with the shouts of the people; pursuant to an old notion they have had, from the earliest times, that the noise succoured those two useful planets, and frighted the dragon away, whose horrid claw, they imagine, hath got hold of the luminary, in order to devour it, and is the cause of the defect of its light. For though the wiser sort are, by this time, sensible enough, that eclipses are natural effects, yet can they not divest themselves of the old prejudice, that they commonly portend some sinister events to their nation; and, for that reason, the same ceremony is observed throughout the whole empire, in hopes to avert the omen.

Whilst the mandarins, and other officers, continue thus prostrate, all the time the eclipse lasts, there are other persons employed in observing and examining, with the utmost carefulness, the beginning, length, end, and other circumstances, of it, and comparing it with the scheme delivered to them. These observations are afterwards to be brought, written with their own hand, and sealed with their own seal, to the emperor, who compares them with those he himself hath made on it, with equal attention, in his own palace (7).

(7) *Vide Navarette, Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.*

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will find described in a former part of this work *, it being affirmed to have been invented by a learned ko-lau, ever since the reign of *Whang-ti*, their third emperor, and to have continued in use ever since. By this instrument, we are told, they are able to dispatch any arithmetical operation, with more surprising ease, quickness, and exactness, than the best master in that art can do in *Europe*, either by counters or figures [h]. How far that method will extend beyond the four general rules above-mentioned, whether to decimals, fractions, fellowship, *&c.* we are not told; yet, considering what a trading nation they are, and that they have no other way of reckoning but this, one would suppose, that it must take in all those branches. Some notion they seem to have of algebra, by the use they are said to make of some of its problems, in their geometry [i]; but in this, as well as other parts of the mathematics, they are still very imperfect, much less were they furnished with any such excellent helps as our tables of sines and tangents, logarithms, *&c.* so very necessary and expeditious, and exact, in all astronomical calculations; except the missionaries above-mentioned have thought fit to instruct them in the use of them: but that is what we can hardly suppose any of them ever did, the *Chinese*, in general, being naturally averse to every kind of abstruse learning, and incapable of too close application; and these they could not be taught, without being made previously acquainted with the *European* arithmetic; which, besides its novelty, would have appeared to them an insurmountable task: and this, joined to their reluctance to be beholden to strangers for any branch of learning, could be but a small encouragement to the Jesuits to force so sure and expeditious a one upon them, the concealing of which would still secure them a visible superiority over them.

Navigation and shipping.

THEY continue still very unskilled in the art of navigation, though they pretend to have had it from the earliest times, and to have sailed, some thousand years ago, over all the *Indian* seas, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and that without the help of the compass; which, though they boast themselves to be the first inventors of, yet they did not discover till a long time after.

Whether they ever sailed to the Cape of Good Hope.

THE learned *Huetius*, in his treatise of the navigation of the antients, hath endeavoured to confirm this, from a passage in what he calls the Annals of the City of *Ormus*; in

* Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 141. & seq. [h] Vide MARTINI, Hist. Sinens. lib. 1. LE COMPTE, ubi sup. letter 8. CARRERI, NAVARETTA, & al. [i] LE COMPTE, ubi supra.

which

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which it is affirmed, that 400 *Chinese* vessels have been observed to come into the *Persic* gulf, and to lade and unlade a prodigious quantity and variety of the richest merchandizes. The misfortune is, that that learned prelate doth not give us any account of those annals, nor about what time such a prodigious number of vessels were seen in that gulf. Neither doth it appear, from any of the *Chinese* records, or in any of what is styled their classic books, if we may believe the celebrated Jesuit *Parrenin* *. From which he conjectures, that the word *Ta-lan-chan*, which the *Chinese* give now to the cape above-mentioned, and signifies no more than the mountain of high waves, might have been formerly given to some of those which they met with in their sailing to *Batavia*, *Siam*, &c.: and many such there are, doubtless, along those seas, and to have been since appropriated to that far distant one, out of a fond ambition of being thought to have extended their naval commerce so far beyond whatever they did, or indeed could possibly do, considering the unfitness of their trading vessels, and their imperfect skill in the art of navigation.

THEIR shipping, indeed, as it is at present, and hath been ever since the coming of the *Europeans*, appear altogether unfit for such long and dangerous voyages; and though they have them of all bulks and sizes, yet the very best of them seem only designed for those seas which surround their country, and the rest for sailing on their lakes, rivers, and canals. The former are properly no other than flat-bottomed vessels, with two masts, and not above eighty or ninety feet in length. The forepart is not made with a beak, but rises up somewhat like two wings, or horns, and makes but a very odd figure; and the stern is open in the middle, to receive the rudder, and shelter it from the beating of the waves. This rudder, which is about five or six feet broad, may be easily raised or lowered, by means of a cable fastened to it from the stern. *Ships, how built.*

THESE ships have neither mizzen-mast, bowsprit, nor scuttles, but only a main and fore-mast, to which they sometimes add a small top-mast, of no great use. Their sails are of mats, made of bamboo, divided into leaves, like a pocket-book, which fold and unfold in the same manner as a skreen, and are joined together by a pole, made also of bamboo. On the top is a piece of wood, serving for a sail-yard, and at the bottom a sort of plank, above a foot broad, and four or five inches thick, which keeps the sail steady, when they hoist it up or down. In a word, these ships are only made to sail on *Sails.*

* Lettres edifiant. vol. xxvi. p. 78. & seq.

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those seas, and would be of little use in the hands of any but *Chinoses*, who know how to manage them; and though they take in and retain more wind, on account of the stiffness of their sails, yet they lose that advantage in other respects, by being built so differently from ours.

Wooden anchors. THEIR anchors are made of a hard and heavy sort of wood, which they call *Tye-mu*, or *iron-wood*, which, they say, is not so apt to bend as those made of iron: however, they take care to tip both flukes with that metal. Their ships are caulked, not with pitch and tar, as ours, but with a kind of gum, which is so good, that a well or two at the bottom of the hold is sufficient to keep the vessel dry; for, hitherto, they know nothing of the use of the pump, but draw the water out with buckets. Their ships have neither master nor pilot on board, but are left to the management of those that steer them, who are commonly pretty good pilots in coasting, though indifferent ones in the main sea, and would be still more so, were they to take any long voyages (E).

WE

(E) Their method, it seems, is to lay the head of the ship upon the rhumb on which they propose to sail, and hold on their course, without giving themselves any trouble about the deviation of the vessel; which is done by the help of a silken thread, which divides the surface of the card into two equal parts, from north to south. This may be performed two ways; *viz.* either by putting the rhumb parallel to the keel, and then turning the vessel (supposing they design to sail north-east), till the needle becomes parallel to the string; or, which answers to the same, by putting the thread parallel to the keel, they make the needle point to the north-west. However, the main difficulty is to keep the vessel steady on its rhumb, which is next to impossible, considering the smallness of their rudder, and the stretching and wabbling of the ropes to which it is fastened.

Their compass is still more defective, being only a box, the rims of which are divided into twenty-four equal parts, and make the different points or winds. This box they place upon a bed of sand, or something of that soft nature, not so much to keep the needle steady from the agitation of the ship, which is ever jogging it out of its equilibrium, as to hold the pastil with which they perfume them every moment: for such is their superstition, in this respect, as not only to regale the winds with such perfumes, but even to offer victuals to them, by way of sacrifice. The needle of the largest compass is not above three inches long, and hath at one end something like a flower-de-luce, and on the other a kind of trident: but for these, we are told, they are beholden to the *Japanese*; for they are brought to them from *Nanga-saki*.

5

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WE have already spoken of the 10,000 imperial barks, which carry the tribute and provisions from all the provinces to the city of *Pe-king*, and are, by far, the finest and largest, and of equal breadth from head to stern. The next class is, that of those which are kept by the emperor, to convey the viceroys, governors, and mandarins, to their respective governments, of which he hath likewise a great number, and all of them finely gilt, carved, and adorned without, and furnished with most commodious and handsome apartments within. Next to them, are those which belong properly to the princes of the blood, to the nobles, grandees, literati, and, last of all, those that belong to merchants and tradesmen. All of them are built, adorned, and furnished, more or less sump- *Stately barks; various sorts of them.*

This account of their method of sailing, vessel, tackle, &c. which we have extracted out of the observations which five Jesuit missionaries made, on their passage from *Siam* to *China*, in a vessel belonging to *Can-ton*, *anno* 1687 (7), will suffice to give our readers an idea of the rest, and serve to convince them, that if the *Chinese* were such antient sailors, and the real inventors of the compass, they have reaped but small advantages from, and made but very poor improvements in, both.

These needles, whether they were brought from *Japan*, as the last quoted authors affirm, or made in *China*, as *Du Halde*, and some of his fraternity, seem to intimate, do not receive their virtue, if we may believe what another of the same order tells, upon the authority of one of their fancied *Chinese* books, from the loadstone, though they have it there in great plenty; but from a strange mixture of orpiment, cinabar, sandrak, and filings of steel, all reduced into a fine powder, and made into a kind of paste, by a sufficient quantity of blood drawn from the comb of a white cock. This paste, in which the needles are to be put, and closely rolled in paper, is to be kept seven days and nights, over a clear and constant charcoal fire; after which, they being taken out, and worn, three days longer, next to a man's skin, will be found fit for use, and point directly to the north; and, what is still more surprising, without being liable to those frequent variations with those that are touched with the loadstone (*).

Our author doth not seem indeed willing to think such an odd mixture, and much less with such a process, likely to produce such extraordinary effects. Nevertheless, from the *Chinese* being ignorant or insensible of the variation of their needle, so much complained of by other mariners, he seems to conclude it probable, that those which are in use among them have that peculiar quality, above those which are touched with the loadstone, whatever be the means by which it is conveyed into them.

(7) *Du Halde, ubi sup. vol.* i. *p.* 529. *& seq.*

(*) *D'Entrecolles, in Recueil de Lett. edifiant. vol.* xxii. *p.* 464. *seq.*

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tuously, according to the rank of the owners, yet so, that those of the lowest order are still very beautiful and convenient, and in such number, as to make a very noble shew on their canals and rivers, and especially in their most considerable cities, for concourse, where they appear in such vast quantities, as to extend themselves for some miles together, in exact rows, three or four deep, on those rivers and canals. But those which belong to the princes and nobles appear quite magnificent, and more like castles on the water, being divided into a variety of sumptuous apartments, for state and convenience. Their windows and doors, which are made like grates, have oyster-shells, or some fine linen or silk spread over with fine white wax, instead of glasses, to let the light through: and even those which are employed, to the number of 365, to carry the emperor's fish from some distant provinces to *Pe-king*, together with some of the finest silks, brocades, and other rich merchandizes, for the court, are all painted with a fine vermilion, curiously gilt and carved.

Windows.

ALL kinds of vessels in general, that sail upon those canals, rivers, lakes, *&c.* (F) are under the best regulation; and all are obliged to strike to those which belong to the emperor, and the rest to each other, according to their rank: and as the whole country abounds with lakes, rivers, and especially artificial canals, so one may behold there, with pleasure, an infinite variety of vessels sailing on them, some for diversion or grandeur, others for commerce and carriage, all swarming with people busily taken up with their various employments.

Floating villages.

WE shall close this article with a word of their floating villages, and their rafts on the rivers and canals. The former of these are flat-bottomed barges, neatly built, with little houses upon them, in rows, some larger, some smaller, in which live several families, who carry on some sort of business or manufacture, and seldom go on shore, except to buy or sell, but live wholly in those vessels. The other, *viz.* the rafts or floats on the rivers, do mostly belong to the salt

Timber floats.

(F) To these we may add a kind of gallies, in great use amongst them, not only along the coasts, and between the islands, but also on the rivers, canals, and lakes. These are likewise flat-bottomed, and about as long as our merchantmen of between 300 and 400 tons, and draw not above two feet water; and, as their oars do not reach to the opposite side of the ship, as ours do, but are placed on the outside, in a position almost parallel to the body of the bark, each oar is easily moved, with few hands, and the vessel made to go very swiftly.

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and timber-merchants, who are commonly the richeſt in *China*. Theſe, inſtead of barks to carry their goods, make uſe of thoſe rafts; which are made in the following manner. After the timber, which they cut down in the woods and foreſts of the province of *Se-chwen*, is brought to the river *Kyang*, they take what is neceſſary to make a raft four or five feet high, and ten or more long; then boring holes at each end of the pieces of wood, run through them twiſted oſiers, by which they faſten the reſt of the timber together, ſo as to form a raft of any length, to float upon the river, ſome of which will extend half a league, or more. The ſeveral parts of the raft, being thus put together, are eaſily moved any way, like the links of a chain, and four or five of the foremoſt men guide it with their poles or oars; while others, placed at proper diſtances along the ſides, help to conduct it. Theſe men build upon them little huts, covered with mats, or boards, from ſpace to ſpace, and there keep their moveables, dreſs their victuals, and take their reſt. At every city they touch at, they ſell their houſes along with the timber. In this eaſy manner do thoſe floats perform their courſe upon thoſe lakes and rivers, the longeſt of which is reckoned above 600 leagues, when they carry their wood to *Pe-king* [k]. And thus much will ſuffice for their ſkill in navigation.

Defective in other arts and ſciences.

SHOULD we carry our inquiry higher, with relation to their ſkill in other arts and ſciences, we ſhall ſtill find them more defective. They know but little of natural philoſophy, that is well founded, but what they learned from the *Europeans*. Some of their greateſt virtuoſo's appeared quite aſtoniſhed at ſome common experiments the Jeſuits ſhewed them, ſuch as, cauſing hot water to freeze before a large fire, the petrifying or making of artificial ſtone only with two different liquids, the effects of the *aurum fulminans*, and others of the like nature; and owned, that nothing leſs than ocular demonſtration could have convinced them of the poſſibility of them. Much more were they ſurpriſed, at leaſt inwardly, to have thoſe effects clearly explained to them, from natural principles, and that by ſtrangers, born at ſuch a vaſt diſtance from them, who had, till then, imagined all kind of learning confined within the limits of their own empire *.

As to moral philoſophy, though they have more good books written on that ſubject than on any other, and think themſelves to excel all other nations in it, yet a little acquaintance

[k] De his, vide MAGAILLAN, NAVARETTA, CARRERI, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. * PARRENIN, ubi ſup. vol. xxiv. p. 51. & ſeq.

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with their writings will easily convince an unprejudiced reader, how short they come not only of ours, but likewise of some of the best heathen philosophers. The whole of it is reducible under the two following heads; *viz.* the relative duties of parents and children, and of princes and their subjects. They make no distinction between morality and politics, between the art of living and governing well. In these, says *Du Halde*, their sages, who are very numerous and voluminous, have endeavoured to excel, not so much in high flights of eloquence and rhetorical style, as in adapting their reasoning and persuasives to the meanest capacities, in order to make mankind wiser and better by their writings.

They have neither logic nor rhetoric.

LOGIC and rhetoric, one would have reasonably expected to have been in no small perfection among a people who value themselves so much, and have been so highly cried up for their just way of reasoning, and polite method of speaking and writing; nevertheless, what talents they have in that way appear to be intirely natural to them, since they have not one rule to teach them how to argue closely and regularly, nor for speaking or writing politely and elegantly, but trust wholly to the light of their reason, and the justness of comparing their ideas together in the one, and in the clear and succinct arrangement of their periods, lively and energetic expressions, bold metaphors and allusions, in the other. To this last, however, they add commonly the wise maxims and sentences of their sages, which being in highest repute among them, and couched in such a concise and mystic style, as to contain a great deal of reasoning, and variety of thoughts, in few words, commonly make a much stronger impression than the boldest figures of our artificial rhetoric, or at least will not fail of silencing, if they do not altogether convince, an antagonist [l].

Physic.

PHYSIC, they pretend to be as antient as their good emperor *Whang-ti*, or *Hoang-ti*, the third in succession from *Fo-hi*, their founder. This good prince, they say, observing that mankind, being tormented by the rigour of the seasons from without, and by their passions and intemperance from within, did seldom live their full time, ordered three eminent persons of his court to examine the nature and oeconomy of the blood-vessels; after which, he appointed proper medicines for every disease [m]; these were chiefly of the vegetable kind, to which they have made some few improvements since,

[l] PARRENIN, ubi sup. vol, xxiv. p. 51. & seq. [m] MARTINI, Hist. Sinic. imp. 3. DU HALDE, ibid. & al.

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hardly worth mentioning; such as introducing some of the minerals into use, together with sweating, cauterising, and sometimes (though very seldom) phlebotomy. As to purging, vomiting, and clysters, they have but a mean opinion of their efficacy, if there be not, perhaps, something in them that offends their modesty, and makes them averse to them. However, as their skill in anatomy, natural philosophy, physics, *&c.* which are the foundation of that noble science, is so very small, we cannot expect them to have made any great proficiency in it.

Skill in pulses.

They pretend, indeed, to an extraordinary knowlege in pulses, and to discover not only the nature and degree of a patient's distemper, but likewise how long it will last, and whether it will prove mortal, by the sole feeling of his pulse; and, if we may believe the missionaries, their skill in this way is surprising, though not so sure, but that they are sometimes mistaken. The misfortune is, that they are more expert at discovering the distemper, than happy at prescribing proper remedies for it; though this seeming defect may probably enough be owing to avarice, that they may keep their patient the longer under their hand, and ply him with a greater quantity of medicines: for they have no apothecaries among them; but every physician prepares his own prescriptions, which they commonly administer in pills or bolus's, and seldom in draughts.

No apothecaries.

Cauterising.

In most sorts of pains and aches, which they attribute commonly to some malignant wind, they apply burning-hot needles, or irons shaped like small buttons, and cauterise and torment their patients, upon the slightest occasion; and in violent cholics, which are caused by indigestion, and attended with vomiting, *&c.* they will even apply a hot iron plate to the soles of the feet. But those who treat their patients in a less butcherly manner, will rather have recourse to cordials, which are extracted from alexipharmic herbs and roots.

Medicinal herbs, &c.

They are seldom afflicted with gouts, sciatica's, stone, or other chronic diseases, which is commonly attributed to their frequent drinking of tea; besides which, their country abounds with great variety of excellent herbs and roots, and, among the latter, those called *Jin-seng*, or *Gen-seng*, and *China*, or *Pao* root, of which we shall speak under another head, and which are esteemed excellent sudorifics, and correctors of the blood. To conclude, every man is permitted to practise physic; no degrees or qualifications being required, but a good assurance, and a great pretence to astrology; without a sufficient skill in which, a man would be thought a fool or a

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knave, that should set up for a physician; so that, upon the whole, they are no better than quacks [n].

Great aversion to anatomy and dissections.

To what we have hinted above of their ignorance of physic, let us add their extreme aversion to anatomy, at least to that part of it which is called dissecting; and which is so rooted into them, that no kind of benefit, that can be obtained from it, hath ever been able to reconcile them to it, or make them look upon it in any other light than as a most inhuman practice. To suffer the body of a dead parent, or near relation, to be opened, to know the distemper he died of, would be looked upon amongst them as a most horrid sacrilege; and to dissect a human body, though executed for some heinous crime, is cried down as a piece of injustice done to the criminal, to which the law had not condemned him. Much more unjust do they deem it, to cut and mangle any other dead body which dies a natural death. If, say they, the very apprehension of being treated in such a butcherly manner, after one's decease, would make a man miserable all his life, how much more grievous must it be to the soul, to behold the horrid operation performed? Is it therefore just or reasonable to suffer such a cruel practice, merely for the sake of gaining a little more skill in the art of curing diseases, and lengthening life a few years, which could scarcely be justified, could it enable those inhuman manglers to render men immortal? Thus they reason, or rather exclaim, against the anatomizing of human bodies: and it is much to be questioned, whether the principle upon which they argue hath not saved more lives among them, than ever anatomy did among us *. However, this may serve, at present, to shew our readers what kind of surgeons, as well as physicians, the *Chinese* are glad to take up with. We may have occasion, in the sequel, to say something more on that subject, when we come to speak of their diseases, and their manner of curing of them.

The circulation of the blood known of old among them.

All we shall further observe here, is, that, according to the generality of authors, who have wrote of this nation, the circulation of the blood hath been known amongst them, from time immemorial; though, for want of a tolerable skill in anatomy, they neither know how it is performed, nor how to make those improvements from it, which they might otherwise do, in their common practice of physic †.

Music, very crude.

Music and poetry, though seemingly adapted to the airy genius of the *Chinese* nation, are to this day very crude and

[n] Martini, Hist. Sinic. imp. 3. Du Halde, Le Compte, & al. * Vide Parrenin, in Recueil de Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xxi. p. 148. & seq. † Id. ibid. p. 135. & seq. *Ibid.* vol. xvii. p. 389. Vide & Le Compte, Martini, Navarretta, Du Halde, & al. plur.

irregular.

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irregular. The former, they pretend to have been brought to its higheſt perfection, and to have been in the higheſt eſteem among them, long before *Confucius*'s time, who was himſelf a great admirer and maſter of it. But their books, which treated of that art, having been ſince loſt, that art is dwindled into a mere uncouth jingle of ſounds, without harmony, contraſt, or variety of parts, and, at the beſt, is but like our common airs, and conſequently not deſerving the name of muſic. They know nothing of the uſe of notes, but learn all their tunes by the ear (G). Their inſtruments are ſtill more uncouth; ſome like bells, others like drums, of ſeveral ſizes and makes; one ſomewhat like our trumpet; and a few of them like our viols, and other ſtringed inſtruments; two or three kinds of flutes; and one of them compoſed of about twelve or fourteen pipes, of different lengths, made of cane, and not unlike in ſound to the open flute of our organs, except that it is blown with the mouth, and not above fifteen or eighteen inches in length, and about three or four in diameter, the pipes being ſtuck, circular-wiſe, into a ſocket, which ſerves for the ſounding-board, and receives the wind by a mouth-piece. They now ſeldom uſe either vocal or

Muſical inſtruments, very uncouth.

(G) The Jeſuits firſt taught them the uſe of notes, when being invited, by the Emperor *Kang-hi*, to a *Chineſe* concert, in which an air compoſed by that emperor was to be played, Father *Peirera* took out his pocket-book, and having pricked down the whole tune, whilſt the muſicians were playing it, repeated it from end to end, without miſſing one note, to the no ſmall ſurprize of the audience, and much more of the performers, who had been at ſuch pains to make themſelves maſters of it.

The emperor being made acquainted with the ſecret, and having, with pleaſure, heard ſome muſical performances after the *European* manner, and beheld the method by which each performer took his part out of their books, was ſo taken with it, that he ordered a muſical academy to be erected, compoſed of the moſt ſkilful perſons in that art, and committed the care of it to his third ſon, a prince of uncommon genius. Theſe began with reading all the authors that had wrote on the ſubject, and reducing all the inſtruments to the antient ſtandard, except where that was found defective, or capable of ſome improvements from thoſe of *Europe*. Which being done, they compiled a book, in four volumes, intituled, *The true Doctrine of* Li-hi, written by the emperor's order; and to them added a fifth, containing the elements of *European* muſic, compoſed by Father *Peirera*, above-mentioned (9).

(9) *Vide Le Compte, Martini, & al.*

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instrumental music, except in plays, feasts, marriages, funerals, and other such solemnities: and the very best of it never yet could appear tolerable to any of our *Europeans*, except they be played by a very good hand, or sung by a very good voice [o].

Poetry, very imperfect.

THEIR poetry is still more difficult to describe to those who have no knowlege of their language, and consequently cannot be easily made to comprehend in what the beauty, elegance, cadence, and harmony, of it consists. Those who know that their language is chiefly composed of monosyllables, will be still more at a loss to conceive the possibility of reducing it into any regular and harmonious verse: and it must be confessed, that the best of their performances in this kind come infinitely short of ours, their poetry consisting chiefly in a kind of relative proportion, which one verse bears to another, both in rhyme and the tone of the feet; which last is what distinguishes the variety of significations which every such word hath. Neither are their compositions of that length, much less of that sublimity of thought, variety of imagery, boldness of metaphors, *&c.* as ours are, but rather resemble our sonnets, madrigals, or epigrams, whose beauty chiefly consists in varying the length of the verses, the choice of such words as are to be pronounced in a musical tone, and, we may add, that carry some quaint or witty idea with them, or some pathetic expressions and allusions, that serve to enliven the style. They have another sort of poetry, without rhyme, which consists in a continued antithesis, or opposition of the thoughts, that form the piece; so that if the first thought relates to the spring, the next shall relate to autumn; if the one speaks of fire, the other shall mention water; and so on. Which kind rather requires patience, than skill or genius; though one meets, in even some of these, something of the poetic enthusiasm, and now-and-then some noble metaphor, which gives an elegance to the contrast [p].

Another kind of it.

Plays and novels.

THE last thing we shall speak of, under this head, is their dramatic pieces and novels; neither of which have indeed any other excellency in them above those of *Europe*, except that they are generally calculated to instruct and reform, to recommend virtue, and expose vice, to inculcate the necessary reward of the one, and punishment of the other: whereas ours, at least those of this last century past, seem rather designed to captivate and inflame the passions, by dealing so much in love-affairs, intrigues, and other immoral scenes and

[o] MARTINI, Hist. Sinic. imp. 3. DU HALDE, LE COMPTE, &c. [p] Iid. ibid.

characters,

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characters, as commonly produce a quite contrary effect. In other respects, their dramatic performances, which are mostly of the tragi-comic kind, interlarded perhaps with a short farce, have little of the sublime or heroic, and have a manifest defect running through them all, which shews the poverty of their genius; *viz.* that, instead of surprising their audience in some imperceptible way, and as it were undesignedly, with the character of the persons who compose the drama, they oblige every actor to declare it, at his first appearance on the stage, in some such words as these: I am the emperor or king of * * *, and a declared enemy to all tyranny and cruelty; I am the great general * * *, or prime minister of king * * *, and a stedfast friend to, or irreconcileable enemy to, such and such, meaning some other character in the play. The reader may see some few instances of their genius, in the dramatic and novel kind, in *Du Halde* [q], by which he may form an idea of the rest, without our inlarging any farther upon them.

History. As to their history, if we may rely upon what both the *Chinese*, and the generality of writers, say of it, no nation ever took more care to preserve and transmit a faithful and succinct ones of their empire, from the very foundation of it, and to record the annals of their good and wicked monarchs with greater impartiality, and free from that flattery and sycophancy which those of other empires are commonly fraught with (H). This was their practice, not only at the imperial

[q] Ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 143, &c.

(H) Their method for doing it effectually is admirable, and deserves an universal imitation. There is a sett number of doctors, of known probity, whose business is to observe all the words and actions of the emperor, and, unknown to one another, to set them down in a loose sheet of paper, which is afterwards to be put through a slit into a cheft made for that purpose. In that paper they relate, with great freedom and sincerity, every thing that hath been said or done by him, whether well or ill. For instance, on such a day the emperor forgot his dignity, and gave too great a loose to his passion. On such a day, unmindful of every thing but his resentment, he unjustly condemned such a person, or disannulled an act of the tribunal, without a cause. In such a year, day, &c. he gave such a singular mark of his paternal affection for his subjects; undertook a war for the defence of his people; or put an end to an expensive one to ease his subjects, or for the honour of the empire; was congratulated by his whole court, &c. for such an action, law, or speech, and appeared with an air full of modesty.

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imperial court, but in every kingdom under its dependency, and in every province of the empire; insomuch that not only every government, but every city belonging to it, hath been obliged, from time immemorial, to publish an account of every considerable transaction which happened within its district. This account extends itself to the situation, boundaries, climate, soil, and the most remarkable places in it; the genius, commerce, and number, of its inhabitants; the persons who have been most distinguished for their valour, learning, probity, &c. not excepting those of the female sex who have signalized themselves for their chastity: conjugal, parental, or filial, piety; nor even the monstrous births (I), and other prodigies, that have happened at any time; all which, if they could but be stripped of the marvellous and fabulous, for which those historians betray but too great a fondness, would doubtless be of great service to compile and inrich the history of their nation [r].

But though we should allow that they have been thus careful in preserving their records for a great number of ages, yet, with respect to those of their earliest times, we have suffi-

[r] Vid. Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.

desty and humility, in the midst of the praises and applauses of his people.

The chest, wherein these papers are carefully preserved, is never opened, either while the prince is living, or any of his family upon the throne: but, when the crown passes into another house, or branch of the royal family, then all these memoirs are carefully collected, examined, and compared, in order to discover the truth; and, from them, the history of that monarch is compiled (10)

(I) There is hardly a prodigy, or the most absurd and incredible story, that they will not insert in their local records. Thus, in those of the city of *Fu-chew*, they relate, that a woman was brought-to-bed of a serpent, and suckled it; in another place, that a sow brought forth a little elephant. Stories of apparitions, hobgoblins, &c. often occur, especially where the bonzas have had a hand in the repelling, expelling, or suppressing, them; sometimes also some rich persons of both sexes will, by presents, or some kind of bribery, to the governors, to 'get themselves recorded in those annals for some remarkable piece of merit; though none can obtain that honour, unless he be found deserving of it: and, to prevent any abuses of that nature, all the mandarins of every city assemble once in 40 years, to examine those records, in order to expunge whatever part of them they disapprove of (11).

(10) *Du Halde, ubi sup. vol.* ii. *p.* 146. (11) *Id. ibid. & seq. al. ubi sup.*

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shewn in a former part of this work, how little dependan be had either on the antient *Chinese* records, or on ve find written concerning those early monarchs, by s who lived so long after all those antient and venerable gs had been designedly destroyed by some of their ty- princes [s]. We may indeed more safely rely on those are of a more recent date, and after the time of great *Confucius*, when they began to be more regukept and digested after his model: but, as to that, we fer our readers to what hath been already said of it in ient history above-quoted, and to what we shall have occasion to add in a subsequent section.

Antient Chinese.

The last thing we have to speak of, under this head, is anguage, which doth the more properly belong to it, thorough knowlege of it is one main branch of the *Chi*arning, and such a one as cannot be attained to without study and application; but, once acquired, is the most nd direct road to the highest preferments and dignities government. What the antient language of the *Chinese* its primitive roots, and affinity to the *Hebrew*, and other nt tongues, we have in some measure shewn in a former of this work [t]: neither shall we here enter into the conrsy about which of them is the most antient or primilanguage, which is a subject too copious to be discussed ought to be, in a work like this; but only observe in al, that it is not without good grounds that several very ned men have given it the preference above all the antient that of the *Mosaic* books not excepted, as carrying a greater variety of such characteristics as one would reably expect to find in an original or primitive tongue [u]. e paucity of its radical words (which to this day exceed 330), and the simplicity of their sounds, of which we ll speak in the sequel, cannot but be allowed to be every answerable to the best notions we can frame of those earr times, wherein mankind could have but very few ideas, d such as could be easily conveyed by the simplest words or unds.

Some pregnant proofs of its being the primitive language.

On the other hand, their chusing to split those original words into such a vast variety of significations, according as their ideas gradually multiplied, rather than coin new ones for every new idea, must needs appear to every unprejudiced per-

Their few radical words multiplied to a vast number of meanings.

[s] See Univ. Hist. vol. xx. pag. 109, & seq. & 150, & seq.
[t] Ibid. p. 131, & seq. [u] De hoc, vid. int. al. Howel's Essay on the Chinese language, passim. Bayer, Music. Sinic. Welber, Shuckford, & al.

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ſon a manifeſt proof of their tenacious fondneſs, or perhaps rather, we ſhould ſay, reſpect for their mother-tongue; eſpecially if he conſiders how much eaſier it would have been for them to have coined new words for all ſuch new ideas, than to expreſs them by the mere difference of ſound or accent of their old ones; but that is a point we have neither time nor room to enlarge upon. It muſt be eaſy to every reader to gueſs to what a prodigious height the introduction of arts and ſciences muſt in time have multiplied the variety of ſounds and accents, and conſequently of their characters or hieroglyphics: and accordingly ſome authors make them to amount to no fewer than from 60 to 80,000, a number too great for any one, eſpecially a ſtranger, to attain in ſo ſmall a ſpace of time as three or four years, as ſome of the Jeſuit miſſionaries pretend to have done, unleſs we ſuppoſe there is either ſome alphabet, or ſome other equivalent expeditious way of coming to the knowlege of ſuch a variety of combinations than they have been pleaſed to acquaint us with.

according to the increaſe of their ideas.

We, and other nations, who make uſe of an alphabet, and combine our letters lengthwiſe, which ſeems the eaſieſt and moſt natural way, and clog them with ſo inconſiderable a number of accents, plainly ſee what time it requires, even with all theſe advantages, for a youth to become ſo far a maſter of his ſpelling-book, as readily to catch every ſuch combination, and form it into a character or word; for that, we take for granted, every reader is ſenſible to be the caſe: for, as ſoon as he is once become a tolerable proficient in reading, he no longer joins letters into ſyllables, and theſe into words, but takes at one glance of the eye the whole word, be it ſhort, or ever ſo long, as the *Chineſe* do one of their compound characters; ſo that, unleſs he chance to meet with ſome irregularity in the word, as when it is wrong ſpelt, the letters miſplaced, inverted, and the like, which recalls his alphabet to his mind, he runs over every one of them, as over ſo many intire characters, and the exotic words *elephant*, *hieroglyphic*, *Conſtantinople*, &c. offer themſelves, under that notion, with the ſame eaſe and ſpeed as his own native monoſyllables ox, ſheep, bread, wood, *&c.* But if this eaſy method of ours doth yet require ſome years to be attained in any tolerable perfection, what muſt it be ſuppoſed to do in an *European* who attempts to acquire the ſame readineſs in the *Chineſe* characters, which, beſides their being combined in a quite different manner, are clogged with ſuch vaſt variety of accents of ſo many different imports, as to multiply the number of thoſe characters to above 60,000, unleſs there be ſome particular, ſome fundamental clue, equivalent to our alphabet, to facilitate the learning of them?

Espe-

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ESPECIALLY if, to what hath been mentioned already, we add, that there are, properly speaking, three sorts of languages in *China*; viz. that of the common people, which is only used by them, and in compositions of the lowest class, as being by far the rudest of the three, and splitting itself into a great variety of dialects and pronunciations. The next is that which is called the language of the mandarins and literati, and is used by all the politer part, and higher rank, of the *Chinese*. In this second sort, which is properly rather a refinement, or more polished dialect, of the former, are written an infinite variety of histories, novels, and other compositions of the like nature, in a style no way inferior to our best writings either for clearness, elegance, purity, or politeness. This is the language which was formerly used at court, and hath been since propagated among the more polite and neighbouring provinces to it: and hence it is that it is best spoken in those that are next to that of *Kyang-nan*; but it was with no small difficulty, and by very slow degrees, that it was afterwards propagated through the rest of the empire, for the conveniency of the government.

Their three languages at present in use.

The mandarin, its use.

THE third is that which may be properly styled the language of the learned, or of books, that is, of those that are not written in the same familiar style as that of the two former, but in such a one as is vastly superior to them in sublimity, majesty, and brevity. This last is now no longer used in common discourse, but is only written; and runs with such a noble flowing harmony, when read by those that are masters of it, that the nicest ear may hear it with delight, notwithstanding its surprising conciseness, and the variety of accents in which it is to be pronounced. But as the knowlege of this third sort is only a kind of dead one, and chiefly known by the learned of the highest rank, we shall only add, to what we have said of its singular conciseness, that each thought is generally expressed in about four or six characters, and without any pointing; so that the learned are left to judge where the sense concludes, by the mere nature of the diction, and yet they are seldom, if ever, mistaken in that particular.

The written language.

The paucity of its primitive words.

BUT to return to the mandarin or polite language: it hath this peculiar property, to be the most concise, and barren of words, and the most copious and extensive in sense, of any either antient or modern, in the whole world. The number of its words doth not amount, as was lately hinted, to above 330, all monosyllables, indeclinable, and for the most part ending with a vowel, or with an *n* or *ng*; and yet contains such a variety of meanings, according to the accent or tone they are pronounced in, as to serve in all exigencies, and to be

Vast variety of their significations.

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be extremely copious and ſignificant. Again, the compounding of thoſe monoſyllables multiplies their primitive ſignification into a vaſt variety of new ones; all which doth ſo inrich it, that they are never at a loſs how to expreſs themſelves, not only in all exigencies relating to human life, but in all their various arts and ſciences, in the moſt proper and intelligible manner. We cannot give a more pregnant proof of the almoſt infinite variety of ideas which are conveyed by the few monoſyllables above-mentioned, than the dictionary which was compiled by order of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, which, tho' printed in a ſmall character, yet amounted to 95 volumes, moſt of them very thick; and yet was found ſo ſhort of comprehending the whole language, that they thought it neceſſary to add a ſupplement to it of 24 volumes more. As there is therefore no language in the world that would not be exhauſted in leſs than half the number of thoſe volumes, ſo there can be none ſo copious as the *Chineſe*, or that can boaſt to have exiſted ſo many thouſand years in the ſame ſtate in which it continues to this day.

Large Chineſe dictionary.

We have ſtill a more pregnant proof of the richneſs of this language, from the number of inflexions by which they alter the ſignification of original words. Theſe are chiefly five; the firſt of which conſiſts in ſpeaking it in a plain even tone; the ſecond, in raiſing it a note or two higher; the third, in giving it a very acute ſound or pronunciation; the fourth, a ſwift deſcent from the acute to the grave accent, or from a higher to a lower note; the fifth and laſt, in deſcending ſtill lower. There are ſtill ſome other accents, ſo peculiar to their nation, that it would be impoſſible to give any idea of them to an *European*, and which yet ſerve to the ſame end. But, from theſe five, our readers may eaſily judge of the whole; for if we can, by the combination of 24 letters, form ſome myriads of words, what muſt be the reſult of their 330 original words, when multiplied by all thoſe inflexions[w]?

Difficulty of learning it from books.

It would be an uſeleſs taſk to carry our inquiries farther into the genius, grammar, and other peculiarities, of this language (K), which the curious may ſee in thoſe authors who have

[w] Vid. Magaillan, Le Compte, Martini, Du Halde, &c.

(K) From the ſcantling we have given above, our readers will eaſily gueſs how difficult and endleſs ſuch a taſk would be, and what a deal of time and pains it muſt take to come even at a tolerable knowlege of ſuch a copious and intricate lan-

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have written upon it *ex professo* [z], or to dwell longer on the difficulty of learning it, especially to strangers, from the various significations which the words acquire by that variety of accents, as well as from the difficulty of rightly distinguishing them. To give an instance of it; the word *Chu*, or *Shû*, pronounced in the higher note, and lengthening the vowel *u*, signifies a master, lord; in a lower tone, a hog; pronounced short, it signifies a kitchen; and with a strong masculine tone, a pillar, or column. According to the same variation of accents, the word *Po*, though so short a monosyllable, hath no less than eleven different significations; in the one it signifies a *glass*, in another to *boil*, in a third to *fan* or *winnow* corn, in others it means to *break*, to *split*, to *water*, to *prepare*, an *old woman*, a *slave*, a *liberal* man, a *prudent* person, and *a little*. Very near the same thing may be said of all their other primitive words, and the great difficulty a reader will find to investigate their variety of significations, from any rules hitherto given us, and much greater still to comprehend the different sounds, fix the various meanings from the several

[z] Lud. Tomass. Gloss. Univers. Bayer, Grammatic. Sinic. l. ii. & Music. Sinens. Schindler. Pentagl. Martin. Hist. Sinic. lib. i. pag. 22, & seq. Le Compte State of China, lett. 7. Du Halde Engl. vol. i. p. 359, & seq. ii. 140, & seq.

guage. *Magaillan* doth indeed suppose, that an *European* might easily learn it in a few months, and with more ease than the *Greek* or *Latin*, because all the words that compose it might be learnt in a day. He might as well have affirmed, that music might be learnt in an hour, as *Le Compte* justly observes, because the few notes of it may be learnt in less than a minute (12).

The primitive words may be indeed easily learnt; but the difference of accents, tones, modulations, and other changes of their voice, by which their great variety of significations is conveyed to the mind, is not only a work which requires the greatest study and application, but likewise a very retentive memory; and even with all these a man may still miscarry, whose ear hath not been accustomed from his infancy to distinguish that great variety of sounds, and who hath not framed his voice to a right modulation of them; seeing the least deviation from it will give the word another and perhaps a quite opposite sense. The same may be said of a good number of their consonants, especially the compound ones, as *tsʃ-ng*; and of their gutturals, which have a quite different sound from that we are used to give them; and can never be perfectly attained, except people begin to learn them when they are young.

(12) *Ubi sup. lett. 7.*

ways

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ways of spelling by which the missionaries, and other *European* writers, have endeavoured to express them; so that, after the most curious and intense application in consulting all the grammars and lexicons of the *Chinese* tongue, and observing the vast difference in which those authors spell the very same word; and what pains some of the latter sort, particularly Father *Du Halde*, and his *English* interpreter, have taken to fix some more certain rules for writing that language in our *European* characters, and how short they themselves own they have come of the mark[y]; it will not be a wonder if, after all these pains, they do not set down at the foot of the account LABOUR LOST.

Great variety of dialects,

FOR it is not only the vulgar *Chinese* (which hath as many different dialects and pronunciations as there are cities and villages) that is thus hard to be attained, but the same difficulty runs, though not in the same degree, through the mandarin or polite language, which is most universally spoken through the empire; for not only every province, but every city and town, and it can hardly be otherwise, pronounces it in some different way; which, considering that this chiefly fixes the various significations of the same word, makes it quite unintelligible to all the rest, except such as, by travel or conversation, have accustomed themselves to that variety; so that it often happens that a man, who hath perfectly learned the pronunciation of one province, will find himself as it were in a strange country as soon as he passes into another, and will be forced to rack his brain to understand what is said to him, or to make himself understood: and though the *Chinese* of one province may, by custom, observation, or some kind of rote, be able to understand those of another, the case will be found quite otherwise with a stranger, who, after he hath spent three or four years in learning it, and can make shift to stammer it in such a manner as to be tolerably well understood by those that are used to his jargon, will be forced, after all, to have an interpreter whenever he happens to be among those he never saw before. We will only add, that, besides the various ways in which each province sounds the vowels and consonants, and the different accents or tones in which they pronounce the words, they observe several degrees of lenity and rapidity in speaking them, to express their proper signification, which may easily escape the nicest ear that hath not been early accustomed to them; for want of due attention even on which nice particular either in the speaker or hearer, men will, instead of understanding each other, either be

and pronunciations.

[y] DU HALDE, ubi supra.

playing

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playing at croſs-purpoſes, or be forced to be ever repeating what they have ſaid or heard; ſo that, upon the whole, the *Chineſe* language can never be learnt to any tolerable degree, except it be done from one's very infancy [z].

THEIR writing is ſtill more difficult and intricate, becauſe, as we lately hinted, they write not with letters, or an alphabet, as moſt other nations do, but by characters ſignifying a ſyllable or whole word, and which, though chiefly compoſed of ſix principal ſtrokes, ſuch as the reader will find deſcribed in the margin (L), yet may be, and are, combined into *Writing.*

[z] DU HALDE, & al. ſup. citat.

(L) As our writing-maſters tell us, that moſt of the letters of our alphabet are compoſed of the *j* and *o*; ſo the *Chineſe* pretend, that all their characters are, properly ſpeaking, formed of the ſix following ſtrokes (13):

but how, and by what rules, theſe are combined to gether, to compoſe ſuch an infinite variety of characters, we are not told; and whoever will be at the pains of analyſing any large quantity of their characters, will ſoon diſcover a great variety of their members, which are by no means reducible to the ſix above-mentioned, though he ſhould allow himſelf the liberty of altering their poſition all manner of ways, as a tranſverſe into an upright, or even turning them upſide down, or about to all points of the compaſs. This pretended rule ſeems therefore to us rather an amuſement, calculated by the ſuperior claſs of the literati, or doctors of the firſt rank, merely to conceal the true myſtery of combining them not only from the vulgar and ſtrangers, but from the lower claſſes of their learned, or rather perhaps to diſcourage them from attempting the diſcovery of it, by putting them upon a wrong ſcent, which, they well know, will ſoon make them deſpair of ever coming at it.

Were we to allow ourſelves the liberty of following the conjecture of a few learned men in ſome of our foreign academies, which, though hitherto unſucceſsful in unravelling the whole myſtery, yet have dived ſo far into it, as to give one very ſtrong hopes that the foundation is juſt; and may in time, by proper helps and application, and a genius ſuitable to the taſk, be ſet in ſo clear a light, as to put it beyond all poſſibility of doubting; we ſhould tell our readers, which is no more than we believe, and are in a great meaſure convinced of by our own experience, that all this infinite variety of characters is as reducible to a regular alphabet, as our infinite variety of words is; only with this difference, that whereas we diſpoſe our vowels and conſonants in one way, that is, one after another,

(13) *Du Halde, ubi ſup. vol.* i. *p.* 359.

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Why ſtill more intricate.

into ſuch a prodigious variety, as exceeds the capacity of moſt men to learn in a whole life, though natives, and men of letters; and it is to this vaſt multitude of characters, and the difficulty of learning their ſeveral combinations, that moſt writers impute the ſmall progreſs and improvements which the *Chineſe* nation hath made in the ſciences, there being ſo great a part of their time ſpent in learning to read and write their own language.

Antient hieroglyphics,

ANTIENTLY they only uſed hieroglyphics, and rather painted than wrote: a round circle ſignified the ſun, a creſcent the moon, a ſquare the earth or a houſe, a crooked line bending in and out, a river, a triangular figure, a mountain, a group of trees, a foreſt, *&c.* which might be eaſily done, when the number of ideas was contained within a ſmall compaſs, and confined to things tangible, viſible, *&c.*; but when they began to multiply, and extend to ſuch objects as could not be repreſented by drawing, they were obliged to have recourſe to theſe characters, of which we have given an account in a former part of this work[a]; and which, whether proper hieroglyphics, or not, are combined in ſuch a regular manner, as to anſwer to all the vaſt variety of terms uſed by them, both in all exigencies of life, and in all their arts and ſciences; but the manner of joining and combining the ſeveral original

exchanged for the preſent characters.

[a] See Univ. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 133, & ſeq.

other, in the ſame order as they are ſounded, and with the accents over the letters, they, on the contrary, place the conſonant in the moſt conſpicuous part of the character, and the vowels, accents, and other critical points or marks, on the top and bottom, and on either ſide, according to ſome certain rules prefixed and agreed among them. All this may the more eaſily be done in their language, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of their words, which ſeldom exceed two conſonants and two vowels, and perhaps an accent or two, either tonical or grammatical.

It would even be eaſy to ſhew, that the mercantile part muſt have ſome more expeditious way to read and write thoſe characters, which barely relate to their profeſſion, their religion, and morality, than that tedious and intricate way we have been ſpeaking of; becauſe we are told, they are commonly inſtructed in them from their infancy, down even to the children of the meaneſt mechanics; and they contract thereby ſuch a habit, or even delight, in reading, that one ſhall hardly ſee any of them, when their hands are off from their buſineſs, without a book before them (14).

(14) *Martini, Le Compte, Athanaſ. Kircher Chin. Illuſtrat. Nieuhoff, Du Halde, & al.*

ſtrokes

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ſtrokes which compoſe it, and run through the whole, is a myſtery known only to the higheſt claſs of the learned.

THESE characters have been ſince multiplied to ſuch a degree, as to amount to 25,000, according to ſome; to 30,000 or 40,000, according to others; and by ſome of the latter writers even to 80,000; though there are but few of their literati who underſtand half of them, and he is reckoned a very learned man amongſt them who is maſter of 15,000 or 20,000; becauſe the greater number of them a man knows, the greater quantity and variety of books he is able to read. By this, if it be really the caſe, one may gueſs what length of time it muſt take to learn ſuch a prodigious number of them, to diſtinguiſh when they are or are not compounded, and to remember their reſpective ſignifications and ſhapes; if what we lately hinted do not make it more than probable, that their higheſt ranks of literati are poſſeſſed of a more expeditious way of attaining this kind of learning, which they yet may deſignedly conceal from the reſt, to prevent the too great increaſe of competitors to the higheſt preferments in the ſtate; and to reſerve to themſelves and families the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way to wealth, honour, and grandeur, and, what they ſeem to affect above all the reſt, to the diſtinguiſhing prerogative of wearing long nails (M). And this may probably account for the ſmall number of thoſe eminent literati in compariſon of the reſt, who attain their knowlege in the learned books by the mere drudgery of labour and ſtudy; though even in this laſt caſe, it muſt be owned, that thoſe who can advance ſo far as to be able to read about 10 or 15,000 characters, may ſtill be learned enough to expreſs themſelves clearly in their own language, and to be able to read a ſufficient number of books to paſs for men of learning, and be intitled to ſome conſiderable poſts in the government (N).

Vaſt number of them.

Difficulty of learning them.

The true method probably concealed by the head doctors.

Their wearing of long nails, a mark of diſtinction.

BESIDES

(M) It is eſteemed a characteriſtic and prerogative of a profound ſcholar, or a man of deep learning, among the *Chineſe*, to wear their nails of a conſiderable length; inſomuch that ſome of their moſt eminent doctors will have them as long as their fingers.

(N) To eaſe the learners as much as they think proper in this difficult taſk, theſe doctors have compiled ſome ſorts of lexicons and vocabularies, in which that vaſt variety of characters is ranked in ſeveral claſſes, pretty much in the ſame method as the *Hebrew* ones do all their words under their reſpective roots. Thus, for inſtance, every thing that relates to *heaven*, *earth*, *mountain*, *man*, *horſe*, &c. is to be looked for under the character of heaven, earth, mountain, man, horſe, &c. Theſe vocabularies are

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An old sort still in use.

BESIDES the characters above-mentioned, they have a very antient sort still in use among them, tho' chiefly in titles, inscriptions, seals, and devices, and in some old books, which, for that reason, the learned are obliged to understand. They have also a common running-hand for deeds, bonds, acts of justice, &c. And, lastly, they make use of a letter or peculiar character for dispatch of business; but which requires a more than ordinary study and application, on account of the great variety of strokes, abbreviations, ligatures, and other singularities, which make it difficult to learn [b].

Their style.

THEIR style in writing, especially among those of higher rank, is grave, concise, abstruse, and allegorical; and sometimes so obscure, that its requires a perfect knowlege of the characters, as well as a deep attention to them, to avoid making frequent mistakes in reading them. Their allegories are bold, and often sublime; but that which gives the greatest ornament to their style, is the frequent interspersing it with sentences out of the canonical books. Next to that, they value themselves extremely for writing neatly, drawing their characters truly and beautifully, for that they prefer to fine painting; and even the unlearned will pay an uncommon regard for a scrap of paper on which the characters are finely written, though they know not what it contains.

Way of writing.

THEIR way of writing those characters (contrary to most other nations) is from the top to the bottom. They begin their first line on the right side, and so go regularly on to the left. They observe the same rule with respect to the order of their pages; so that the fartheſt of them towards the right is always the first.

Instruments.

They use pencils instead of pens, which they hold, not obliquely, but upright, and scarcely suffer their hand to touch the paper. Their ink is a compound of lamp-black, made of some sorts of burnt woods, or oil, and mixed with a kind of gum-water, which gives it a consistency; after which it is cast in oblong square cakes, for use, after having first mixed with it some quantity of musk, or

[b] ATHAN. KERCHER, Chin. Illustr. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

more or less extensive, that is, comprehend a greater or lesser number of characters, as suits best with the exigence of the learner. Some of them containing only about 8000, others 10,000, or more; but the most complete is that which they call the *Hayyen*, in which they may find any of those which are wanting in the lesser ones (15).

(15) *Martini, Le Compte, Athanas. Kirchir Chin. Illustr. Nieuhoff, Du Halde, & al.*

other

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other perfume, to take off the disagreeable smell of the lamp-black, which is also more or less fetid, according to the nature of the oil or combustible of which it is made. When ink hath been preserved a considerable time, it is then seldom used for writing; but becomes, according to them, an effectual remedy against the bloody-flux, and convulsions in children. They look upon it as an excellent alcali, and sweetener of the blood, by absorbing the sharp juices of it. The dose is commonly about two drachms of it to a grown person, in a glass of water or wine.

THEIR paper, which has been commonly supposed amongst us to be made of silk, by reason of its thinness, and beautiful white shining colour, is made of the inward bark of the bamboo, and several other trees (O). They have several sorts of it; which, with their various ways of making, whitening, silvering, and preserving, it, the reader may see at large in *Du Halde*, and other authors [c]. It is so thin and transparent, that it will not bear being written but on one side; and, when they are obliged to write on both sides, they generally double the leaves, and join them together with a fine glue, which is scarcely discernible; the paper being so smooth and even, and the glue so thin and clear, that it still looks like a single leaf. And this is the method they use also with respect to their bound books, whether written or printed, as well as with the prints or cuts that are interleaved with them. The *Paper.*

[c] ATHAN. KERCHER. Chin. Illustr. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(O) That which is most in use among them, is called *Ku-chi*, from the *Chu-ku*, or *Ku-chu*, tree, from whose inner rind it is taken; which tree in figure nearly resembles our mulberry, but, by its fruit, is rather a kind of fig-tree.

Their herbals prescribe a method of cultivating this useful plant, so as to produce the greater quantity of bark, and in the perfection that is required for making this sort of paper; which is as follows. At the vernal equinox, take the kernel of the tree, and having washed it, mix it with the seed of the *Sesa-mou* (which is the same as the *Portuguese* call *Gergelino*), and scatter them together, at random, upon the ground. The *Gergelino* will sprout out with the first shoots of the *Chu-ku*; but you must take care not to cut it in the autumn, nor in the winter, but stay till the next spring, and then set fire to the field. That very year you will see the plants of the *Chu-ku* increase considerably; and at the end of three years it will be fit to cut, and make paper of (16).

(16) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 368, *& seq.*

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invention of paper in *China*, according to their account of it, is reckoned to be almoſt as old as our Chriſtian æra, or within about fifty years of it[d]: before that time, they rather engraved, than wrote, with an iron tool, upon thin planks of ſome hard wood, or of bamboo, which were conſequently more laſting than any parchment. At leaſt all their canonical, and other valuable antient books, were couched upon ſuch hard and durable materials, and not upon paper made of the bark of trees, as ſome late writers have abſurdly imagined, and even ventured to affirm †. In proceſs of time, they came to write with the hair pencil upon white ſattin; and, after the invention of printing, upon ſome ſort of paper, but ſuch as was far enough from being ſo friable and brittle as hath been pretended; eſpecially that which is brought thither from *Korea*, and is very near of the ſame toughneſs as vellom; tho', had that which they uſed for printing been leſs durable, the planks would have ſtill remained the ſame.

Printing different from ours. The hint taken from them.

THE art of printing hath been in uſe in *China* from time immemorial, but in a very different manner from that which we uſe in *Europe*; though it is not improbable that the celebrated *John Fuſt*, or *Fauſt*, of *Mentz*, took the firſt hints of his diſcovery from them, his firſt eſſays being exactly after the *Chineſe* manner, by wooden planks, and with the ſame kind of ink, and only on one ſide of the paper or parchment[e], till his ſon-in-law *Peter Scheoffer* invented the fuſile or metal types, and, with them, a new ſort of ink made of varniſh, or boiled oil, the ſame which hath been in uſe ever ſince; but this improvement would be abſolutely impracticable among the *Chineſe*, on account of the vaſt number of characters they uſe, which would require caſes of ſome hundreds of yards in length to contain even one bare half of them. Their method is, whenever they want any thing to be printed, to have the copy well and exactly tranſcribed by a good writing-maſter; after which, every page is glued very ſmoothly on a ſeparate block of ſome hard wood, like thoſe we uſe here for wooden cuts; ſo that the engraver hath nothing to do but follow the exact ſtrokes of his copy, by cutting down with a ſharp-pointed knife all the wood that lies under the white of the paper, and leaving all the black ſtrokes untouched, which by that means

Way of printing.

[d] ATHAN. KERCHER. Chin. Illuſtr. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE. & al. DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 372. † RINODAUT ap. P. Premar. in Recueil de Lettres edifiantes, vol. xix. p. 478, & ſeq. [e] Vid. MALINCROT & TRITHEM. de orig. art. typogr. Chevalier LA CAILLE FERTEL Orig. de l'Imprimerie. ORLANDI Origine della Stamper. MATTAIR. Annal. Typogr. PALMER Hiſt. of Printing, lib. i. & al.

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become embossed, and prominent enough to receive the ink upon them. In this way of printing, which requires as many blocks as the book contains pages, there can be no long time spent in correcting the proofs, seeing the graver works by the strokes of the copy itself; and cannot possibly err, if the manuscript be exact. There are several other advantages in it, which ours hath not; one is, that those planks, when engraved, may serve for as many editions as the work will bear, and at any distance of time, without the necessity of a new composition, or other labour, than perhaps retouching the faces of the characters when they are battered by long use. Another is, that they only print the sheets as they are bespoke; so that they are in no danger of losing by over-printing themselves, as is too commonly the case in *Europe*. A third is, when a book is become scarce, and not easily to be got, one may go to the printer, and get a single one printed with ease, cheapness, and expedition; there being no more required than the looking out the blocks, and bringing them to the press. The last advantage we shall mention is, that they can print books in any other language in the same way, and with all the ornaments of initial letters, head and tail-pieces, *&c.* and, provided the copy be but exact, and finely written, it may be not only fairly and exactly cut, but even receive some improvements from the engraver. The only inconvenience it hath, besides that of being printed only on one side, is, that it requires a vast deal of room to keep those blocks in, and such as, were books to be printed with them in such vast quantities as they are in *Europe*, no printer could possibly find stowage for; so that, all things duly weighed, our *European* method is vastly preferable to it (P).

Advantages of their way of printing.

Disadvantage.

We

(P) We are told, however (17), that they have since fallen into a way of printing by separate types, not indeed of metal, as ours are, but of wood; and, by the help of them, correct and alter their *Present State of* China, which is printed at *Pe-king* every three months. Our author adds, on the authority of common report, that the same thing is done at *Nan-king* and *Su-chew*, where they print little books as neatly and correctly as those that are engraven by the best hands. If that be true, which we much question, it can never be done with so little difficulty as he pretends: for, if we should allow those books to require no more of those characters than 1000, and we can hardly suppose that any of them can contain less than 1000 different words (that, especially, called *The Present State of* China, one would rather suppose to require at least double that number); a

(17) *Vid. Salmuth on Pancirol. & al. auct. sup. citat.*

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We have already taken notice of their folding or doubling the paper, as its transparency will not admit of its being printed on both sides, without confounding the characters. Hence, in the binding of their books, they take care to have the fold at the edge, or outward margin, and the opening at the back, at which they join one leaf to the other; and, in order to direct the binder how to place the sheets, so as to answer each other exactly, there is a black line drawn upon the folds of the sheets, which runs through the whole number of them, and serves to the same purpose as the register or point-holes which are made in our printed sheets, which not only direct the pressmen how to place them exactly at the reiteration, but likewise the binder how to fold them up exactly, and according to their form. Their books are commonly covered with a kind of grey pasteboard, or, if for the curious, with a fine sattin, or flowered silk. Some of the richer sort are covered with red brocade, interspersed with gold and silver flowers, and appear neat enough to the eye, tho' none of them either so convenient or beautiful as ours [f].

[f] Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.

case, containing 1000 boxes, cannot be so easily reached, nor every character so readily found out by a compositor, as he imagines. To which we may add, that separate wooden types, should we suppose them to be even a quarter of an inch square, will be apt in time to twist and warp with the weather, and much more by the dampness of the *Chinese* ink, which is not made of oil boiled into a varnish, as that which our printers use, which neither their wooden blocks or types, nor their soft paper, could admit of; but it is of a watery nature, like that we write with, except that it is mixed with a small quantity of glue, to give it a consistence: so that, by the frequent swelling and warping of the wood, it would be in some measure impossible to keep the lines strait and perpendicular; or, though the form be kept ever so closely locked up, to prevent some of those characters starting up above their level, or even quite out from the rest, which would soon shew them the necessity of exchanging them for fusile or metal ones; for this, we are told by the writers above-quoted, of the origin of printing in *Europe*, happened to the first discoverers and improvers of that art, whose frequent miscarriages with those wooden types put them upon excogitating the more solid metal ones (18).

(18) *Salmuth in Pancirol. & al. auct. sup. citat.*

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of the Agriculture, Silk Manufacture, China-ware, Japan, Varnish, and other inferior Arts, of the Chinese.

Agriculture greatly encouraged.

AMONG their other inferior arts, we shall begin with that of agriculture, not only as the most antient and beneficial among, but as best understood, encouraged, and improved, by, them, beyond any other nation in the whole world. We have already given, in a former part of this work[z], some account of the vast encouragement and improvement which it received from *Shin-nong*, their very second emperor: their history furnishes us with many other such signal examples, particularly that of their seventh monarch *Yau*, who, according to them, began to reign 2357 years before Christ, and who preferred a worthy husbandman, named *Shun*, to his own son, to succeed him in the empire. *Shun*, and his successor *Yu*, who was chosen after the same manner, not only promoted husbandry with uncommon zeal, but the latter wrote several books on that subject, taught them how to drain the low lands, to till, dung, and water them, in the easiest and most frugal manner. Their examples were followed by so many of their successors, that it inspired the subjects with an extraordinary esteem and fondness for all kinds of agriculture, and made them readily submit to the greatest fatigues and hardships of it, not so much from a regard to the emoluments accruing from it, as from a kind of sacred veneration they had conceived for those antient and royal promoters and encouragers of it.

A festival to its honour.

HENCE, as is currently believed, took birth that grand and solemn festival which is celebrated every year in all the cities in China, in the day of the sun's ingress into the 15th degree of *Aquarius*, which is with them the beginning of the spring (Q), as

[z] See before, Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 130. 139, & seq.

(Q) The ceremony of this festival is as follows: The governor, or chief mandarin, of every city, is carried out of his palace in a chair of state, preceded by banners, torches, and musical instruments. He is crowned with flowers, and, in that solemn manner, moves towards the eastern gate of the city, as it were to meet the spring, attended with several litters painted and adorned with variety of curious silk tapestry, exhibiting the portraitures of illustrious persons, who had practised

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as well as that other ceremony performed by every new emperor, in the rural way, of which we have given an account in a former section [h]. One further encouragement some of their wise monarchs have given to husbandry, is worth observing; *viz.* that every governor of each city is obliged to send an account every year of the person who signalizes himself most by his industry and application in this way, who is thereupon raised to the dignity of a mandarin of the eighth order, and intitled to the dress, insignia, and other honours, belonging to that rank [i]; and so intent are those at the helm upon this point, that, upon the arrival of the deputies of the governors at court, the emperor never fails of asking them in what condition the fields appeared to them; and, when a dearth happens in any of the provinces, either through a long drought, a swarm of locusts, *&c.* those monarchs commonly remit to them a great part, if not the whole tribute of grain of that year, as we have formerly seen by some of their declarations from the throne [k].

Persons promoted for their application to it.

Fertility of the soil.

It must be owned, that the soil, for the most part, as well as the happy temperature of their climate, doth richly deserve, as well as amply reward, their care: and though,

[h] See before, p. 27, & seq. [i] Vid. Du Halde, Le Comte, Martini, & al. sup. citat. [k] See before, p. 166, (E).

tised husbandry, and other histories on that subject. The streets are covered with tapestry, and, at proper distances, adorned with triumphal arches, lamps, and other illuminations.

Among other figures carried in the procession, there is a cow of earthen-ware, with gilt horns, and of such a monstrous size, that forty men can hardly carry her. Behind the cow follows a young child with one foot shod, and the other bare, whom they style *The genius of labour and industry*, and who strikes the cow continually with a rod, as if to make it go forward. Behind him follow all the husbandmen playing upon some instruments, and attended by companies of masked comedians, acting some kind of rural plays. In this manner they proceed to the governor's palace, where they strip the cow of all her ornaments; and, drawing out a great number of lesser ones made of the same clay, out of her belly, present them to the multitude, together with the fragments of the great one, which they break into small pieces. The ceremony ends with a short speech, which the mandarin makes to the people, in which he recommends husbandry to them, as one of the most conducive things to the welfare of the state (19).

(19) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 275.

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in so vast a tract of ground, there must be, of course, a great variety of soil, some more and others less fertile, yet such hath been the indefatigable industry of the *Chinese* nation, that every spot hath been improved, and made to produce some of the conveniencies of life, from the highest barren mountains down to the fertile vallies and plains; insomuch, that there is scarcely a province which doth not yield a sufficient maintenance for its numerous inhabitants, and some of them, especially towards the southern parts, almost double what will suffice them. So careful are they of procuring every kind of manure (R), that may enrich their land, that they will purchase it at a high rate; and so fearful of losing a foot of their ground, that one shall not see either a hedge, ditch, or even tree, in their corn-lands. They will even deprive themselves of the pleasure of planting flower-gardens, fine walks, and other such useless gratifications, as they style them, for the sake of making them productive of what is more for the public good. We have already taken notice, in our description of the several provinces of *China*, that the southern ones produced a double crop of grain every year, besides a vast variety of the finest fruits, herbs, *&c.* Those that are situate more towards the north and west, though not so fertile, yet yield plenty of wheat, barley, millet of various sorts, tobacco, peas that are always green, and a kind of black and yellow sort, which they give to their horses instead of oats.

Every spot improved.

Way of manuring.

NOTHING can be more fruitful than their low-lands, which are interfected with such a vast number of canals, as constantly furnish them not only with a sufficient supply of water, but also with other manure, which is brought thither in barges: and in these low-lands it is that the best rice grows, and in the greatest plenty; because that grain thrives best in watery

Fertility of the plains.

(R) Of this they have great variety, such as dung of all sorts, none excepted, which they take care to temper with a proportionable quantity of water, to prevent its burning up the young plants. Hair of all kinds, as human, hog's, horse's, *&c.* are found to give strength to their lands, especially to those sown with rice, and lime mixed with water, to destroy worms, insects, and weeds, and to give a cherishing warmth to the ground. They have a great many other ways of manuring and cultivating their lands, which we have no room to expatiate upon, and can only add, that if those who wrote on the subject of agriculture among them, had been more versed in physics and natural philosophy, they might have still made much greater improvements in that so useful and necessary art.

grounds

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wolves, foxes, and a variety of others not known to us, among those of the destructive kind; but which afford the *Chinese* the diversion of hunting, as well as the commerce and profit of their furs, which are commonly very fine, and valuable.

THESE, and a good number of others we shall name under this head, may, by some readers, perhaps, be thought improperly brought in: but as it is no inconsiderable branch of good husbandry to promote the increase of all useful and profitable creatures of the animal, as well as of the vegetable kind, and to destroy or suppress the growth of those of the contrary sort in both, and to adapt, as much as possible, the nature of their lands, so as to answer those two main ends, we hope it will not appear quite irregular, upon second thoughts, if we exhibit to them, at one view, the *Chinese* management in both, first with respect to the animal, and next to the vegetable, part of the creatures which their country produces.

AMONG those of the wild and destructive kind, with which their woods and forests abound, we do not hear of any lions; *Tygers.* but tygers are here not only in great quantities, but esteemed as so much the more dangerous, as they sally out for their

blance to mankind than any other apes, both for the facility in which it walks on its hind-feet, and performs several other actions. There is still, no doubt, a much greater variety of strange creatures, which, they tell us, are found in the mountains and forests of this great empire, than our *Europeans* have been able, as yet, to discover; but many of which have such an air of fable, that they hardly deserve mentioning, much less belief: such is that which they relate of the horse-tyger, said to differ only from a horse in its having claws like a tyger, and scales all over its body, and in its leaving the river in the spring, to prey upon man and beast. This monster, the missionaries, who travelled through most territories where it is said to breed, never could see or hear of, though the people were very fond of shewing and entertaining them with every curious thing that was to be seen in that province *(Hu-quang)*; and therefore justly looked upon it as a fabulous one. But, leaving those monsters to their books, where they are only to be found, those woods and forests breed two wild kinds of mules, one sort of which, fit only to be eaten, is very fleet, can never be tamed; but the other may, and is chiefly used for the servants of the mandarins to ride on. Camels, dromedaries, horses, oxen, and buffalo's, are likewise in great use among them, the former for land-carriage, and the latter to plow and plain their lands: but that which they feed most on is the hog-kind, of which they breed the greatest quantities, both in the upper and low-lands.

prey

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prey in large droves, and are exceeding quick and fierce. But they have plenty of others of a more valuable kind; particularly their muſk-cat, a profitable creature, which carries that noble perfume in a bladder under its navel. They have likewiſe a ſort of roebuck, which they call *Hyang-chang-tſe*, or odoriferous roebuck, the male of which hath a bag of a very odoriferous kind of muſk. This creature, which breeds moſtly on the northern ridge of mountains beyond *Pe-king*, is firſt hunted, then killed; immediately after which, they cut off the bag above-mentioned, and tie it very hard, that it may loſe none of its effluvia. The fleſh is alſo good to eat; but the bag is eſteemed of more value than the reſt of the carcaſe: and to this, as well as the other, or real muſk, they aſcribe ſundry noble qualities; ſuch as, purifying the air, killing ſeveral ſorts of inſects which breed in the ſtomach; and eſpecially that of the roebuck hath the virtue of ſtupefying of ſerpents; which creature, though large, they are affirmed to live upon, and to receive their odoriferous quality from (U). *Muſk-cat, and roebuck.*

BUT the moſt delightful of the whole quadruped kind, is a ſmall ſtag, which is bred in the province of *Yun-nan*, and no-where elſe; but is bought far and near, and at a high rate, by the princes and nobles, merely to be kept for ſight in their gardens. Theſe are exactly ſhaped like the common ſort, but their ſize ſcarcely exceeds that of our ordinary dogs, on which account they are eſteemed as curioſities. But they have a great variety of ſtags of different kinds in the other provinces, ſome of which are reckoned as extraordinary for their largeneſs, they being little inferior to the ſmall horſes of the provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Yun-nan* [m]. *Little ſtags.*

BIRDS and fowl, both of the wild and tame kind, are here in greater plenty and variety than we have room to deſcribe; ſuch as eagles, cranes, ſtorks, hawks, falcons, pelicans, birds of paradiſe, peacocks, pheaſants, partridges, turkeys, geeſe, ducks, ſwans, cocks and hens, and a vaſt variety of water-fowl on their lakes, rivers, and canals, where they *Birds.*

[m] MARTINI, NAVARETTA, NIEUHOFF, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(U) This, we are told, is ſo certain, that the people who hunt after theſe roebucks have no other way of defending themſelves againſt the bite of thoſe overgrown ſerpents, but by carrying about them ſome of that muſk, which never fails of ſtupefying them to ſuch a degree, that they cannot come near enough to hurt them (22).

(22) *Du Halde, vol. ii. p.* 324.

ſwarm

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swarm in vast droves; and such as are fit to eat are sold at so low a price, that one would hardly think it worth the people's while to kill them. Among the tame and curious sort, they have a variety of beautiful parrots, no way inferior either in plumage, colours, or facility of talking, to any that are brought from *America*. But the most surprising and delightful of all the flying kind, is the little bird called *Kin-ki*, or *golden hen*, which is commonly found in the provinces of *Yun-nan*, *Shen-si*, and *Se-chwen*.

The fine Kin-ki.

THIS admirable creature, which hath nothing that resembles, much less that comes up to, the exquisite fineness of its shape, the beauty, lustre, and variety, of its plumage, the complete mixture and arrangement of light and shade, both in its wings and tail, and the fine plume that crowns its head, was, without doubt, called the golden hen on that account. But what renders it still more valuable among the epicures, is the delicate taste of its flesh, which, we are told, greatly excels that of pheasants; for which, it is thought by our author [n], of all the birds in the east, the most deserving to be brought into *Europe*.

The flower bird;

THERE is still, if we may believe the *Chinese* geographers, and those *European* writers who have followed them upon trust, another one more surprising, and if not for the exquisiteness of its taste, at least for that of the colours of its feathers, the fine redness of its bill, and the shortness of its life, which exceeds not that of the flower *Tung-wha*, from which it takes its name of *Tung-wha-fung*, and upon which it is said to breed, and to take its beautiful likeness from the flower we have had occasion formerly to describe [o]. The misfortune is, that the bird is no-where to be found, but in the books of the *Chinese* geographers, and that in all the province of *Se-chwen*, and even in the territory of the city of *Ching-tu-fu*, where that flower blows in vast quantities, and where that bird is said to breed, the inhabitants, we are since told, know nothing of it [p]: so that it is now much questioned whether it be not as fabulous a one as that which the same geographers call the *Fong-whang*, and which, by their noble description of it, is supposed the same which we call the phœnix, if any such bird there be. For our later authors assure us, there is no such bird to be seen or heard of, either in the mountains or cities, said to be called by its name, in the province of *Shen-si*, nor in any others, either in *China* or *Tartary*, where those writers pretend it is to be found. There

and, like the phœnix, supposed fabulous.

[n] DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 15.
[o] See before, p. 80.
[p] See DU HALDE, ibid.

is,

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is, indeed, a moſt noble one bred in that province, and in ſome parts of *Tartary*, called the *Hay-tſing*, which is a kind of falcon, not inferior to the fineſt of ours, but excels them in bigneſs and ſtrength, and, for its beauty and courage, may be called the king of the birds of prey: but it is very ſcarce, and in ſuch eſteem, that as ſoon as it is caught, it muſt be forthwith brought to *Pe-king*, and preſented to the emperor, who commits it to the care of his own falconers [q]. *A noble falcon.*

CHINA ſeems to be deſigned by nature to produce not only all the fruits which grow in other parts of the world, but likewiſe ſeveral excellent ones peculiar to its ſoil and climate; ſo that, if they have not ſo great a plenty and variety of the former as they might, it is rather owing to their neglect of cultivating them; for, generally ſpeaking, they grow naturally almoſt in every province, and many of the more delicate kind in the ſouthern parts to a greater perfection than any in *Europe*. Apples, pears, plums, quinces, apricots, peaches, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, nectarines, grapes, oranges, limons, citrons, melons, to ſay nothing of walnuts, cheſnuts, pine-apples, and others in common with us in *Europe*, grow almoſt every-where in great plenty: the only difference is, that they are not ſo curious as we are in cultivating and improving them, but rather content themſelves with having three or four different ſorts of apples, ſeven or eight ſorts of pears, peaches, *&c.*; and as for their cherries, they are hardly worth eating. The only fruits that exceed ours are their pomegranates, a fine ſort of muſcadine grapes of exquiſite taſte and flavour, and their *Tſe-tſe*, called by the *Portugueſe Macau*, which is a kind of fig, the deſcription of which may be ſeen in the margin (W). *Fruits peculiar to the country.* *Chineſe not ſo curious in them.* *Some of a better ſort than ours.*

[q] De his, vid. MAGAILLAN, CARRERI, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

(W) It grows upon a ſtately tree, not unlike our middling walnuts, the leaves of which are of a fine green, till about autumn, when they change into an agreeable red. The fruit is about the bigneſs of a middling apple, and grows yellow as it ripens; but, when dried, becomes mealy and ſweet like a fig, for which reaſon the *Portugueſe* give it the name of *Macau*, or fig. There are ſeveral ſorts of them, ſome having a ruddier, thinner, and more tranſparent rind; whilſt others, to be brought to that fine colour and flavour, muſt be laid to ripen in ſtraw; but all are agreeable to the ſight, and good to eat. They will grow almoſt every-where, but in greater plenty in the province of *Yun-nan*, and all along the ſides of the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river* (23).

(23) *Vid. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 8.*

As

As for the reſt, they hardly excel ours; and ſome of them, for want of improvement, are much inferior to them, ſuch as, their apricots, peaches, cherries, *&c.* which, in ſome provinces, are rather unwholſome, and, if not eaten with caution, will cauſe dyſenteries and the bloody-flux.

Olives. OLIVES are here in great plenty and variety, and which, though different from ours, have a very fine taſte; but whether out of diſlike, or that they do not think it worth their while, they extract no oil from them (X).

The Li-chi. AMONG thoſe fruits which grow in the ſouthern provinces, and are of an excellent taſte and nature, but unknown to us, the *Li-chi* is moſt eſteemed. It is ſhaped like a date, and hath an oblong ſtone, like that. The fruit is full of moiſture, of an excellent taſte and flavour when full-ripe; but ſhrivels, and grows blackiſh, like our prunes, by keeping. Next to that is the *Long-yen*, or dragon's-eye, which is round, yellowiſh, and the pulp white, and a little acid. Both theſe are eſteemed very wholſome, eſpecially the latter, which, they ſay, never hurts, if one eats ever ſo much of it, but is rather taken to create than to ſatisfy the appetite.

Other ſingular trees. THEY have likewiſe ſome ſingular as well as uſeful trees, particularly that which they ſtyle the pepper-tree, which bears a ſort of grain like a pea, but of too hot a nature to be eaten; but the huſk, which is leſs pungent, is uſed by the common people inſtead of it. The pea-tree, which produces a ſort of pea, which, for figure, colour, pod, and taſte, is much like our common pea, only a little more rank. This laſt tree is very tall and large, and grows in moſt provinces of *China*. The tallow-tree is no leſs common and profitable; whoſe fruit is contained in a rind, which, when ripe, opens in the middle like our cheſnut, and yields two or three kernels of the bigneſs of a common hazel-nut, and the pulp of which hath the properties of tallow, and, being

Tallow-tree.

(X) Their books treat of ten ſorts of olives, the beſt kind of which is that called by them *Quang-lan*, which is large, and of a fine taſte; and it is probable, that, if the *Chineſe* had the art of preparing them as they are in *Europe*, they might all have as good a taſte: though in one thing they are more careful than we, in gathering them, *viz.* not to beat them down with long poles, which is apt to bruiſe them, and hurt the branches; but to make a hole in the body of the tree, and, putting ſome ſalt into it, ſtop it up cloſe, by which they will in a few days drop off of themſelves (24).

(24) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 8.

melted

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melted with a ſmall quantity of common oil and wax, is made into candles, and uſed all over the empire (Y). Their wax-tree is ſo called from the wax that is produced on it by a kind of little worm which runs up, and faſtens to its leaves, and quite covers them with combs. This wax is hard, ſhineing, and conſiderably dearer than that of common bees; tho' this laſt they likewiſe have there, and in much greater quantities. When theſe worms are once uſed to the trees of any diſtrict, they never leave them, unleſs ſomething extraordinary drives them away; and, when that happens, they never return to them, ſo that new ones muſt be procured from thoſe merchants who deal in them. *Wax-tree.*

THE *Chu-tze*, or what we call in *Europe* the bamboe or bambu, grows here in vaſt quantities, and of an extraordinary height; and, being hollow within, is uſed, the larger ſort for water-pipes, and the ſmaller for teleſcopes, and other tubes, and the pulp within is made into paper. The *Nau-mu* is a tall ſtrait ſort of a tree, whoſe wood is incorruptible like the cedar, though its ſhape, leaves, *&c.* differ from it. It is commonly uſed to make pillars, doors, windows, *&c.* or ornaments for their palaces, temples, and large buildings; but it is in other reſpects much inferior to the *Tze-tau*, or roſe-wood, which is of a reddiſh-black, ſtreaked and full of fine veins, which one would believe to be painted by ſome artiſt. The furniture, ornaments, and other joinery, made of it, are much eſteemed all over the empire, and ſell at a greater price than thoſe which are varniſhed or japanned. We omit a great variety of other valuable and curious trees, ſuch *Bamboe.* *Nau-mu-tree.* *Roſe-wood.*

(Y) Their way of ſeparating the tallow from the fruit is, by pounding the ſhell and kernel together, and boiling them in water, upon which, when cold, an oil riſes, which condenſes like tallow, and is ſkimmed off. To ten pounds of that, they mix three of linſeed-oil, and ſome wax, to give it a hardneſs, and prevent its ſticking to one's fingers.

The candles are like the ſegment of a cone, the broader part of which is lighted, and the other goes into the ſocket of the candleſtick. They burn well; and, when put out, give no ill ſmell, becauſe the wick is made of ruſh; but would give a much clearer light, and ſweeter ſmell in burning, if care was taken to defecate the oil that is mixed with the tallow, and a cotton wick uſed inſtead of a ruſh, which is apt to burn to a coal, and break ſhort, and can only be ſnuffed with a keen pair of ſciſſars Thoſe who are curious mix vermilion, and other colours, with them (25).

(25) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 9. 35—94, *& ſeq. &* 319. *Vid. & Martini Atlas ſub voc.* Kin-wha, *in provinc. Che kyang, Le Compte, & al.*

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as the cedar, ebony, saunders, pines, oaks, &c. which w have not room to describe.

Varnish and oil-trees. BUT that which is justly esteemed the most profitable amon the *Chinese*, and hath most excited the envy of the *European* is their *Tsi-shu*, or varnish-tree, from which they extract th gum with which they make their fine giran-varnish, or japa (Z), which keeps such an infinite number of hands employe in most provinces of the empire, and furnishes it with suc a prodigious variety of chests, cabinets, boxes, and othe household ornaments, so beautifully painted and varnished and sent abroad into most parts of the world. The nex to that in usefulness is the *Tong-shu*, or oil-tree, from whic a liquor or oil is drawn not much differing from the varnis above-mentioned, and used almost to the same end, bu chiefly in larger work, such as pillars, cornices, galleries triumphal arches, fine floors, and the like, for which that i not quite so fit. This oil, when boiled into a consistency, not only preserves the wood over which it is laid, but gives it a fine lustre, and, like the varnish, may be mixed with any colour to great advantage.

Iron-wood. THE last of the tree-kind, worth our particular notice, is what they call *Tie-li-mu*, or iron-wood, from its extreme hardness, and of which they commonly make their anchors, as hath been formerly hinted. It is indeed very remarkable for its strength, and durable firmness, beyond any other wood; the tree is as tall and spreading as our large oaks, though the trunk doth not come up to their thickness, and the wood is of a much deeper brown, as well as more weighty and tough [q].

Shrubs. THEY have no less a variety of shrubs, which we have not room to particularize in a work like this: but shall content ourselves with singling out those that are most worth notice

[q] De his, vid. MAGAILLAN, CARERI, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

(Z) This gum, or liquor, distils only off the tree drop by drop, like that of the turpentine-tree, but may be made to yield a greater quantity by incision; but then the tree is observed to perish much sooner by it.

It is likewise found either in the boiling into a consistency, or even pouring it off cold from one vessel to another, as well as in the spreading it for varnish to emit such poisonous effluvi as prove detrimental to tho that deal much with it; an from the ill effects of whic they have as yet no other wa to preserve themselves, than b avoiding as much as possible th sucking them in with thei breath.

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at the head of which we may justly place that famed and most profitable one which they call *Cha*; and corruptly, in some maritime provinces, *Tha*, or *Tcha*; from which the *Europeans* have given it the name of *Tea*, or *Te*. The profit which the *Chinese* make of this plant, since it is become of such universal use in *Europe*, is immense; and the virtues which both they, and some of our *European* writers, have ascribed to it, are very extraordinary, if true [r]. The reader may see a larger account of them in Father *Le Compte*, and others of his society, than we dare vouch for; neither is it possible for us to judge of them from that which is brought to us from thence; and which we are assured, by good hands, is so adulterated, and mixed with other leaves, which, though they bear a resemblance to it, may have quite different qualities, that we need not wonder if it comes so vastly short of that which they use upon the spot. We may add, that, since such vast exports have been made of it, they are neither so curious in cultivating, nor in curing of it, as they were formerly; and that which is so, they take care not to let go abroad in its purity, but either keep it for their own use, or mix it with some of a worse sort. What other frauds, and abominable tricks, are used in it by our retailers, after it is thus brought to us, are too sadly known and felt to need mentioning here; all which, put together, have so debased and corrupted that leaf, that it is impossible for us to find in it the tenth part of the good qualities which are ascribed to it; or indeed not to experience many ill effects from the use of it, which it would be wholly free from, could we have it in its purity and perfection, as the *Hollanders* have theirs from *Japan*, and be more careful and prudent in the use of it (A).

Tea.

Its virtues.

Adulterated.

Frauds committed with it.

IT

[r] De his, vid. MAGAILLAN, CARERI, MARTINI, LE COMTE, NIEUHOEF, DU HALDE, & al. vid. & TEN. RHIN. de frutice Tchia. JACOB. BREYNIUS in hort. Malabar. & al.

(A) It is indeed rather a wonder, all things rightly weighed, that it is not attended with more dangerous effects, considering that most people among us help to corrupt and adulterate it still more, in their constant use of it, either by the immoderate quantity of sugar they drink, and the pretended correctives they mix, with it, such as chemical drops, saffron, spirituous liquors, &c. to say nothing of their irregular and indiscriminate use of it, without regard to particular tempers and constitutions; and, by some, both stronger, and in larger quantities, than even the *Chinese* do their pure and genuine sort.

Hence we may reasonably infer, that those flatulencies, indi-

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The Dutch *use it to advantage.*

IT is certain that no nation takes more care in cultivating their tea than the *Japanners*, nor is more honeſt in ſelling it pure and uncorrupt; neither do any people drink it more plentifully than the *Dutch*, yet ſo far are they from feeling thoſe inconveniencies from it which moſt of ours do, that they reap the greateſt benefit from it; and indeed, conſidering the dampneſs of their climate, and their high and groſs way of feeding, it is to be queſtioned whether they could be ſo healthy, and free from diſeaſes, as they are, without ſuch a fine diluter, and purifier of the blood. But then it muſt be owned, on the other hand, that the good effects they receive from it are in part owing to their drinking it in its genuine purity, and without thoſe correctives mentioned under the laſt note; ſo that, without running too far into panegyric in favour of that plant, we may ſafely affirm, that tea, duly cultivated and cured, and drank moderately, both as to quantity and ſtrength (B), and eſpecially either without, or at leaſt with only a ſmall quantity of, ſugar, and without any additional correctives, is a ſingular diluter, and purifier of the blood, a ſtrengthener of the brain and ſtomach, a promoter of digeſtion and

Its good qualities when genuine.

geſtions, vapours, colics, lowneſs of ſpirits, diabetes, and other diſaſters, which commonly attend it, may be no leſs owing to our indiſcretion in uſing it, than to the cheats that are practiſed in it. See the next note.

(B) It is plain that neither the *Chineſe*, *Japaners*, nor any other eaſtern nation, drink it either ſo ſtrong, or in ſuch quantities, nor ſo hot, as we do in *England*; but uſe it rather as their common drink, and without any ſugar, or other ſweetener. They commonly keep, eſpecially in large families, a boiler, or ſome other veſſel, over a fire; and, whenever they are thirſty or faint, they put a few leaves of it in a baſon, and pour the hot water upon it, and, as ſoon as it is cool enough to drink, ſwallow it down, and go about their buſineſs; ſo that the cuſtom of ſitting ſo long at the tea-table, as we do, is unknown unto them, and is only an idle, luxurious refinement (or rather abuſe), we have made upon their way of uſing it.

We are likewiſe aſſured, that the diſcovery of that infuſion was originally owing to the brackiſhneſs of their water, eſpecially in the lower provinces, where they were not only very unpleaſant, but unwholſome to drink; till, after a multitude of experiments tried, in order to correct them, they ſtumbled upon this ſhrub, which not only anſwered the end, but was found to have ſeveral other qualities to recommend the uſe of it, ſuch as thoſe which we have particularly mentioned above; upon which it gradually became in great eſteem and vogue all over the empire (27).

(27) *Martini, Le Compte, Nieuhoff, Kæmpfer, Du Halde, & al.*

circulation,

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circulation, of perſpiration, and other ſecretions, a cleanſer of the reins and urethra, and a great preſervative againſt chronic diſeaſes, as well as an effectual, tho' ſlow, remedy againſt them. The *Chineſe* make no ſcruple to give it in great quantities in high fevers, colics, and other acute diſtempers. Neither are thoſe rare virtues confined to its native ſoil, but extend their efficacy to any other country or climate, where it is uſed, particularly in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*. And thus much may ſuffice concerning the genuine virtues of that plant, could we have it as genuinely conveyed to us.

THERE is now a great variety of teas in *China*, which, as it ſtill increaſed in the great exports of it, hath obliged the natives to propagate the growth of it in ſeveral parts, where the ſoil or climate was more or leſs agreeable to that ſhrub; for moſt of their difference is owing to that, they being originally derived from, and are in all other reſpects, the ſame plant. Hence proceeds that difference of taſte, flavour, colour, and other qualities, we find in them; ſome being very rough to the taſte and ſtomach, and others as ſmooth; ſome exhaling an extraordinary fragrancy, and others having ſcarce any ſmell; ſome being found more balſamic, others more ſtomachic, diuretic, *&c.* than others: and hence alſo that variety of names they are called by, either from their different qualities, or the places they grow in. Thus the *Songlo*, which is a moſt elegant ſort of green, and much eſteemed and drank by the richer ſort, hath its name from a mountain in the province of *Kyang-nan*, which is quite covered with it; and the *Vu-i*, or, as we call it, *Bohea*, from the mountain of *Vu-i-ſhan*, in the province of *Fo-kyen*, where it grows in great quantities, and is excellent in its kind (C).

Great variety, whence.

And of names. Songlo *and* Vu-i, *or* Bohea, *their virtues.*

THIS laſt is the moſt univerſally, and we may add juſtly, eſteemed, not only for its fine taſte and flavour, but much more

(C) So ſay *Le Compte*, *Du Halde*, and others; but ſome are more inclined to think it hath its name from the dark-brown colour it bears, in which it differs from all other ſorts, both in the leaf, and in its infuſion. Nor is it a wonder that the mountain above-mentioned ſhould produce ſuch plenty of it, and of a better ſort than common, ſeeing it is covered, we are told, with temples and monaſteries, and inhabited by bonzas, who are fond of that excellent infuſion, and, having ſo much time on their hands, may ſpend ſome part of it in cultivating, and bringing it to that perfection; unleſs we ſhould rather chuſe to ſuppoſe them to have been the inventors of this new way of cultivating; concerning which, ſee the next note.

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for its medicinal and other excellent qualities, particularly that of its rectifying the blood, recovering decayed constitutions, and being so friendly and agreeable to the weakest stomachs. Hence it is that they give it in large quantities to sick people, valetudinarians, and in all cases of an inward decay; whilst those that are in health forbear to drink of it in the winter, as being apt to open the pores too much, and to bring colds and coughs upon them; but in summer indulge themselves with it in large quantities, in order to supply those liquids, which are exhausted by perspiration, with its cherishing and balsamic juices, to which they mostly ascribe that fat corpulency which is so common and admired amongst them.

Whether the same shrub with the green.

WHETHER this and the green tea were originally different plants, or whether the same, only differently cultivated, is a question that hath for a long time exercised the talents of the curious, and is not as yet thoroughly agreed on. The *Chinese* could easily resolve it, if they pleased; but are too shy of the *Europeans*, to give them any the least light into it; so that we are wholly left to resolve it from the best observation we can make upon them. According to which, the former hypothesis seems the most probable, from the manifest difference not only of their colour, taste, flavour, *&c.* but much more from their different effects; the one being rough, and grating to the palate and stomach, even to the degree of an emetic, if taken too strong; the other smooth, pleasant, and healing, and in no case offensive to it: the one a stomachic, and strong diuretic; the other rather a sweetener and purger of the blood by gentle perspiration, and nourishing and inriching it by its balsamic quality: yet, after all, the latter notion hath at length prevailed; and this difference of their effects has been, with no small probability, supposed to proceed from the different times in which the leaf is gathered, *viz.* that of the bohea about a month or five weeks earlier, whilst the plant is in its full flow, and the leaves full of its juice; whereas the green, by being left so much longer on the tree, and that sweet juice either dried up or inspissated by the warmth of the sun, changes its colour into a fine green, and contracts that bitterness and roughness which we find it to have. What seems to confirm this hypothesis is, that the cultivating the bohea in the above-mentioned manner seems to be a discovery and improvement of a century or two's standing, before which they knew nothing of it: at least it is plain, from the account which Mr. *Ten Rhine*, who resided some time in *Japan*, and was physician to the emperor about a century and half ago, hath given of it, that it was not then known

Bohea, a new improvement.

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known in *Japan* (D), though it hath been since introduced and cultivated there to a much greater perfection than any we ever had from *China*; so that it is supposed that this discovery, being then but recent, had not yet reached *Japan* when that celebrated botanist wrote his account of the tea of that country, which mentions no other but the various sorts of green [a]. We shall only add, that as none of their antient herbals speak of the *Vu-i*, or *Bohea*, and some of the natives speak of it as a more modern discovery, there is reason to think it an improvement on that old sort; but whether found out by study or chance, we can no-where find. But it is agreed,

[a] Willielm. Ten Rhein. excerpt. de Observat. suis Japonic. de frutice Tchia, ad fin. et al. ab eo citat. in hort. Malabaric.

(D) That learned botanist tells us expressly, at the end of his description of that plant, that though he had heard of a certain sort of black or brown tea in use among the *Chinese*, yet he never saw any; only he had observed, that the coarser the leaves of the tea were, the more yellowish or reddish infusion they gave, and the more disagreeable to the palate, as well as to the eye; by which it is plain he speaks only of the coarser sort of green (28).

It is plain, moreover, to every curious observer, that there is no difference of shape between the leaves of the green and bohea, except that the latter is somewhat more roundish; but whether the reason of that be, as some suppose, its being gathered so much earlier, and before it hath expanded itself to its full length, we dare not affirm, tho' we think it far from improbable. We are indeed told by some travellers who have been in *China*, and pretend to have been particularly curious in examining this point, that they had seen plantations of both sorts, and apart from each other, and never observed any thing like both sorts of leaves being gathered from the same tree, and at different times. But admitting there were nothing like that done now, it will not follow that it was not so formerly, and by way of trial, in order to discover the difference of their virtues; and that being afterwards fully satisfied, that those leaves, which were gathered earlier, had a more smooth and balsamic taste and virtue, they might not, by way of improvement, examine which trees, or what climate and grounds, produced the best bohea, and which the best green, and so appropriate them accordingly, and dispose them into different plantations; only observing the old method of stripping those of the former so much the earlier in the year, as they do to this day. See the next note.

(28) *Martini, Le Compte, Nieuhoff, Kæmpfer, Du Halde, & al.*

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that the different degrees of its goodneſs and fineneſs are owing to the earlineſs of the ſeaſon in which it is gathered (E).

Diſtempers againſt which the Chineſe *preſcribe it.*

THE *Chineſe* not only uſe the infuſion of it by way of common or diet drink, but take it alſo in powder, either in water, or mixed with other ingredients, and made into a bolus or electuary. Their phyſical books aſcribe almoſt as many virtues to it as our quacks do to their pretended panaceas. They preſcribe it againſt the teneſmus and hæmorrhages, againſt coſtiveneſs, pains of the head or heart, lowneſs of ſpirits, itching of the ſmall-pox, impoſtumes in the head, reins, bladder, *&c.* ſtoppage of the menſes, againſt coughs, phthiſic, and other rheumatic defluxions and aches, and a number of other diſeaſes; and, to conclude with one of their moſt ſingular preſcriptions, they tell you that the *Yu-chu*, or fineſt tea, powdered, and mixed with an equal quantity of alum, and taken in a glaſs of water, is a remedy againſt all ſorts of poiſons [t].

[t] See DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 223.

(E) This we have confirmed by ſeveral hands, particularly from the account which Mr. *Cunningham*, phyſician to the *Engliſh* at *Chuſan*, ſent of it to the Royal Society; wherein he tells them, that the fineſt, or that which is called the firſt bud, is gathered in *March*; the *Bing*, or *Imperial*, in *April* or *May*; the *Songlo*, or *Green*, in *May* or *June*. To this in a great meaſure agrees Father *Du Halde* (29); who adds only, that that called the *Imperial*, or *Mau-cha*, is the leaf gathered from the ſhrubs newly planted, or, as the *Chineſe* ſtyle it, the *firſt points of the leaves*: but this ſort is ſo ſcarce and precious, that it is ſeldom uſed but in preſents, or ſent to the emperor.

The ſame almoſt may be ſaid of the flower of tea, which bears an exceſſive price, and is only uſed by the richer ſort, and that chiefly on particular occaſions, as feaſts, marriages, grand entertainments, *&c.* This laſt is indeed beſt when mixed with the fineſt leaves, otherwiſe it hardly colours the water, and rather gives a fragrance than a taſte to it; and that is the reaſon why the *Mau-cha*, or *Imperial*, is preferred to it at court.

All that need be farther obſerved on this head is, that what Mr. *Cunningham*, and others, call the firſt, or earlieſt bud, is indeed the fineſt of the bohea kind; but that there are a great many degrees below it of fineneſs or coarſeneſs in the leaves, according as they are more or leſs blown and ſpread, and according to the part of the tree from which they are gathered; for, during all the time of their being on the tree, the leaves on the top are always the ſmalleſt and fineſt, and conſequently the deareſt, and grow proportionably larger and coarſer the nearer they come to the bottom. The ſame may be ſaid of the trees, that the older they are, the coarſer their leaves (30).

(29) *Vol.* i. *p.* 11.

(30) *Vid. auct. ſup. citat.*

TEA

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TEA is propagated chiefly by ſowing; for that which grows wild and ſpontaneous is both raking, and hath ſuch a diſagreeable taſte, that none but the poorer ſort, who have not the niceſt palates, care to uſe it. The time of ſowing it is in the ſecond moon of the year; at which time, having prepared their ground, they throw nine or ten ſeeds into a hole, from which ſometimes only one or two, and ſometimes more, ſhrubs will ſpring; which, at a proper ſeaſon, are tranſplanted into another ground, which is alſo prepared by proper manuring. The plant is cultivated with great care; and that which grows on the lighteſt ground, and hath the greateſt ſhare of the ſouth ſun, is reckoned the fineſt, and thrives beſt. The ſhrub or plant hath been variouſly deſcribed by authors, ſome raiſing it to the height of a tall tree, and others lowering it beneath the degree of a common ſhrub. The truth is, that, if it be left to run up to its full height, ſome of them will ſhoot up above that of our talleſt filberds, and, by that means, quite degenerate: but the *Chineſe* take care to prevent it, by ſtinting them to that of ſix or ſeven feet. They commonly tranſplant them in regular rows upon little hills, and about three or four feet from each other. When they have once taken deep root, they will grow in ſpite of rain, ſnow, or any weather. *Tea how propagated; ſown and tranſplanted.*

THEY have ſeveral ways of curing and drying the leaves, when ſtript, in order to make them fit for uſe, which we cannot dwell upon. The bohea is at firſt dried in the ſhade; after which, the leaves are again expanded by the ſteam of hot water, and expoſed to the warm ſun, or, if that fails, over a ſlow fire, in copper or earthen pans well glazed, till the heat hath criſped and contracted them into the ſmall compaſs they come to us in. But thoſe of the green ſort being commonly leſs juicy, are dried up and criſped in the ſame manner as ſoon as gathered. As for other niceties relating to their management of that ſhrub, and its leaves, we muſt refer our readers to the more copious account given of them by the authors often quoted. The tea-root is commonly large and well-ſpread; but, if we may believe *Nieuhoff*, is only fit for burning, tho' the *Chineſe* aſcribe ſome great virtues to it. *How cured and criſped.* *The root.*

THE tree commonly bears leaves from the top to the bottom; but the nearer to the top, the finer. The leaf is oblong, and ſharp at the end, and indented round like thoſe of our roſe or ſweetbrier; and the flower not unlike that of the latter, only hath more leaves; or, according to others, is like that of the double jeſſamin, with ſix upper and ſix under leaves. The fruit or apple is of the bigneſs of a ſmall pippin, but more finely flavoured; and hath a ſpicy taſte, not unlike that of a clove. The ſeed is blackiſh, round, and of *Leaves.* *Flower, ſeed, and fruit, deſcribed.*

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the bigness of a small hazel when green, or of a large pea when dry. When put into one's mouth, it yields at first a sweet, but, being kept longer in it, a bitterish, taste. The *Chinese* extract an oil out of it, which they, especially in the province of *Fo-kyen*, use as a kind of sauce to their victuals.

Leaves pickled. They likewise have a way of pickling the fine green tea-leaves, after they have been infused, and eat them with their meat.

Cotton shrub, how propagated. THE next beneficial shrub is that which produces the cotton, the manufacture of which into such variety of stuffs is one of the most considerable, next to that of silk and china-ware. The seed is commonly sown on the very same day that the husbandmen have got in their harvest; nothing more being required than to tear a little the surface of the ground with an iron rake. After the rain or dew hath sufficiently moistened it, there shoots up gradually the shrub, till it is got about two feet high, the flowers of which appear about the middle of *August*: they are commonly of a yellow colour, and sometimes more upon the red, and are succeeded by a button or pod of the bigness of a nut. This pod, which opens in three places about forty days after the first appearance of the flower, discovers three or four bags of cotton, exceedingly white, and of the same form as the cod of a silkworm. To the fibres of the cotton are fastened the seeds, which are to serve for the next year, and from which they must be separated by a kind of wheel, or engine, which the reader will see described in the margin (F); after which, the cotton is carded and spun for use [u].

IT would be an endless task to describe the other uncommon roots, shrubs, trees, plants, flowers, and other vegetables, with which this country abounds; and we hope our readers will be satisfied with our having mentioned the most remarkable for their beauty, usefulness, or singularity, either in the geographical description of those provinces, where they are mostly to be found, or under this general

[u] Vid. auct. sup. citat. & DU HALDE, ubi supra, vol. i. p. 319.

(F) It consists of two rollers, about a foot long, and an inch thick, the one of wood, and the other of iron, which turn each other by means of a foot-wheel. They are so closely joined together, that, in the turning of them, nothing can pass between but the cotton, which the hand applies to them; whilst the seeds, meeting with a stop, break off from it, and fall into a proper receptacle (31).

(31) *Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 319, & seq.*

head

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head of the *Chinese* agriculture; we shall therefore close this article with a short account of two or three most excellent plants and roots that are in the highest esteem among them and us, for their singular virtues. We might here begin with that most celebrated plant called by them *Jin-seng*, *Gen-seng*, or *Gem-sen*, that is, human plant, which is the most admired, and in greatest request, all over the empire. But as the best of it is only to be found in eastern *Tartary*, and that which grows in the province of *Se-chwen*, which, tho' the nearest to it in all *China*, is not in any case comparable to it, we shall refer our readers, for the further display, growth, and wonderful qualities, of it, to what hath been said in our natural history of what we may call its native soil †; and only observe here, that it is cried up by the *Chinese* doctors and botanists as the greatest cordial of all the vegetable sort, and as a kind of panpharmacon against all sorts of distempers, especially of the venereal kind. *Jin-seng plant.*

THEIR roots of *Tang-que* and *Hu-hun* are also in great use and esteem among them, for their singular virtue of recovering decayed constitutions, prolonging life, and even changing the white hair, caused by old-age, into a youthful black. Their rhubarb and *China* root are also said to be there excellent in their kind; the misfortune is, that it is next to impossible to get them genuine from the natives, who make no scruple to put the *Europeans* off with counterfeits; particularly with respect to the latter, instead of which they sell them another sort, not unlike it in shape and colour, but which is neither so weighty, large, nor by far so efficacious when tried [w]; and indeed it is the universal complaint of all who have been conversant with them, that they are the greatest cheats in all the east, and make no conscience to corrupt and adulterate every thing they sell or exchange with other nations. *Tang-que and rhubarb.*

HOWEVER, from what we have said under this head, of the richness of their soil, and their various admirable ways of cultivating and improving every spot of it to the best advantage, their invincible industry, religious attachment to agriculture, and the singular encouragement it meets with from the throne, and from all the grandees of the empire, there can be no doubt but *China* is, what all the writers of it have affirmed it to be, the most fruitful, rich, and populous, of all the eastern countries, and produces the greatest plenty and variety of every thing that is necessary and useful for food, *China, though so fertile, is yet poor.*

† See vol. vii. book 12. ch. 1. [w] LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, & al.

raiment,

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merchandizes, especially their medicinal drugs, sometime 1000 *per cent.* Their traffick with the *Europeans* is another considerable branch. These have indeed scarce any port open to them, except that of *Quang-tong*, and that only at certain times of the year: neither are they suffered to sail up quite to that city, but are forced to cast anchor at *Whang-pû*, a place about four leagues short of it, where the river is so crouded with trading vessels for miles together, that it looks like a large city on the water.

Trade with Europe dwindled.

THIS trade was once very advantageous to the *Europeans* who brought thither clothes, swords, clocks, striking and other watches, looking-glasses, diamonds, crystal, telescopes, and other mathematical instruments, and sold them at a vast rate; but our company hath since so well supplied, if not rather overstocked them with those commodities, that the trade is greatly dwindled and is hardly worth carrying on in any thing but silver, and exchanging it for gold (H); which, we are told, is commonly sold more or less dear, according to the time of the year, it being much cheaper in *March*, *April*, and *May*, than from *June* to *January*, because this last is the season when there is the greatest number of vessels in the port, or road to *Quang-tong*[y]. Other commodities brought from thence are too well known to need any farther mention; and all that needs to be added to it is, that the *Chinese* are such arrant cheats, that they think it neither crime nor shame to over-reach those they deal with, no not even those of their own nation and neighbourhood (I); so that one cannot be too watchful over them.

Chinese great cheats.

BUT

[y] Vid. MAGAILLAN, NAVARET. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

(H) Most of the gold that is bought at *Quang-tong* is brought thither from other parts, especially from *Japan* and *Cochin-China*; the latter of which is chiefly sold by the king of that country. Some indeed is sold there by his subjects privately; but is not so fine by a great deal, and must be refined at *Quang-tong* (33): and is there divided, as all other gold is, into alloys, from 90 to 100 carats, in the same manner as we do in *Europe*.

(I) They commonly go upon this principle, that every buyer being willing to purchase at as cheap a rate as he can, or even for nothing, if that could be done, the seller hath no less a right to sell as dear as he can, and to make use of any art or method to raise the price of his own ware: whence they infer, that it is not the latter that deceives,

(33) *Du Halde, vol.* ii. *p.* 319, *& seq. vol.* i. *p.* 334. *Vid. & Le Compte, & auct. sup. citat.*

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Home-trade

But what they chiefly depend upon is their home traffick, in which we may look upon every province as a ſeparate ſtate or kingdom, ſome of which abound with certain commodities, or proviſions, which others want[z]; and, to communicate which to all the reſt, the beſt methods have been invented, both by land and water-carriage, that each country will admit of. Thus the provinces of *Hu-quang* and *Kyang-ſi*, which abound with rice, ſupply thoſe that want it; *Che-kyang* furniſhes the fineſt ſilks; *Kyang-nan* the fineſt ink, varniſh, and all ſorts of curious works; *Yu-nan*, *Shen-ſi*, and *Shanſi*, yield plenty of iron, copper, and other metals, horſes, mules, furs, *&c.*; *Fo-kyen* the beſt ſugar and tea; and *Se-chwen* the greateſt variety of medicinal and other plants, *&c.*; all which are not only conveyed from one province to another, either by their rivers and canals, or by land-carriage; but, when brought to the place of ſale, are commonly diſpatched in a few days. The very mandarins encourage it; and have a ſhare in the gain, by putting their money into the hands of the merchants, to be improved in the way of trade. In a word, there is hardly a family, how poor ſoever, that will not put itſelf in ſome way of it; and, with a ſmall ſtock, hardly amounting to a crown, will, by labour and induſtry, not only maintain themſelves, and their children, but, by degrees, inlarge their ſtock, or fall into ſome more profitable branch, and live more at their eaſe. Thus every town and village, but much more their great cities, ſwarm with induſtrious hands all the day long, and all the year round: there being no intermiſſion from any buſineſs, except on the two firſt days of the firſt moon, which are commonly ſpent in diverſion[z].

moſt encouraged.

even among the poor.

Manufactures.

The next branch of their wealth ariſes from their manufactures, of which they have great variety. We ſhall only ſpeak of ſome of the moſt conſiderable, ſuch as their ſilk and cotton, their porcelain and japan-ware, or varniſh.

That of ſilk, by whom invented.

We begin with the ſilk, the invention of which the *Chineſe* records attribute to one of the wives of the emperor *Whang-ti*; ſince which, many other empreſſes have been recorded for the ſingular care they took to encourage it, by breeding the ſilkworms, ſpinning the ſilk, and delivering it to the proper

[z] Vid. Magaillan, Navaret. Martini, Le Compte, Nieuhoff, Du Halde, & al.

ceives, but the former who deceives himſelf, he being under no compulſion to give the price that is aſked; ſo that whatever extraordinary gain the ſeller makes of his chapman's ſimplicity, is looked upon as the fruit and reward of his own induſtry.

workmen

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Much encouraged.

workmen and women, to be woven (K). Their example could not fail of exciting the rest of their sex to put their hands to such a profitable as well as delightful work, by which they were intitled, among other advantages, to exchange their old dress, which was chiefly that of the skins of animals, for the more easy and elegant one of this new and valuable commodity; so that in a little time the manufacture became in a manner universal, and by degrees split itself into the great and beautiful variety in which the *Chinese* once excelled most other nations; though it must be here observed, that some provinces vastly exceed others in the goodness, beauty, and workmanship, of it; particularly that of *Che-kyang*, which, as we have already observed, bears the bell above all the rest for richness, softness, and for producing the greatest quantities of it. But, upon the whole, that manufacture hath been so well cultivated among them from time immemorial, that not only the princes, grandees, *literati*, and other persons of distinction, but their domestics, the merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics, can afford to clothe themselves with it; none, except those of the meanest sort, and the peasants, who commonly wear a blue cotton, appearing in any other but a silken dress. The quantities they send abroad of it are no less prodigious; and must, one would think, have long since in some measure exhausted them, were there not an infinite multitude of hands employed in it; so that it is not without reason that *China* is styled the *silk country*.

Become the common wear.

Their skill and ingenuity in it.

NEITHER are they to be less admired for their surprising ingenuity, diligence, and skill, in the management of every branch of it, the beautiful contrivance of their looms, and other instruments for spinning and weaving it in that beautiful variety of colours, patterns, *&c.* and their great care and skill in breeding, hatching, nourishing, and propagating, of their worms, providing against, and curing them, of sundry

(K) We are told, that there was a spacious orchard assigned within the precinct of the palace, and planted with mulberry-trees, the leaves of which are the proper food of that valuable insect; and that in memory of it, as well as to excite the rest by her own example, the empress went once a year, attended with the queens, and other ladies of the court, to this orchard; and there, with her own hands, gathered the leaves of three branches, which some of the maids of honour beat down to her. They add, that the finest pieces of silk, which were wrought under her eye, were devoted to the ceremony of the grand sacrifice offered to *Shang-ti* (34).

(34) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 353. *vid. & Le Comte, & al. sup. citat.*

distempers

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distempers they are liable to, as well as in their excellent way of cultivating their mulberry-trees to the best advantage for their nourishment; the preparing their different apartments, suitably to the various stages they go through, from the time of their being hatched to that of their spinning, and laying their eggs (L); and a great variety of other niceties relating to them, which we have not room to dwell upon, but which those who are curious in such things may read a particular account of in the author last-quoted [a].

THAT of cotton is another very profitable manufacture, though it doth not branch out into such great variety as the *silk* manufacture. *Cotton manufacture.*

[a] DU HALDE, ubi sup. vol. i. p. 353.

(L) The *Chinese* have not contented themselves with studying the best methods of improving this curious and useful manufacture, but have written some treatises upon it for public use. Among them was a famed author, who became afterwards one of the first ministers of the empire; and was so thorough a master of that subject, that his experience, and wise observations on the best method of propagating and nourishing that useful insect, have proved of excellent benefit to his nation ever since.

He tells them, among other things, that the apartments appropriated for breeding them up ought to be agreeably situated, if possible, upon a rising ground, and near some rivulets, because the eggs must be often washed, and running water agrees best with them. Their lodging ought to be at a distance from dunghils, sinks, and other nauseous smells, from cattle, and all kind of noise, for that the least disagreeable smell or noise, even the barking of a dog, is apt to cause strange disorders in that tender brood, especially when newly hatched.

The rooms should be square, close, and warm, the door as near to the south as can be, but never to the north; and with a window on every side, to let in the fresh air, as often as occasion requires. These windows, which are mostly kept shut, are of white transparent paper; behind which are moveable matts, so placed, as to shut out or admit the light, as their condition requires. Gnats and flies, which are apt to sit upon the silk cases, and to make blemishes on it, as well as render it difficult in the winding, must be kept out of their tenements, or, if possible, the worms should have done their work before the air is infected with them. There is a great number of other such curious remarks in that author, for which we refer our reader to *Du Halde*'s extract of him; but which shew, that the *Chinese* are much more nice and curious in the management of their silk-worms than our *European* nations commonly are, who never give themselves any thought about these seeming niceties, so that we need not wonder if their productions come so far short of the *Chinese*.

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fifhen one. We have already ſhewn how they ſow and propagate their cotton; and, as to the various clothes they make of it, as muſlins, callicoes, *&c.* their excellent way of dyeing and printing them, they are ſo well known to us, that we need not expatiate longer upon it.

China-ware, where made.

THE *Tſe-ki*, or, as we ſtyle it, porcelain or china-ware, manufacture, is of ſo old a date among them, that their records mention nothing either of its inventer or diſcovery. There is a great variety of it made in ſeveral provinces of the empire; but that which is the fineſt, and doth alone deſerve the name of *Tſe-ki* (M), is made no-where but in the town of *King-te-ching*, in the province of *Kyang-ſi*, which town is above three miles in length, and contains upwards of a million of ſouls, moſtly employed in that ſingle branch. The *Chineſe* were always ſo very ſhy of letting the *Europeans* get any light into any of their affairs, thoſe eſpecially of the giran, or japan-varniſh, and this of the china-ware, that we have been led by *European* writers into ſeveral ſtrange and abſurd notions, relating either to the materials of which it was made, ſuch as egg-ſhells, according to ſome; the ſhells of ſome ſorts of fiſhes, according to others; or the length of time they took up in preparing and perfecting, *viz.* 30, 40, or even 100 years, merely as their fancy ſuggeſted it to them,

Strange accounts about it.

(M) We need not tell our readers, that the name of porcelain is unknown to the *Chineſe*, and moſt likely of *Portuguſe* extract. The antient books that treat of it have not ſo much as a name for it, but ſtyled it the *preciousjewelof* Jau-chew (which is the diſtrict to which *King-te-ching* belongs); or elſe *the fine china-ware which is of a lovely ſhining white, and a clear ſky-blue, and comes from* King-te-ching. And it is indeed by thoſe two qualities that this ſort is known and diſtinguiſhed from all others that are made in *China*, none of which come up to it either for colour, luſtre, or fineneſs.

We are farther told of ſeveral attempts having been made of making it in other places, by carrying the materials and workmen thither, particularly at *Fokyen* and *Can-ton*, on account of the great trade which the *Europeans* carried on at *A-moui*, or *A-moy*; but without any ſucceſs. Even the late emperor *Kang-hi*, who was very curious in all things of this nature, cauſed ſome of the workmen, and all proper materials, to be brought to *Pe-king*; where, having tried their utmoſt to ſucceed under that monarch's eye, at leaſt to all appearance, the project miſcarried afreſh; ſo that the town of *King-te-ching* is ſtill the only place which ſupplies the whole country with that fine ware (35).

(35) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 353. *Vid. & Le Compte, & al. ſup. citat.*

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till we had at length a more perfect account of all those particulars from an eye-witness, of judgment and probity (N), who communicated the whole secret, and its process, to his brethren in *Europe*. *A truer set over.*

WHETHER that which hath been since made in *Saxony*, and so much exceeds the *Chinese*, especially in the beauty of the colours, and fineness of the painting, be made after the same manner, and whether the first discoverer of it took the hint from the Jesuit's account, we know not; but as that commodity is now so far outdone in *Germany*, and is likely to be imitated by ours, and some other *European* nations, with good success, it will of course excuse us from dwelling longer on the *Chinese* way of working, making, glazing, painting, and baking it; the process of which, though curious, is too long and complicated for a work like this, and may be best seen in those two pieces which the Jesuit above-mentioned sent of it, and which are published among the *Lettres edifiantes* of the missionaries, or in the extract which Father *Du Halde* hath given us of them in his description of the *Chinese* empire [b]. *A finer sort made in* Saxony.

ALL that may be farther observable about it is, that tho' the notions of the earth being so long in preparing, to make it fit for the work, or of the china-ware, when made, receiving an additional beauty by lying long buried in the earth, seem quite confuted from our author's observations on their present way of fabricating it; to which we might add, by way of corroborating them, the new method found out in *Saxony*, which is pretty nearly answerable to it; yet it is not unlikely that the *Chinese* had formerly some such longer process in bringing it to its highest beauty, but which they thought fit afterwards to set aside, or dispense with, as incompatible with the great call they had for that commodity from *Europe*, and which now seemed to require a more expeditious way of management, *The old china still preferable to the new.*

[b] Lettres edifiantes, vol. xii. p. 258—360. Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 320—366. DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 338—353. Vid. & LE COMPTE, MARTIN. NAVARET. NIEUHOFF, & al. sup. citat.

(N) This person was Father *D'Entrecolles*, a Jesuit, who had a church at *King-te-ching*, and a good number of converts who either worked at, or were great dealers in it; so that he had all the opportunity that could be desired of inquiring into every branch of that manufacture, as well as into the records of that town about the invention of it, concerning which, he tells us, he could find no satisfactory account (36).

(36) *Extract des Lettres edifiantes ap. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 338, & seq.*

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The old counterfeited.

though at the loſs of a great deal of its beauty and goodneſs. What inclines us to think ſo, is the viſible difference there is between the old and new china in both thoſe reſpects, and the great value which the *Chineſe* themſelves ſet upon the former above the latter; inſomuch that ſome of them have found means to counterfeit it in ſuch a manner as not to be eaſily diſcovered by any but a connoiſſeur. We might add that that much finer ſort which is made in *Japan*, and of which we ſhall ſpeak in a ſubſequent chapter, is, by the confeſſion of the very *Japanners*, affirmed to owe its excellence not ſo much to the goodneſs of the materials, and manner of working, as to the length of the proceſs in preparing the earth for the work; but we ſhall ſay the leſs of that, as we are in ſuch a fair way of being ſupplied with that beautiful commodity much nearer, and, in time, at a much cheaper rate.

Their varniſh, or japan.

THE laſt manufacture worth notice is that of their varniſh, or, as we ſtyle it in *Europe*, gyran, or japan-work, which, tho' it be vaſtly inferior to that made in *Japan*, is yet thought valuable enough to be bought at a great price, and ſent abroad in great quantities, eſpecially into *Europe*. We have already ſpoken of the liquor or gum which gives it that beautiful luſtre; as well as of the poiſonous quality of its effluvia, which ſo ſadly affect the head and limbs of thoſe who work at it: but this doth not hinder its keeping a prodigious number of hands ſtill employed in it, in almoſt every part of the empire, though not with equal beauty and goodneſs in ſome as in others. The very beſt of all is made at *Whey-chew*, in the province of *Kyang-nan*; and the next to it at *Nan-king*, the capital of that province; in both which, it ſeems, the workmen have a better art in laying the varniſh ſmooth, and with a beautiful and laſting gloſs. But the place where the greateſt quantity of it is wrought, though neither ſo beautiful or ſerviceable, is at *Kan-ton*, where the *Europeans* beſpeak and have it wrought in great quantities, and according to their own directions (O).

The fineſt, where made.

Why worſt at Kanton.

THERE

(O) And this is the main cauſe of its being ſo inferior to that which is made in other places; for the workmen being obliged to ſtay till the *Europeans* are come, in order to receive thoſe directions, they can neither take that due time in laying their grounds ſo thin and ſmooth, nor in giving them time to dry, as that ſort of work requires: for the beauty and laſtingneſs of it conſiſt chiefly in that there ſhould be no fewer than nine or ten ſuch grounds laid, the thinner the better, and at leaſt the ſpace of three or four days, or even more in damp weather,

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THERE are two ſorts of varniſh uſed in *China*, the one ſo transparent as to diſcover all the beauties of the wood underneath; and yet ſo ſolid, as to look like a piece of glaſs laid over it; and at the ſame time, by ſoaking into the pores of it, preſerves it from corrupting. This ſort, however, will bear gilding, or being painted upon, without loſing any of its gloſs; but is moſtly uſed upon ſome ſorts of curious woods, which are ſo beautifully veined and variegated, that it looks like the work of art. We have very little of this ſort brought into *Europe*. *The tranſparent ſort.*

THE other, which is better known to us, is laid on with a body in very thin grounds, as mentioned under the laſt note, and that commonly on a kind of maſtic, or paſteboard, made up of paper, flax, lime, and ſome other materials, well beaten together, and glued on upon the wood, and with a very ſmooth ſurface; and on that it is that they lay firſt their oil, and then their varniſh, which is moſtly of the black kind, tho' they may make it of other colours, and then paint and gild it in the manner we ſee it in thoſe cabinets, tables, and other trinkets, that come over to us. And though the beſt of that ſort, which is made in *China*, be vaſtly inferior in beauty, colour, and hardneſs, to that which comes from *Japan*; yet, when rightly made, it will preſerve its native gloſs and luſtre a conſiderable time, except ſome diſaſter happens to it (P). *The more ſolid.*

WE ſhall conclude this article of their trade and manufactures with a ſhort account of their coin, which is one main *Chineſe coin.*

weather, allowed between every one, that the laſt may be thoroughly dried before a new one is laid on. Another conſiderable interval of time is likewiſe required between the laſt layer and the poliſhing, painting, and gilding; all which would, if duly obſerved, require a whole ſummer, and more: but, as they have not a ſufficient time allowed them for it, they content themſelves with diſpatching it at any rate, ſo it doth but pleaſe the purchaſer's eye. And hence it is that they neither keep their gloſs nor colour ſo long or ſo fine, were their materials in other reſpects equally good, and the workmen as dexterous, here as at any other place.

(P) It is obſerved that the ſpilling of any hot liquor upon that ſort of work will deaden its luſtre, becauſe it will make the varniſh grow dull, and turn yellow. The means of reſtoring it to its priſtine ſhining black, ſays a *Chineſe* author, is, to expoſe it a whole night to a white froſt, or, which is ſtill better, to hold it ſome time in the ſun (37).

(31) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 337, *& ſeq.*

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ſpring and ſupport of them. They have but two current metals in all *China*, viz. ſilver and copper; gold being on the ſame footing there as precious ſtones with us; and purchaſed, like other valuable merchandizes, according to its weight and fineneſs. Silver, though uſed in payment, is not coined, but cut into pieces, ſmaller or larger, as occaſion requires; ſo that its value is rated according to its weight and goodneſs, and not from the prince's image. This makes it, however, very inconvenient to the tradeſmen, who muſt be ever cutting and weighing it (Q); and, which is ſtill worſe, be trying it on the touchſtone, becauſe it is often below the common ſtandard; in which caſe, a proportion muſt be given in the weight, to make up that defect. Nevertheleſs, the *Chineſe* chuſe to have it in that manner rather than coined, as ours is, becauſe, as they ſay, it would make every province ſwarm with clippers and coiners, and force the dealers to have ſtill recourſe to their ſcales and touchſtone. And as, in the frequent cutting it, it can hardly be avoided but ſome ſmall particles of the metal will fall on the ground, ſo there are numbers of poor people taken up with gathering and waſhing the dirt that is thrown out of the ſhops into the ſtreets, and who commonly find enough among it to ſubſiſt by. The only expeditious way they have to pay any ſum in ſilver, is, to keep by them a variety of plates of that metal, beaten, either thinner or thicker, according to the preſent exigence (beſides the ingots, which are reſerved for larger ſums), and which, by long uſe, they can cut to a very great nicety, and hardly exceed a grain either above or under the weight they deſign it for.

Silver not coined; but cut, and weighed.

Some loſs in it.

Copper the only coin.

THE only coin, therefore, properly ſo called, in uſe among them, or which they have had from time immemorial, is of copper, and of a very inconſiderable value, on account of its coarſeneſs, as well as ſmallneſs, it ſcarcely amounting to the

(Q) The ſcales, or rather ſtilliards, with which they weigh their ſilver or gold, and which they commonly carry about them in a neat japan caſe, conſiſt of a little round plate, an ebony or ivory beam, and a weight. The beam, which is divided into minute parts on three ſides, is ſuſpended by fine ſilken ſtrings at one of the ends, in three different points, that they may more eaſily weigh their pieces. Theſe kind of ſtilliards are ſo exceedingly exact for weighing any money, or ſmall pieces of ſilver, that from fifteen, or even twenty crowns, down to the twelfth part of a peny, and leſs, may be weighed in them with ſo great a nicety, that the 1000th part of a crown will turn the ſcale (38).

(38) *Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.*

third

third part of one of our farthings. It is of a round figure, with some *Chinese* characters on each side, and a square hole in the middle, through which they may be strung to any number, but commonly an hundred or a thousand in one string; which last is equivalent to a *Chinese* crown, and somewhat above one of ours; and in this last every hundred is divided by a string, which hangs at the last piece, for the greater dispatch of telling them. They have, it seems, no other name for what we call money, than the old one of *Tsyen*, which properly signifies *the water of a fountain that runs without ceasing*, by which they expressed the continual circulation of it from one hand to another; which word they still retain with respect to both metals, calling the one *Tong-tsyen*, or copper-money (R), and *In-tsyen*, or silver-money; which last name they give at *Kan-ton* also to the piastres, *French* and *English* crowns, which are pretty current and common in that trading city [c].

[c] D'Entrecolles ap. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 330, & seq.

(R) This coin, inconsiderable as it is, and not stamped, but only cast, though formerly coined in two-and-twenty places of the empire, was nevertheless forbidden since, by an imperial edict, to be cast any-where but at the court; so that none of the petty kings under that monarch dares attempt it. Their laws make it even capital to counterfeit it; though Father *D'Entrecolles* says, that some of their monarchs have contented themselves with punishing such offenders with the loss of their hand, or with banishment (39).

The *Chinese* have, however, had, in the antient times, a great variety of coins of gold and silver, and in a great variety of forms, all which are now only to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, and more particularly in that of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, who caused a noble collection to be made of all that could be found of that kind in the empire, and to be deposited there among his other rarities. The reader may see the most curious and remarkable in the plate given us by *Du Halde*, as they were taken by Father *D'Entrecolles* out of the imperial collection above-mentioned (40).

Besides those of gold, silver, and copper, they have had some of baser metals current in *China*, to say nothing of others of clay stamped with some names or characters, and baked, shells, stamped paper, *&c.*; and what is most observable is, that none of them were ever stamped with the head of the prince; it being deemed there an indignity to the imperial majesty, to have his image pass thro' the hands of tradesmen, dealers, and the dregs of the people.

(39) *D'Entrecolles ap. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 330, & seq.* (40) *Idem ibid.*

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Chineſe *weights. Pound, how divided and ſubdivided.*

In order to have ſome notion of the *Chineſe* money, whether antient or modern, it muſt be obſerved, that their pound, or *Lyang*, weighs ſixteen ounces, but is divided into only ten parts, called *Tſyen*, this into ten *Fwen*, which are equivalent to ten *French* ſols, or about ſeven-pence *Engliſh*; the *Fwen* into ten *Fi* of ſilver. The beam of the *Chineſe* ſcale carries theſe diviſions no farther; and yet, with reſpect to gold or ſilver of a conſiderable weight, the diviſion is more minute, and almoſt extends to imperceptible parts; for which reaſon it is ſcarce poſſible to convey a juſt idea of them in our language. They divide the *Li* into ten *Wha*, the *Wha* into ten *Se*, the *Se* into ten *Fû*, the *Fû* into ten *Chin*, which laſt ſignifies a grain of duſt; this again into ten *Yay*, the *Yay* into ten *Myau*, the *Myau* into ten *Mo*, the *Mo* into ten *Tſyun*, and the *Tſyun* into ten *Sun*. But even when one underſtands all theſe diviſions, it will be ſtill impoſſible to aſcertain the value of the antient coins, though the weight is marked upon them, yet ſome of them paſſed for much more than their intrinſic value came to. There were times in which the ſcarcity of ſpecies obliged their monarchs to raiſe the value of the ſmall copper pieces ſo exceſſively high, that one of them was worth ten of the ſame ſort current in former times, which hath occaſioned very great tumults among the people; becauſe the merchants raiſed the price of their goods in proportion. This ſcarcity of copper coin (which was occaſioned either by ſome violent irruption of foreigners, who came and loaded their barks with it, and carried it away, or through the cautiouſneſs of the people, who buried it in time of war, and died, perhaps, without diſcovering where it lay hid), hath been ſo terribly felt, that, at one time, an emperor hath cauſed near 1400 temples of *Fo* to be demoliſhed, and all the images and copper work to be caſt into coin; and, at other times, the people have been expreſly forbid the uſe of any veſſels, or other utenſils, of copper, and obliged them to deliver up thoſe they had to the mint. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for their coins and commerce.

SECT.

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SECT. VI.

Of the Character, Genius, Manners, Customs, Marriages, Burials, Feasts, and Festivals, of the Chinese; *with an Account of the natural and artificial Rarities of that Country.*

Character of the Chinese.

WE have had frequent occasion to shew, how much the *Chinese* nation valued itself, above all others, not only in point of antiquity, but likewise of wisdom, learning, politeness, and other valuable qualities, in comparison of whom, they look upon the rest of mankind as so many rude savages, monsters, or, at best, as creatures in human shape, but either quite destitute, or, at best, endowed with a very little share, of reason; on which account, they made it a very constant maxim among them, *never to entertain any commerce with foreigners, but just as much as should be thought necessary to procure their homage and service.* This was the high notion they had of themselves, and were brought up in [a]; which was still farther confirmed, by the singular deference which the *Tartars*, *Persians*, *Indians*, and other neighbouring nations, paid to them, in point of wisdom and learning; insomuch, that when *Xaverius* came to preach Christianity among the *Japanese*, a people not inferior to them in sense and politeness, their objection against it was, that so wise a nation as the *Chinese* had not embraced it.

High conceit of themselves.

The character of the antient Chinese.

BUT, abating this overgrown conceit of themselves, of which they were soon cured, after they became more conversant with the *Europeans*, it must be owned, that they were once endowed with many shining qualities, though they have so far degenerated from them of late; that they must have been a wise, prudent, and politic nation; that they had true and just ideas of government; that their fundamental laws were excellently well calculated for the public good; and that the people were no less endowed with a sincere regard for, and a natural disposition to observe, them. And hence it was, that, whatever strange revolutions have happened among them, during such a series of ages which their monarchy hath continued, they commonly proved of short duration; and, as soon as they came to be ever so little at their own disposal, they returned to their own form of government again: and one may see, to this very day, in spite of all the changes, corruption, and degeneracy, which hath been introduced since

[a] See before, p. 6. (D). & seq.

their

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their last conquest, some plain footsteps of their pristine virtue, and veneration for their antient laws and form of government. And though the far greater part of them do now content themselves with the bare outward shew of probity, public spirit, justice, generosity [b], *&c.* yet one cannot forbear concluding, that there was a time when those noble qualities were the distinguishing character of the *Chinese* nation; and that those princes and great men, who enacted such excellent laws, left behind them such wise maxims of government, and encouraged such a noble system of morality, both by their precepts and example, were every way qualified to reign over such faithful subjects.

Of the present Chinese.

THE *Chinese* are naturally ingenious, lively, and industrious, and those of the lower rank laborious to excess. They have no great genius for speculative sciences, as we have formerly observed, but a surprising one for almost all sorts of inferior ones, as well as for mechanics, either for use or diversion. They are quick and witty, but affect a gravity with it; outwardly affable and civil to, but jealous and mistrustful of, strangers, especially such as they suspect of coming to pry into their manufactures, some of whom they have made no scruple to poison, upon the bare suspicion of it; but, where only traffick and gain are in view, they are exceedingly watchful to observe the tempers and inclinations of their chapmen, and keep up the fairest correspondence with them, in order to over-reach them: so that whether a stranger trusts to his own judgment, or to the probity of the *Chinese* dealer, or employs a *Chinese* factor, he is, for the most part, in danger of being cheated, and laughed at, unless he be exceeding careful who he deals with; for there are still many instances among them, not only of honest and fair dealing, and open and generous usage, but even of fidelity, incapable of being corrupted. They are exceedingly apt to resent affronts and injuries, though they do not, as we do, retaliate them by duels, fighting, or other public hostilities, but will rather seem patient under them, even to insensibility, till they have a favourable opportunity of indulging their revenge to the highest degree. Both nobles and artificers are extremely given to gaming, and will spend whole days or weeks at it; and the latter will lose vast sums at it, and sometimes all they are worth, even to their wives and children, when they meet with a bad run of fortune [c] (A).

Much given to gaming.

IN

[b] See before, p. 154. & seq. [c] De his, vide MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

(A) All sorts of gaming are forbidden by the *Chinese* laws; and even that of chess, though so much admired by the whole nation,

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In other cases, they are very good oeconomists, and observe great frugality in their houses, and way of living, from which they seldom depart, but upon some great occasions; such as their national festivals, their birth-days, weddings, burials, &c. at which times they strive to outdo each other, in the splendidness of their tables, furniture, and the various methods of entertaining their guests (B), in which they frequently run to excess, and beyond what their circumstances will admit of. Among the variety of sumptuous dishes which commonly adorn their tables at such times, dogs flesh, dif- *Sumptuous festivals.*

ration, is yet highly censured by their literati, as taking up too much of that time which ought to be better employed; and yet they are so very fond both of that and many others which are in vogue among them, that they will even venture their whole estate upon the chance of a game, or even upon a single card, or cast of a die. Upon this account, as well as the fear of the laws, they are very careful to indulge this passion with as much privacy as possible; though they might easily be prevented from it, if the mandarins and magistrates, who are equally guilty of it, did not wink at it in their inferiors (42). And, it is not improbable, that these being so often hurt by it, is one main cause of their being so given to cheating in all their mercantile dealings.

(B) All these kinds of festivals are commonly accompanied not only with variety of music and dancing, such as it is, but with tumblers, rope-dancers, jugglers, posture-masters, and other such diversions, which are there exhibited, by a parcel of strollers hired for that purpose, and are surprisingly dexterous at their respective parts. Those of the middle sort will add some short farce, or dramatic performance, to the rest; and those of rank, a regular play, with all its proper decorations, interludes of music, dancing, &c.; there being almost every-where a sufficient number of those strollers to be found, who are ready to act any play which the company shall call for.

These players are a kind of vagabonds, that wander from place to place, where they are most likely to be hired; and are always paid by the master of the feast, among those of the higher rank; but among those of the lower class, by the voluntary contribution of the guests. They commonly go in companies, of both sexes, and have a kind of head over them, who either keeps them in pay, or distributes their hire among them, according to the parts they act. These men, in their rambles, make it their business to buy (and often to steal) all the handsome girls they can get from the poor people, whom they afterwards either debauch themselves, or prostitute for some small sum, in order to harden and fit them for their business (43).

(42) *Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.* (43) *Iid. ibid.*

ferently

ferently dreſſed, ſeldom fails of being one; whatever plenty of other fleſh, veniſon, fiſh, fowl, *&c.* there be beſides. Yet, even in theſe feaſts, they affect a more than common gravity and ſilence, and will drink but ſparingly of wine, and other ſtrong liquors, even when the cups are put briſkly round by the maſter of the feaſt, but will only take a ſmall quantity at the bottom of the cup, as if they feared being overtaken with, or betrayed into, ſome indecorum by it: but they are ſoon relieved from their gravity and fears, by the diverſions abovementioned, which commonly ſucceed the third or fourth round.

Sobriety at them.

Way of eating.

THEY neither uſe ſpoons, knives, nor forks, at their tables; but every gueſt comes furniſhed with two ſmall and long ivory or ebony ſticks, with which they help themſelves, with wonderful nicety and eaſe, to every thing that is ſet before them, without touching it with their hands: and this makes napkins to be likewiſe needleſs at their tables, every diſh of meat, fiſh, *&c.* being commonly cut into ſmall bits, before it is ſerved [d].

New year's feſtival.

THE public or national feſtivals are various, and regularly obſerved all over the empire; particularly, the two firſt days of the year, which are celebrated with feaſting, muſic, dancing, playing, comedies, and other diverſions, and with ſending of preſents to their friends and patrons. This ſolemn time, which, among the great ones, laſts from the end of the twelfth moon of the laſt to about the twentieth of the firſt moon of the new year, is properly their vacation; during which, all buſineſs ceaſes, all the tribunals are ſhut up, the poſts ſuſpended throughout the whole empire, and the generality of the people ſpend their time in rejoicing, and all ſorts of diverſions (C).

[d] De his, vide MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

(C) This feſtivity, or vacation, which laſts about three weeks (44), or a month (45), is ſtyled, by the *Chineſe*, *the ſhutting up of the ſeals*; becauſe, at the beginning of it, they do, with great ceremony, ſhut up the little coffers wherein the ſeals of each tribunal are kept. But the greateſt rejoicing is on the laſt days of the old year, when they take their leave of it, with great ſolemnity; and the inferior mandarins pay their homage to their ſuperior, the children to their parents, ſervants to their maſters; and every family concludes the day with a ſumptuous ſupper.

(44) *Chineſe Ambaſſy, p.* 76. *vid. & Dion. Kao, ap. eund. ibid. p.* 280.
(45) *Kao, ubi ſupra.*

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BUT the moſt ſolemn and pompous part of this feſtivity, begins on the fifteenth day of the ſame firſt moon, and is, by the *Chineſe*, ſtyled the *feaſt of the lanthorns*. It is commonly uſhered in at court, and the capital of *Pe-king*, pretty late on the preceding night, by the ringing of a vaſt large bell; the firſt ſound of which is no ſooner heard, than it is accompanied by whole vollies of cannon, from the palace and city ramparts, the beating of large kettle-drums, the ſound of trumpets, and a great variety of other inſtruments. The ſame notice is given in all other parts of the empire, eſpecially the great cities, about the ſame time, and much in the ſame way, the cannon excepted. Immediately upon which, they every-where kindle ſuch vaſt numbers of fires, hang up ſuch infinite numbers of lanthorns, and play off ſuch variety of fire-works, ſome repreſenting caſtles, towers, ſhips, dragons, elephants, horſes, fiſhes, and other creatures, that the whole atmoſphere ſeems to be in a flame. They have likewiſe a very dexterous way of intermixing their lanthorns with thoſe fire-works, ſo as to repreſent horſes, and other animals, in full career, birds flying, ſhips ſailing, armies fighting, princes marching with their whole retinue, and a great variety of other ſuch ſurpriſing ſcenes; whilſt the ears of the ſpectators are entertained with the beſt muſic their country affords, and with the joyful acclamations of the people; all which are anſwered by the trumpets, bells, and other inſtruments, of every temple and monaſtery.

That of the lanthorns.

Fire-works, and other illuminations.

MR. *Iſbrandz Ides*, who was preſent at one of theſe feaſts *, ſays, that the noiſe at *Pe-king*, which continued the ſame till the next day at noon, was as great as if an army of 100,000 men had been all that time in a cloſe and fierce engagement. And Father *Le Compte*, who was likewiſe an eye-witneſs of this grand ſolemnity, at the time he was there, ſays, that the number of lanthorns, commonly lighted at theſe illuminations, through the whole empire, was computed to amount to at leaſt 200,000,000. During the feſtival, the ſhops are cloſely ſhut up; all buſineſs is ſuſpended; the ſtreets crouded with proceſſions of numberleſs idols, carried about in great pomp, the monks and prieſts attending them, with their cenſers, ſongs, and muſical inſtruments; the very women, of all ranks, who at other times are not ſuffered to appear in public, are then permitted to ride through the ſtreets of *Pe-king*; thoſe of common rank upon aſſes, adorned with ribands and other trinkets; and thoſe of quality in their two-wheeled chaiſes, covered on every ſide but the front, and either ſing-

Vaſt rejoicings, and number of lanthorns.

Streets crouded.

* Ambaſſy to China, part. i. ch. 15. p. 76.

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ing, or gently touching some musical instrument, or even smoaking a pipe, and attended with a maid-servant riding behind them, and playing likewise on some musical instrument. Some of those lanthorns are so vastly rich and beautiful, that the price of them amounts to 1500 or 2000 crowns, and even beyond; and not a house but hath some sort of them, the best they can afford, burning, both before and within it (D). In a word, the *Chinese* are so ambitious of making the most magnificent figure on this festival, that they will retrench from their common expences the year round, that they may do something extraordinary at this time, and, abating the masquerading, will allow themselves in all the extravagancies of a *Venetian* carnival *. But what the cause of all this joy, or the origin of this grand festival is, they either do not care to tell us, or probably know nothing of it themselves (E). We shall, however, in the sequel of this chapter, find

Richness of the lanthorns.

Its origin unknown.

* De his, vide & Martini, Navaretta, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.

(D) These lanthorns are adorned with beautiful carving, gilding, and japanning, and have about six or eight panes of thin blue silk, made transparent by a fine varnish, and painted with figures of trees, men, horses, birds, &c. so skilfully disposed, as to receive, as it were, life, from the great number of lamps, or candles, burning within them. Others are made of blue transparent horn, through which are seen sundry kinds of creatures, painted to the life, and seeming to move, through the motion of the flame within, and representing a variety of scenes, to entertain the spectators. The common sorts of them are about four or five feet high, and have their tops adorned with curious streamers, waving in the wind; but those of the noblest sort are above twenty feet in diameter, and illuminated with lamps and wax-candles, the sides of which represent to the eye various figures of men and women, in different characters, or exhibiting some theatrical representations, with gestures suitable to their parts. These are moved by wires, by people placed underneath, like our puppets, or, according to one of their own authors, are acted by living persons (45). They have likewise bonfires, and other fire-works, in all the parts of the cities, towns, and villages; and the whole nation seems to run mad with joy for they know not what. See the next note.

(E) Whether they are really ignorant of the occasion of this festival, or designedly conceal it from strangers, it is certain, none of our authors, who have spoken of it, nor even *Kao*, a

(45) *Kao, ubi supra.*

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find a proper place for offering a conjecture of ours, concerning the origin, and extraordinary rejoicings, of that famed festival, which, we hope, when weighed with other concurring circumstances, may, though new, appear to give a more probable, is conceal'd from strangers out of some superstitious whim? For, we are told, that, with respect to that of the *new year*, they are, in some parts of *China*, so cautious of having a stranger, or even some of their nearest relations, at their own houses, at that time, lest they should catch all the good luck which, they suppose, attends the moment of its entrance, from the family, that they will not admit any one to share in the festivity of that day with them, nor join in the common rejoicing of the season, till the next and following ones (46). However, by the uncommon magnificence and profusion which reigns through the whole empire, and the universal joy that appears in every look, and the strange sorts of diversions which are in vogue, during the feast, one would be apt to suppose, that so solemn, so joyful, and so universal a festival, owed its origin to some extraordinary event, or blessing, which they either are careful to conceal, or have lost the remembrance of; or, at least, that they expect, from their magnificent way of celebrating it, some great and public blessing will fall on the whole realm, and that those who bestowed the most cost on it, or behaved most franticly, were to have the greatest share of it (47).

Chinese native, have given any satisfactory account of it. Some tell us, it was instituted in memory of one of their monarchs, who had caused a magnificent palace to be built, which he illuminated with a prodigious number of these lanthorns, that the day might not be distinguished from the night. Others, that it was in remembrance of a great mandarin, whose favourite daughter drowned herself; and that he having governed them with uncommon humanity, the country, in gratitude, flocked to him with lanthorns, to help him to find her out, though without success; in memory of which, they instituted this ceremony, which, in time, spread itself through the whole empire.

Lastly, as their records mention, that the Empress *Ta-kya*, wife of the Emperor *Chew* (both of them of a tyrannic disposition), had, either through fear of a rebellious attempt, or for some other motive, accustomed herself to have the imperial palace illuminated with a prodigious number of candles, to supply the absence of the sun, and to prevent any surprize by night, some infer from thence that this festival was instituted, by the people, after her death, in memory of their deliverance from that cruel tyranny.

But, as none of these carry any tolerable probability, may we not rather think, that the origin of its institution is either forgot, or, which is more probable, is conceal'd from strangers out of some superstitious whim? For, we are told, that, with respect to that of the *new year*, they are, in some parts of *China*, so cautious of having a stranger, or even some of their nearest relations, at their own houses, at that time, lest they should catch all the good luck which, they suppose, attends the moment of its entrance, from the family, that they will not admit any one to share in the festivity of that day with them, nor join in the common rejoicing of the season, till the next and following ones (46). However, by the uncommon magnificence and profusion which reigns through the whole empire, and the universal joy that appears in every look, and the strange sorts of diversions which are in vogue, during the feast, one would be apt to suppose, that so solemn, so joyful, and so universal a festival, owed its origin to some extraordinary event, or blessing, which they either are careful to conceal, or have lost the remembrance of; or, at least, that they expect, from their magnificent way of celebrating it, some great and public blessing will fall on the whole realm, and that those who bestowed the most cost on it, or behaved most franticly, were to have the greatest share of it (47).

(46) *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 292.

(47) *De hac, vide Magaillan, Le Compte, Martini, Isbrandus, Kao, Du Halde, &c. ubi supra.*

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probable account of it than any we have hitherto met with, either from the natives or strangers.

The two festivals of Confucius;

THE next in rank and solemnity, are the two grand festivals instituted in honour of their famous *Confucius*, and are celebrated, the one in the spring, and the other in autumn. The public honours paid to that great philosopher, used formerly to be performed before his statue, set up in the great hall dedicated to his memory, till their new conqueror *Kanghi*, deeming it, we are told, a kind of idolatry; and fearing, or pretending to fear, lest his new subjects should, in time, offer the same worship, and prayers, to him, forbade the ceremony to be performed before his statue; instead of which, he ordered a large label, or board, to be erected over a table, with his name and titles written, or engraven, upon it, with some beautiful leaf-work, and other ornaments, carved or painted about it. The ceremony is now performed, by kneeling before the inscription, and prostrating the body nine times before it, till the head touches the ground: after which, the usual offerings are made to it, of wine, victuals, fruits, &c. in the same manner the great families do to their deceased friends, at their mourning feasts; of which, we shall speak in the sequel. The same exchange was likewise ordered to be made in all their schools, colleges, and other places, where that great man's picture was formerly set up, and where nothing but his name is now to be seen [f]. We have formerly taken notice of some other festivals, in which the emperors bore the greatest share in the sacrifices, and other ceremonies performed at them, and need not enlarge upon their other public ones, which are inconsiderable, in comparison of those we have now given an account of.

the ceremony of them.

Feastings on birth-days.

THE private ones are either on their birth-days, marriages, or funeral obsequies, all which they strive to celebrate in the grandest manner that their circumstances can afford. They always observe their birthdays with such feastings, dancing, music, and other diversions, as we have already described, to which the guests join their good wishes of long life and prosperity; and some of them add either a panegyric, or copy of verses, on the person. The whole day is spent in civil treats, mutual congratulations, and mirth, even among those of the lowest rank. The same rejoicings and feastings are observed at the birth of a son, especially the first; and, in both cases, the guests commonly accompany their congratulatory compliments with some real presents, suitable to their circumstances;

[f] De his, vide & MARTINI, NAVARETTA, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

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the greateſt princes not thinking it beneath their dignity to have ſuch kind of ſubſtantial honours paid to them.

THEIR marriages are celebrated with no leſs pomp. The married couple are commonly brought together, without any previous acquaintance with each other, the bargain being ſtruck by their parents, or by ſome go-between, and afterwards ratified, by preſents ſent by both ſides. The bride brings no dowry with her, but is rather purchaſed by her ſpouſe, who, beſides the price he pays for her, commonly ſpends, in the marriage ceremony, double and treble the preſents ſhe brings along with her, eſpecially among thoſe of higher rank (F). The young couple are never ſuffered to ſee each other, till the marriage contract is ſigned and ſealed, by the parents or friends, and the preſents be exchanged on both ſides: but, as ſoon as that is over, the bride is ſent home to her bridegroom's houſe, in a kind of pompous cavalcade, and with a numerous attendance[g] of friends and ſervants; ſome on horſeback, ſome on foot; ſome carrying the inſignia of the family, others playing on variety of inſtruments; a third ſort carry torches, flambeaux, even at noon-day, and burning odoriferous perfumes; whilſt a fourth bear the preſents ſhe brings along with her. The bride, if of quality, is carried in a ſtately ſedan, covered all round with a large and rich canopy of ſtate, borne by a dozen or more luſty fellows, in the livery of the family, and guarded by ſome relations on horſeback. The whole retinue appears in the moſt ſplendid

Marriages.

No dowry brought by the bride.

Wedding ceremony.

[g] See the cavalcade deſcribed by DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 303.

(F) The laws of the country making it an indiſpenſible duty for every man to marry; and many of the poorer ſort not having it in their power to purchaſe wives, the government gives them leave, in ſuch caſes, to go to the foundling hoſpitals, and beg one; which favour is ſeldom denied, if the man have any tolerable character for probity and induſtry. This method not only ſaves a poor man the charges of buying, but contributes to make the wife more obſequious and obliging.

Theſe hoſpitals do likewiſe furniſh the richer ſort with children, when their wives prove unfruitful; and this is done either clandeſtinely, and then the good wife pretends to be pregnant, and, in proper time, to be delivered; and this is oftener with than without the conſent of the huſband. The other is done by publicly adopting the children ſo bought; but as this cannot be done without the leave of the government, nor that be obtained without great expence, the former way is the more frequently choſen (48).

(48) *De hoc, vide Magaillan, Le Compte, Martini, Iſbrandæ, Kao, Du Halde &c. ubi ſupra.*

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dreſſes; and in this manner they march from her father's houſe, to that of her ſpouſe; who is there ready, with a vaſt number of his own relations, all likewiſe richly dreſſed, to receive her. The ſedan, in which ſhe is brought, is cloſely ſhut up on all ſides, the door of it is locked, and a truſty ſervant is intruſted with the key of it, which he is to deliver to none but to the bridegroom, who waits at the door, to introduce her into an outer court. Here ſhe is no ſooner ſet down, than he unlocks the chair, with ſome eagerneſs; and is then a judge (if he never ſaw her before, which is commonly the caſe) of his good or bad fortune (G). If he likes her, he hands her out of the chair, and conducts her into the great hall, where they make four low bows to *Tyen*; after which, ſhe doth the ſame to her huſband's relations; and is then put into the hands of the ladies invited to the ceremony, who lead her into a ſtately apartment, and ſpend the remainder of the day with her, in feaſting, dancing, and other diverſions; whilſt the bridegroom doth the ſame, with his male relations, in another. The feaſting laſts more or leſs, according to the circumſtances of the perſons; and, when once ended, ſhe is from that time ſecluded not only from the com-

The bride's reception.

(G) It ſometimes happens, that a man, when he receives his wife, and finds her beauty not anſwerable to the character given him of it, or the idea he conceived of her, will immediately lock her up again, and, in the ſame ſedan, ſend her back to her parents, chooſing rather to forfeit the money he gave for her, than to take her home. But this, of late, is not often the caſe, the female relations of the bridegroom taking all the proper precautions, not only to ſee and converſe, but to view, and examine her, when ſhe is in the bath, and be ſatisfied, that ſhe is free from any ſuch defects, as might render her diſagreeable to him. On the other hand, her parents take care to oblige him, by the marriage-contract, neither to ſend her back, nor to divorce, or uſe her ill. The laws likewiſe oblige both ſides to have a due regard to an equality of age, and rank; but this laſt is often overlooked, through dint of money.

The common people obſerve leſs ceremony in this caſe; and the man may have ſome opportunities to ſee the woman, before he engages; and, when the marriage is agreed on, the bride is ſent to her huſband, in the handſomeſt manner that their circumſtances will allow, eſpecially with muſic, torches, and ſome retinue of her friends, and is conveyed thither in a cloſe ſedan. The ceremony of her reception is much the ſame with that of the great ones, abating the magnificence (49).

(49) *De hoc, vide Magaillan, Le Compte, Martini, Iſbrandæ, Kæ, Du Halde, &c. ubi ſupra.*

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pany, but even from the ſight, of all men but her huſband; except, perhaps, the father, or ſome near relation, and that only on ſome extraordinary occaſion; unleſs they have contracted before-hand with him, for the liberty of entertaining a gallant now-and-then, which, we are told, is ſometimes done, by an indulgent parent, and agreed to by the no leſs indulgent ſpouſe, though ſeldom, if ever, without ſome valuable conſideration [h].

The laws allow but one wife to a man. Concubines permitted.

THE *Chineſe* laws allow but one wife to a man; but they are permitted to have ſeveral concubines, who are brought into his houſe, without any other ceremony, than a promiſſory note of the ſum agreed upon, and of uſing her well; but the lawful wife is generally miſtreſs over them, as well as over all the ſervants in the houſe; and the children of the concubines are deemed to belong to her, and have an equal right to inherit. She alone bears the title of mother, and, after her deceaſe, is honoured with the parental mourning of three years. Both the man and the woman may marry again, after the death of either; in which caſe, the huſband is no longer confined within his own rank, but may take any woman he pleaſes, or even one of his concubines, to be his wife; and this ſecond wedlock is attended with but few ceremonies. As for widows, eſpecially thoſe that have had children, they become their own miſtreſſes, and may marry, if they pleaſe; but that, among thoſe of high rank, is reckoned diſreputable, though ſhe had lived but one day, or even a few hours, with her huſband. But with thoſe of the middle rank, the caſe is quite otherwiſe, though frequently leſs in their favour, through the avarice of the deceaſed's relations (H).

Second marriages, how far allowed.

UPON

[h] See MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al. ſup. citat.

(H) Theſe are often forced by the huſband's relations, eſpecially if it be one that hath had no children, to marry ſome other man, in order to have the money given for, or ſome part of it, refunded to the family. The bargain is often agreed with the new huſband, without her knowlege; and if ſhe has a daughter ſtill unweaned, ſhe goes along with her to him. Neither can ſhe avoid the oppreſſion, unleſs ſhe can procure the above ſum to be repaid, or turn bonzeſs, or nun, which few care to do. The poor widow being thus ſold, whether with or without her knowlege or conſent, is immediately clapt into a cloſe ſedan, and conveyed to the purchaſer, under an eſcort of ſome truſty perſons, and frequently long before her mourning is over, which is expreſly againſt the law. But if this outrage hath been complained of to the mandarin, and he be found

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The sad state of the married women.

UPON the whole, it must be owned, that the marriage state is but an uncomfortable one to the *Chinese* women, of any rank, inslaved and immured by their jealous husbands; in some cases, liable to be sold, with all their children; in others, to be divorced from them; and when widows, condemned to observe a long and severe mourning, and then either to live a single life, or to be sold to the highest bidder; without one good law in their favour, except that which permits them to marry again, if the husband absents himself from his home above three years (I). The *Chinese* women are generally very handsome, sprightly, and amorous; and employ themselves at home, either with their own children, or with some sorts of curious works, as painting, japaning, embroidering, *&c.* Those of distinction seldom stir abroad, and when they do, they are commonly carried in a low close chair, or a covered two-wheeled chaise (K), and are, consequently,

found to have connived at, instead of remedying it, he is liable to be severely punished (50).

(I) In this case, she is obliged to apply to the mandarins, who, after due examination of it, will license her to take another husband; for, without this formality, she would be severely punished, if she ventured to do so.

With relation to men selling their wives, the law is, that a woman that elopes from her husband may, after conviction, and receiving the correction appointed by the law, be sold by him to whom he pleases; but without such a conviction, both the buyer and the seller would be liable to be punished; and yet, we are told, that some men have sold, or even played away, their wives and children.

The cases in which divorce is allowed, are; 1. Adultery; but which seldom happens, by reason of their being so closely kept. 2. Antipathy, or contrariety of tempers. 3. Excess of jealousy, disobedience, or indiscretion. 4. Barrenness, 5. Some contagious distemper. Yet these divorces, we are told, seldom happen among those of higher rank, it being only among the common people that instances of it are to be met with (51).

(K) These sedans are of two sorts: those belonging to the lity are borne on two, or more, men's shoulders; and those of the inferior rank have only one pole, put through a ring on the top, and rather resemble a large cage, carried between two men, much in the same manner as our draymen carry a barrel of ale, the hindermost holding it with both his hands, from jogging to and fro.

Both sorts are made so very low, that the person, who sits cross-legged on a cushion at the bottom, doth almost reach the top with her head. Those of the lower sort, which are com-

(50) *De hoc, vide Magaillan, Le Compte, Martini, Isbrandz, Kao, Vide Du Halde, vol. i. p.* 305. (51) *Id. ibid. vide & al. sup. citat.*

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quently, never to be seen [1]. We shall describe their dress in a more proper place.

THE last pompous solemnity we shall mention, as celebrated by private families, is that of their funeral obsequies, which, among people almost of all ranks, doth, by far, still exceed whatever is observed by them upon any other occasions. And such is the singular regard which the *Chinese* pay to the memory of their deceased friends, especially to that of their parents, and near relations, that they think they can never sufficiently express it, either by the cost they bestow on their funerals and anniversaries, or by the deepest tokens of grief for their loss. According to their antient laws, the common term of mourning for a parent was three whole years (L); and though it hath been since reduced, in some cases, to twenty-seven months, yet do they not abate, in any other respect, of their antient austerity on such occasions, but spend that whole time in acts of the most pungent grief. *Funerals, and deep mourning.* *Singular regard to dead parents.* *Length of their mourning.*

A child that hath lost a parent is neither permitted, nor will, upon the greatest exigency, indulge himself in the use of a bed, during the space of 100 days, but chooses to lie all that time upon the bare earth, lamenting, in the bittrest

[1] De hoc ritu, vide KERCHER, China illustrata, MARTINI, Histor. Sinens. LE COMPTE, CARERI, DU HALDE, & al.

monly of japanned wood, have either some small holes, or oblong narrow slits, not only to let in the air, but give them that are in it a glimpse of what passes in the streets through which they are conveyed; but those of the better sort are covered over with such rich silks, as not only shut out the light, but even the fresh air.

Both sorts, as well as the two-wheeled chaises, are only used in the cities, or for some short jaunts out of it; but in longer journies, the quality commonly convey their wives and female retinue in coaches and litters; and all likewise shut up close on all sides (52).

(L) This term of three years mourning for a parent, was ordained to express their gratitude for their parents care during the three years of their helpless infancy, wherein they stood in need of their assistance: and it is so carefully observed that if any of the emperor's ministers, of what rank soever, loses a father, or mother, he must lay down his office during all that time, and dedicate it to mourning, unless the emperor should, for some extraordinary reason, dispense with it, which is rarely done; nor can he resume his post, till the three years are fully expired (53).

(52) *De hoc, vide Magaillan. Le Compte, Martini, Isbrandz, Kao, Vie Du Halde, ubi sup. Vide & al. sup. citat.*

(53) *Vide Martini, Le Compte, Gemel Careri, Du Halde, & al.*

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terms, their inexpreſſible loſs. They are not to converſe with any body during a whole year; and, which is ſtill harder, muſt abſtain from all connubial intercourſe with their wives and concubines, under very ſevere penalties: for ſhould any of them be found to have been got with child during that time, both they, and much more the huſband, would infallibly be condemned to ſome heavy puniſhment. In the matrimonial ſtate, the wife is obliged to mourn, in the ſame deep manner, three whole years, or at leaſt two years and a quarter, if not of high rank, and the huſband a whole year for a dead wife; which laſt is alſo the common term, more or leſs, of mourning for other relations, according to the degrees of their proximity.

Anniverſary obſequies, whence.

NEITHER is this filial regard confined to the ſtated time of three years, but is ſtill continued with annual obſequies performed at his grave, with ſomething near the ſame mournful ceremonies; to which we may add, that if a man die before he hath married all his children, the eldeſt ſon is obliged to take that care upon him; and, being then inveſted with a paternal authority over them, is eſteemed as the repreſentative or ſubſtitute of the deceaſed. Nor are theſe funeral obſequies continued to parents only, but to grandfathers, *&c.* up to the head of the family, for whom they keep anniverſary ſolemnities, viſit their tombs, in the ſame mourning guiſe, and offer upon them the uſual preſents of wine, victuals, *&c.* as if they were ſtill alive (M).

NOR need we to be ſurpriſed at this extraordinary duty to their anceſtors, if we recollect what was formerly hinted, on another occaſion, that they are brought up with a belief that their ſouls are ſtill preſent, though inviſible to them, and behold all their actions, and either approve or condemn, reward or puniſh, them; which notion is of excellent uſe, to deter them from vice, and excite them to virtuous deeds. Neither do their greateſt monarchs think themſelves, on any account, more diſpenſed from this filial duty, than the meaneſt of their

Monarchs not exempt from them.

(M) This extraordinary regard was founded on a wiſe *Chineſe* maxim, that monarchs ought to have the tenderneſs of a parent over their ſubjects, and fathers the authority of kings over their children; and, when young perſons behold what veneration is paid by their parents to their own progenitors, it cannot fail of inſpiring them with a deep ſenſe of obedience and ſubmiſſion to them: and, as their ſages have juſtly obſerved, this ſubmiſſion naturally preſerves peace in families; this produces tranquility in cities, prevents inſurrections in provinces, and ſecures peace and good order through the whole empire.

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subjects, but rather strive to outdo them in it; insomuch, that we read of some of them who have refused to attend on any thing but that, even at a time when their dominions have been invaded by a foreign power (N).

THE funeral rites are performed, among the rich, with much the same pomp and magnificence (if not rather greater) as their marriages, and with the addition of a vast number of bonzas, and other priests, who adorn the sumptuous cavalcade, some singing, in a mournful tone, the encomiums of the deceased, others playing on a great variety of instruments; some carry the tables, on which are deposited the offerings of wine, victuals, *&c.* to be set on the tomb, others the perfumes to be burnt upon it, and one of them precedes the bier, bearing the table, or label, on which are written the names of the deceased, and those of his progenitors. The corpse, which is dressed in the best cloaths, is carried in a stately coffin (O), covered over with white damask, or some other rich *Funeral rites.* *Procession.*

(N) The *Chinese* annals record many instances of this filial duty, and particularly, in the singular piety of *Ven-kong*, king of *Tsing*, who, being forced to travel out of his father's dominions, to avoid the snares of an ambitious mother-in-law, and being there informed of his father's death, and of the loss of his kingdom, gave this extraordinary answer to a prince, who offered him his assistance and soldiers to recover it: "That, "being become, as it were, a "dead man since his retreat, and "exile, he no longer esteemed "any thing but virtue, and "piety towards his parents; "that this was his treasure; "and that he chose rather to "lose his kingdom, of which "he was already dispossessed, "than to be wanting in those "last duties, which did not "permit him to take arms, at a "time destined for grief, and "the funeral honours which "were due to his father (54)."

(O) These coffins, about which the *Chinese* are so solicitous, that they will have them made in their life-time, and some sons will mortgage themselves, to procure one of them for a parent, are commonly made of planks about half a foot thick, and of a lasting sort, and some of them of precious wood, and are so well pitched within, and japanned without, that no bad smell can perspire through them. Those of the richer sort are finely carved and gilt, and cost from 300 to 1000 crowns.

Before the corpse is laid in them, they commonly throw a little lime at the bottom; and, after it is laid, clap on a pillow, or a good deal of cotton, to keep the head steady, and stuff every vacuity with cotton and lime, to soak up any moisture that comes from the body.

We took notice above, that some, out of a more than common regard for their parents,

(54) *See Du Halde, p.* 306.

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rich ſilk, which is the colour that is uſed by all the *Chineſe* in their mournings; over it are the inſignia of the family; the whole carried by twenty or more luſty men clad in mourning, and covered with a vaſt ſtately canopy, which is likewiſe borne by a number of men in the ſame mourning dreſs. The relations of the deceaſed, both men and women, follow next, according to their nearneſs to him, all clad in white ſackcloth, girt about with a coarſe rope, with ſtraw wrapped about their feet, and rags about their heads; only the women relations, ſuch as the wife, concubines, daughters, and other female kindred of the deceaſed, are carried in cloſe ſedans, or chairs, covered over with white curtains.

Burying-places. IN this manner they proceed from the deceaſed's houſe to the burying-place; which muſt be without the walls of the city, and at a diſtance from any towns, or inhabited places (unleſs they chuſe to keep the bodies in their own houſes, incloſed in ſuch coffins as we deſcribed in the laſt note); but, generally ſpeaking, theſe ſepulchral places are on ſome mountain, or eminence, about two or three miles from any city, and are incloſed with pine, cypreſs, and other trees, and ſome *Tombs.* with a wall. The tombs are raiſed like little houſes, but are differently ſhaped in different provinces. Thoſe of the mandarins, and princes of the blood, are of a magnificent ſtructure, about twelve feet high, and eight or ten in diameter; and near them ſtands a table of white poliſhed marble, of a conſiderable length and breadth, on which are ſet a perfuming pot, two vaſes, and two candleſticks, all of the ſame ſtone, and curiouſly wrought. On each ſide are placed, in ſeveral rows, a great many figures of officers, eunuchs, ſoldiers, lions, ſaddle-horſes, camels, tortoiſes, and other animals, in different attitudes of grief and veneration. As for the meaner ſort, they content themſelves with raiſing a ſmall kind of pyramid of mould or earth over the coffin.

chuſe to keep their dead bodies at home; and this they will do at leaſt during the whole three years of mourning, during which their ſeat in the day-time is a ſtool covered with white ſerge, and at night they lie down near the coffin, on a bare matt made of reeds. They deprive themſelves, during the whole time, of all dainty meats, wines, converſation, and other comforts; and if they are obliged, on ſome urgent occaſion, to ſtir out of their houſes, or to go out of town, which few will do till a certain time of the mourning be over, they are commonly carried in a cloſe chair covered with white ſerge or cloth (55).

(55) *See Du Halde, p.* 106, *& ſeq. Vid. & Le Comte, & al. ſupra citat.*

THEY

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THEY ſeldom bury many perſons in one grave, and are exceedingly curious and careful about the bodies of their deceaſed friends. They would deem it an unheard-of cruelty to have them opened, and the heart and entrails taken out, as is done among us; and they would look with horror on our charnel-houſes, and ſee the bones of different perſons promiſcuouſly laid one upon another. And this makes them ſo fond of thoſe coffins lately deſcribed, which ſome will purchaſe not only at a great price, perhaps from 50 to 100 crowns, but even with their laſt peny, and keep them in their houſes 10 or 20 years beforehand, and eſteem them as the beſt piece of furniture they are maſters of. *Regard for the bodies.*

WHEN the proceſſion is arrived at the burying-place, the ſervants of the deceaſed, while the funeral ceremony is performing, are buſied in preparing an entertainment for the company, which is ſet on tables, and in a kind of halls reared for that purpoſe. Some of the relations will partake of them, whilſt others will chuſe to keep cloſe to the ſons and daughters of the deceaſed, and join with them in their loud cries and woful complaints, than which nothing can be imagined more lugubrious and ſolemn; except that to an *European*, who is not uſed to them, they appear too formal and regular to inſpire him with the ſame ſentiments of grief. The burying-places of the grandees have commonly ſeveral ſuch halls or apartments reared up, in which many of the near relations will ſtay a month or two, to repeat their mournful ceremonies every day with the ſons of the deceaſed. They are not contented to celebrate their annual obſequies at their tombs; but every family hath a hall, which is called the hall of the anceſtors, at which all the ſeveral branches of the family are obliged to repair on certain times in the year. Theſe branches, which in ſome families have ſometimes amounted to between 80 and 90, or to 7000 or 8000 perſons, meet at the ceremony promiſcuouſly, no diſtinction being then made between a great mandarin and a mean mechanic; and, if any preference is given, it is to the oldeſt, whether rich or poor. Only the richer ſort commonly prepare a ſumptuous entertainment, to which the whole family is invited as ſoon as the ceremony is ended. *Feaſt given at the burying place.* *Woful mourning.* *Hall of the anceſtors.*

ONE thing more we may obſerve under this head of filial duty to the deceaſed: that many of the *Chineſe* will not let the dead corpſe be carried out at the common doors, leſt their grief ſhould be renewed every time they paſſed through it, but cauſe a new one to be made for that purpoſe, which is immediately cloſed up after the funeral is over.

WHEN

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Mourning for an emperor.

WHEN an emperor dies, the whole empire goes into mourning, and the same respect is paid to his mother or grandmother. When the mother of the late *Kang-hi* died, a deep and universal mourning was observed fifty whole days, during which all the tribunals were shut up, and no kind of state-affairs mentioned to the emperor. The mandarins spent the whole time at the palace, and in all outward expressions of grief; and several of them passed whole nights in the open air, tho' then very cold; and even the emperor's sons slept in the palace without pulling off their clothes. All the mandarins, clad in white, and stripped of their red ornaments, which colour is then forbidden, went on horseback, with a very small retinue, to pay their mournful respects before her image, three days successively; after which, the corpse was carried with suitable pomp to the place where it was to lie in state (P). This was a stately palace out of the city, and all built of new mats, with courts, halls, and other apartments, for the corpse to remain in, till it was thence conveyed to the imperial burying-place [1].

The funeral of Kang-hi's mother.

Education of children.

THIS extraordinary regard for their deceased parents is not only owing to the laws which give the living ones so great an authority over their children, but likewise to their excellent way of educating them: for even here the laws have taken such care to oblige them to it, under severe penalties, that if any of them happens to commit some crime, or great misdemeanour, and absconds himself from punishment, the father is commonly made to bear it for him, at least for not having done his duty towards him. There are several excellent treatises likewise written on the subject of education, by some

Parents punished for neglect of it.

[1] De hoc ritu, vid. KERCHER China Illustrata, MARTINI Hist. Sinens. LE COMPTE, CARERI, DU HALDE, & al.

(P) We are told, however, that the emperor would not follow what he miscalled the *Chinese* superstition of causing new gates to be broke open, but ordered the corpse to be carried through the public ones of the palace. He shewed the same contempt for some of the antient customs of his own nation, particularly with respect to four young ladies who had waited on his mother, and had taken their attire, and prepared themselves, according to the usage of the *Tartars*, to accompany her into the other world, by sacrificeing their lives before her corpse, which that monarch would not suffer them to do. He likewise abolished another custom, till then in use among them, of burning rich furniture, and even the domestics of great men, with their bodies on the funeral pile (56).

(56) *Vid. Du Halde, & al. ubi sup.*

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of their learned doctors, with proper directions to parents and schoolmasters how to bring them up in the most effectual manner in the love of virtue, and aversion to vice, which, they say, ought to be the chief object of all their care; and, next to that, to train them up to learning, if capable of it, or to industry in some other calling; in doing which, those doctors advise the use of mild and gentle means, preferably to sharp and severe ones, considering that youth is averse to constraint, and easily discouraged by roughness. Instructions and reprimands, they say, should come like vernal winds and rains, which gently promote the growth of plants; and not like hasty showers or storms, which root them up, or wash them away. They have likewise old story-books, some in prose, others in verse, but in a singular style, fit for children, and written in commendation of virtue, obedience to parents, honesty, industry, *&c.* The education of the boys, as well as of the girls, is intrusted to the wife, till the former are fit to be sent to school, and the latter come to be married: but all this, however, under the eye and direction of the father, who commonly reserves to himself the power of using severity, when other milder exhortations and encouragements prove ineffectual; and, after the father's death, the eldest son takes the authority over as many of the family as are still unmarried. And as, among those of the middle and lower rank, there will happen now-and-then some wranglings and quarrels, through the indulgence or indolence of the master of the family, the magistrates are obliged to look carefully to the good order and œconomy of it; and, in case of neglect, are themselves liable to be punished, as well as the offenders within-doors (Q).

Wives have the care of them whilst young.

THE *Chinese* are generally very grave, formal, and ceremonious, with each other, as well as towards strangers. Their salutation to an equal is by laying one hand to the breast, and bowing the head; to a superior, or more venerable person, they lay both hands to the breast, and bow the whole body as low as they can; and, to a mandarin, they fall down on their knees, and touch the ground with their forehead. In saluting a superior either in his own house, or in any other

Ceremonies used, and manner of saluting.

(Q) Thus we are told of a mandarin, who, going through a street, heard a mother-in-law crying out, and cursing her son and daughter-in-law; and, having inquired into the occasion of the quarrel, made a report of it to the emperor, who ordered the son and daughter-in-law to be chastised, his father to lose his head, and the magistrate his place (57).

(57) *Careri, & al.*

place,

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place, the person bends one knee to him, and continues in that posture till he takes him up by the hand, which is commonly done immediately. But it is unusual and uncivil to salute a magistrate in public, unless one be summoned before, or have some particular application to make to, him. The rest, it seems, must only stand with their arms across, and their eyes fixed to the ground; for it is an affront to look them in the face. In their visits they use a great deal of ceremony in their gestures, though they are very laconic in their compliments. They are no less curious in seating their visiters according to their several ranks; and in the style in which they receive the honour of the visit, never speaking in the first person, I or me, but Your servant; and, to a person of distinction, Your humble, poor, or unworthy slave; and, instead of *You* to the person they speak to, they say *My lord*; as, *Let my lord permit his humble servant to*, &c.; *Let my lord accept of such a thing from his servant, or poor slave.* If a present be the product of his own native place or province, and the country be ever so celebrated for it, as some of them are for their manufactures, others for their fruits, &c. the style must still run in the same strain with relation to that; as, *Let my lord permit his servant to offer him such a thing, which his poor city or province affords:* but if the present come from the country of the person to whom it is presented, then it must be, *for which your noble city, or province, is so justly famed.* The same humble style is observed between the scholars and their masters, to whom they never use the words I or you, but Your servant, or Your Scholar, did so, or read so; and, Our master or doctor says or ordered, &c. [k]. Now, tho' this way of speaking may appear to some of our readers extravagant, and mere grimace, yet, to those who are ever so little versed in that of the antient eastern languages, it will appear quite natural and uniform with them, and to be the very same as is still in use amongst most of the eastern nations at this time; so that it would be not only uncouth and absurd, but to a great degree uncivil and affronting, to express one's self in any other. Nay, the same method of speaking is still in some degree preserved by the politer part among several *European* nations, particularly the *Spaniards* and *Germans*. To which we may add, that it is the very style of the antient patriarchs, and of all the *Hebrews* before the captivity of *Babylon*, and even since, till they came to corrupt it by adopting the idioms of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and how much and justly that style is admired by all the learned for its humility and simpli-

In their visits.

Humble style in speaking to their superiors.

Masters.

Still in use among the eastern nations;

and some of the European.

[k] Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.

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city, we have formerly shewn in the antient history of the *Jews* [1].

THE *Chinese* are no less formal in their visits, whether between inferiors and superiors, disciples and masters, which are indispensable at particular seasons, or between relations and friends (R); and as tea is the common liquor the *Chinese* treat their

[1] See Univ. Hist. vol. iii. p. 207, & seq.

(R) It is among them a stated rule not to visit any person without sending a *Tye-tse*, or visiting bill, by the porter, to the person. This *Tye-tse* is commonly a sheet of red paper, slightly embellished with flowers of gold, and folded up like a skreen; on one of whose folds is written the person's name, with some respectful addition, according to the person to be visited. They write, for instance, *The tender and sincere friend of your lordship, and the perpetual disciple of your doctrine, presents himself in that quality to pay his duty and his homage to you down to the ground.* If the visited be a familiar acquaintance, the style abates somewhat of that humble strain, and a white paper will serve; and the same sort must be sent in if the person is in mourning (58).

If the visit be made from a person of distinction to another, and the latter have not time or inclination to receive it, he sends him a civil message by a servant, signifying, that he need not give himself the trouble to alight; and then it is esteemed as a real visit, and is accordingly repaid, either on the next, or in few days after. If the visit be received, the visiter is permitted to pass through the two first courts, and as far as the hall, where the visited comes to receive him. Here the formalities begin, which are to be suited to the rank of both persons, and as they are set down in the *Chinese* ceremonial, where one finds the number of bows that must be made, the titles to be given, the mutual genuflexions, the several turns to be made either to the right or left (for the place of honour is different in different places), the silent gestures by which the master of the house invites his visiter at the hall-door, and says only the words *Tsin, tsin*, Go in, go in; to which the other is to answer, *Pu-can*, I dare not; the salutation which the former makes to the chair on which the latter is to be seated, which he must also dust with a blow or two of his long sleeve, or with the skirt of his garment.

As soon as the parties are seated, the visiter, in a most grave and succinct manner, is to declare the occasion of his coming; to which the other, after a certain number of bows, gives an answer. Care must be taken to sit upright in the chair, and not loll on either side, or lean against the back. The feet must be placed exactly even, the legs upright, and the hands must be laid on each knee. The eye must not be permitted to stare about, but be fixed towards the

(58) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 296.

ground.

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Reception of the visiters.

Treating with tea.

their visiters with, they are no less ceremonious and nice in the manner of presenting, receiving, and returning, the cup: every dish that is thus drank being attended with the same bowing and cringing, compliments and thanks, even though the cup is commonly tendered by a servant. The same are observed when the visited treats his visiter with a pipe of tobacco; those that are used in the reception and dismission would appear still more troublesome and irksome to our *Europeans*, there being so much formality used on both sides at every door they go in or out at, at their sitting and rising, as if the ceremonial passed with us between some great ambassador and the first minister of state: and yet the *Chinese* will by no means dispense with them, unless it be on ordinary visits between familiar friends or near relations, and even in these we should think them rather too punctilious; but in formal visits, especially among the great, the least omission on either side would be looked upon and resented as an affront to the other; and on this account they make it a part of their education and study; and there are books printed among them, which settle all those points of civility in so clear and easy an order, according to every rank, that none can well be ignorant of them. As for strangers, though the same exactness be not absolutely required from them, yet the nearer they

Books of civility.

ground. After a very short conversation, a servant comes, and brings as many dishes of tea as there are persons; which must be taken, drank out, and returned, with the stated formality of bowing and cringing. The conversation being over, the visiter or visiters, and visited, have again a number of bows and ceremonies to interchange, till the former come to their chairs, where they are renewed, till each person is got into his; and then a few more mutual bows pass, till the porters have got the chair on their shoulders, and then a general adieu concludes the ceremony.

Those that pass between the superiors and inferiors of quality, as between a mandarin, a kolaw, or a prince of the blood, are still more clogged with punctilios and formalities, and much more still those which are observed between a foreign ambassador and the imperial ministers: but we have dwelt long enough on that subject (58). Only one thing we must not forget to observe, that the *Chinese*, like other eastern nations, are so far from uncovering their heads in token of respect, that it is looked upon as an affront for any to stand bareheaded before their betters; and it was on this account that the missionaries were dispensed by the pope from uncovering the head in their churches (59).

(58) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 296. *citat.*

(59) *Idem ibid. & al. supra*

come

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come up to it, the better they will be received. Even the foreign ambaſſadors are allowed forty days before they appear in public; during which they procure maſters of ceremonies to inſtruct them in all the formalities belonging to their character; and if they ſhould chance to miſs in any of them, for want of having been rightly inſtructed, the maſter is liable to be ſeverely puniſhed for his neglect [m], by the tribunal of rites, before whom they are obliged to perform and go thro' every part of that tedious exerciſe, not once nor twice, but till the members of that court pronounce them perfect in every one of them. *Ambaſſadors taught by maſters of ceremonies.*

EVEN thoſe of the middle, or even lower rank, tie themſelves to ſuch formalities as we ſhould think not only uſeleſs, but ridiculous and troubleſome. Thus, for inſtance, when a perſon hath been viſiting, or entertained at a houſe, and is ready to mount his horſe, in order to go home, the very ceremony of parting will take up near half an hour. The maſter of the houſe comes out to ſee him on horſeback; whilſt he, on his ſide, proteſts that he will rather ſee the world turned upſide down, than mount before him; at length, with much intreating and proteſtations on both ſides, the maſter retires out of ſight till his gueſt is mounted, and then appears again, and wiſhes him well home. This produces a freſh volley of compliments on both ſides; the one will not go into his doors till he is got quite out of ſight; and the other vows he will not move one ſtep till he hath ſeen him in his houſe. He complies again to his gueſt, and ſteps in; and, as ſoon as the other hath moved a few paces, comes out, and halloos a freſh adieu after him, which he muſt in civility tack about to return with freſh bows and cringes; and, if the perſon live at a good diſtance from him, he will not let him go very far before he ſends a ſervant after him, to wiſh him a good journey, with new compliments, and wiſhes of ſeeing him again ſoon. This latter kind of civilities are moſt in vogue among the mercantile part, who are always moſt obſequious and obliging to thoſe they get moſt by, or can beſt cheat or over-reach [n]. *Reception of ſtrangers by thoſe of the lower rank; among the mercantile part.*

THE *Chineſe* vary very much in their ſhape, air, and complexion; and it is hardly poſſible to be otherwiſe in a country of ſuch vaſt extent, and different climates; ſo that it is not difficult to diſtinguiſh a ſouthern from a northern one, who live thirty or more degrees aſunder; the latter being as fair and ſmooth as any *Europeans*, and the former brown and ſwarthy like the *Tangierines* and *Moroccos* of *Africa*; and, *Their various ſhapes, complexions, &c.*

[m] MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, CARERI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. [n] Id. ibid.

with

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with respect to these, it must be farther observed, that though they generally are inclined to the brown and sun-burnt complexions, yet there are degrees of it; not only as they draw nearer to the southern verge of the empire, but as they are, by their rank or occupation, more or less exposed to the scorching beams of a vertical sun: for, even in those hot and sultry climates, one shall see among the gentry, especially among the female sex, who seldom stir out, persons of a good complexion, and not much inferior in clearness of skin to those who live in the more northern ones; though the generality of the rest be pretty deeply tanned, especially those who travel much by land or water, or work at the kilns, and other labours that expose them to the sun; and who, during the hot months, have hardly any covering on their bodies, but a thin pair of breeches, like the waiters at our bagnios, or the guides at the bath [o].

Corpulent shapes. The men are no admirers of a fine slender shape, but affect rather a fat kind of corpulency, rather squat than tall. Their faces are mostly broad, their eyes and hair black, beards thin and long, their noses short and flat. If a man be of a middle size, or somewhat above it, have a large forehead, little eyes and mouth, flat nose and long ears, a long beard, fat brawny limbs, prominent belly, and a big voice, he is looked upon as a complete handsome man, and so far fit to be made a mandarin or magistrate. The women are commonly of a middle size, genteelly shaped, slender and strait, but have no taste for a small waist, and a protuberance of the breasts and hips, but rather study to carry an uniformity of bulk from the neck downwards. They have generally handsome faces; their noses are short, their eyes black, small, well-cut, and in all likelihood would have a vivid complexion, did they not deem it a sign of boldness, and strive to conceal it by rubbing their faces with a white kind of powder or paint, to make them look of a pale and languid, or, as they esteem it, a modest, bashful hue, though at the expence of their skin, which is in time much impaired and wrinkled by it [p].

Women slender.

Pale complexions.

Small feet. But their greatest beauty consists in the smallness of their feet, though this is likewise to the great disfigurement of their legs, which become thereby swollen and large, and all of a bigness from top to bottom. Neither is that the only damage they receive from this artful piece of beauty, which is imposed upon them in their infancy, by binding them so close from the time they are born, as to stint their further growth; for they

Very inconvenient to them.

[o] Vid. Martini, Le Compte, Careri, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat. [p] Iid. ibid.

plainly

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plainly appear to feel no ſmall conſtraint from it, by the ſlowneſs and uneaſineſs of their gait, and their liableneſs to trip; ſo that they may be ſaid rather to waddle than walk, and that only upon their heel; for their ſhoes are made ſo, that the ſole never touches the ground; which is in ſome meaſure the ſame as walking on ſtilts, and muſt be as painful to them as it is diſagreeable to ſtrangers. Yet ſuch is the power of education and cuſtom, that they not only readily ſubmit to thoſe inconveniencies, but contribute to them by the conſtant care they take of ſwathing and pinching, and ſtriving to make them ſtill leſs, merely for the pride they take in ſhewing them, as they walk, to thoſe few domeſtics and acquaintance who are admitted into their apartment: for we have already obſerved, that they are ſeldom permitted to ſtir out of it, or to be ſeen in it by any but female ſervants; and the apartments wherein they are immured are generally in the moſt retired part of the houſe; but yet, ſuch is the common vanity of their ſex, that they will ſpend ſeveral hours in the morning in dreſſing and adorning themſelves. *Women cloſely kept.*

WHAT might be the riſe of this odd cuſtom can only be gueſſed at, the *Chineſe* themſelves pretending to be ignorant of it, unleſs it were to keep that ſex in ſubjection. But it is more likely to have been introduced to keep them more cloſely confined at home, that, if their modeſty could not allay their inclination of gadding abroad, the pain and uneaſineſs of going might the more eaſily reconcile them to their confinement. *Their ſmall feet, whence.*

THEIR dreſs is very decent, comely, and agreeable to the ſingular modeſty of their looks. Their head-dreſs uſually conſiſts in ſeveral curls of the hair interſperſed with here and there tufts of gold and ſilver flowers, or fine feathers, on each ſide, which fall down beautifully to their ſhoulders. The reſt is made up behind in a kind of roll, and faſtened by a bodkin. In the northern provinces they wear a gawſe, or thin ſilk, over their hair; and in cold weather they wrap up their heads in a kind of cornet, or hood. The young ladies of quality commonly wear a kind of crown made of paſteboard, and covered with ſome fine ſilk, the fore-part of which riſes in a point above the forehead, and is covered with diamonds, pearls, and other rich ornaments. The top of the head is adorned with natural or artificial flowers, intermixed with bodkins with jewels at the end: but thoſe who are advanced in years ſeldom wear any thing but a piece of ſuperfine ſilk wound ſeveral times about their heads (S). *Their dreſs modeſt.* *Head ornament.*

(S) Some of the ladies will adorn their heads, we are told, with the figure of a *Fong-whatty*, a fabulous bird, formerly mentioned,

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Vests. THEIR bodies are covered with a fine vest, long enough to reach to the ground, and tied about the middle with a girdle. The elderly women chuse theirs of black, or deep purple; but the young ones, of red, blue, or green, according to their fancy. Their hands are always concealed within their wide long sleeves, which would trail on the ground, if they did not take care to hold them up; and whatever is offered to them, is taken with their hands wrapped up in them. They never shew their necks or breasts, but conceal both, either by the closeness of their vest, or by some very short cloak, which is wrapped about the neck and shoulders. Over the vest they wear a loose gown with very wide sleeves, which would likewise drag to the ground, if not held up: so that, upon the whole, their dress is not only very decent, but the best contrived to conceal their bodies in the modestest manner.

Long sleeves.

Dress of the men. THAT of the men is no less suited to the gravity and modesty they seem to affect (T). Their heads are covered with a kind

tioned (60), and made either of copper, or silver gilt, as they can afford it. Its wings are gently spread over the fore-part of their head-dress, and embrace the upper part of the temples. Its long spreading tail makes a sort of plume on the top of the head; the body is placed over the forehead, the neck and beak hanging down upon the nose. The neck being joined to the body by a secret hinge, the head easily plays up and down, and vibrates at every motion of the head, the bird being fixed on it by the feet, which are fastened in the hair. Some of the first quality ladies will wear an ornament made of several of these birds, which, interwoven together, surround their heads in the form of a crown (61).

(T) They pretend to such a high degree of modesty, as to condemn our *European* dress, as exposing too much the lineaments of the body; whereas they strive to conceal even their arms, legs, and thighs, by their long gowns, wide breeches and sleeves, and ill-shaped stockens, or boots. They likewise seemed much offended at many of our pictures, as immodest, and even those which we should rank amongst the most modest; as where the drapery is so nicely disposed by the skilful artist, as to discover the true shape of each limb or part.

But, for all their specious pretences, all this modesty is commonly set aside at home, with respect to the mens dress, during the hot months; for then they seldom wear any thing about them but a thin pair of breeches, whether masters or servants: and in most cities, especially in the southern parts, their carmen, and other labouring people, and more especially their watermen, work naked all the hot weather,

(60) *See before, p.* 222. *Compte, & al.*

(61) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 282. *Le*

or

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a kind of cap, which hardly reaches down to their ears; and their faces are ſcreened from the ſun by a fan, which they always carry with them. They ſhave their heads all over, except one lock behind, which they either leave to hang down, or make up into a roll, and tuck up under their caps or hats; theſe are commonly made in the form of a bell. Thoſe they wear in ſummer are of fine mat, lined with ſattin, and adorned on the outſide with a tuft of red ſilk, or hair, hanging down to the rim, which either covers it all over, or elſe waves in the wind by its exceſſive lightneſs, and appears very beautiful at a diſtance. The top of the hat hath a large button, faſtened to it, of amber, cryſtal, or ſome other ſhining material, neatly wrought and poliſhed. The emperor, princes of the blood, mandarins, literati, prieſts, bonzas, *&c.* have their hats differently ſhaped and ornamented, according to their reſpective ranks; all which, as well as their different ſorts of dreſſes, it were ſuperfluous to deſcribe. As for the poor people, they go with their heads quite bare, or at beſt have only a ſlight ſmall cap, not unlike the crown of one of our hats, but not half ſo deep. *Caps.*

THE men's veſts are long enough to reach to the ground, and ſo wide as to fold over the breaſt; and are faſtened on the left ſide by four or five buttons of gold, ſilver, or baſer metal, as they can beſt afford it. The ſleeves are wide, and long enough to come down to the fingers ends; and the ſaſh, or girdle, that ties the garment to the body, is commonly of ſilk, curiouſly wrought, and hangs down to the knees. They go with their necks bare in ſummer; but cover them in cold weather either with a ſattin cape ſewed to the veſt, or with a tippet of ſable, or other ſkin, four or five fingers broad. *Veſts.*

Over their veſt they wear a ſhort looſe coat or gown of blue, green, or ſome other colour, with ſleeves that come down no farther than the bending of the arm. When they receive viſits, they throw a third looſe raiment over the other two, and each of the three are of a different colour. *Coats.*

Under them both men and women wear a kind of ſhirt, or rather waiſt-coat, of white taffety, which wraps over the breaſt, and is tied or laced on the right ſide, and with narrow ſleeves. Both ſexes likewiſe wear drawers of the ſame fine ſilk: but, *Shirts and drawers of both ſexes.*

or at moſt have only a napkin tied round their middle. And, as to pictures and ſtatues, it is plain they have long ſince abated much of their boaſted modeſty, ſince we ſee many of them brought thence in as indecent and vile attitudes as any that are done in *Italy*; and ſome of theſe as exactly imitated as their imperfect ſkill in painting would permit them to do.

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in winter, the ſhirt is of linen, and the breeches are wider, like trowſers, and reach down below the calf of the leg; and theſe laſt are made of coarſe ſattin quilted with cotton or raw ſilk. The legs are covered with a kind of boot of the ſame quilted ſilk, about half an inch thick; and the foot is made to go into a ſlipper. Theſe are commonly of coarſe blue or purple ſattin, flowered with white, with a very thick ſole ſtitched with packthread, and covered over with a white coarſe kind of a ſhagreen ſilk or cloth, without any heel, and with the foot turning up. They wear hanging at their girdles a pouch, in which they carry their pipe, which is of braſs, their tobacco, handkerchief, and the two ſticks they eat with. When they travel in bad weather, their caps, upper coats, and veſts, are cruſted over with a ſort of oil, which turns green when dry, and defends them from the rain. In winter the quality wear rich furs, and the inferior ſort lamb and other ſkins, or quilted cotton. Every mandarin hath upon his clothes ſome emblem of his dignity, embroidered before and behind. That of the civil magiſtrates is uſually a bird; and that of the military mandarins, and officers, either a dragon, lion, tyger, or ſome fierce creature. All theſe wear alſo broad ſwords hanging on their left ſide[q], with the point forwards.

Shoes and ſtockens.

THE womens ſhoes, the longeſt of which among the ladies are not much above half a ſpan long, are likewiſe of ſilk finely embroidered, commonly by themſelves, and with a round heel about an inch high, and of equal bigneſs from top to bottom[q]. Their ſtockens ſeem (as far we can gather from their pictures, and there is hardly any poſſibility of coming at a nearer examination of the premiſes) to be a kind of appendage to their drawers, if not of a piece with them, and to hang looſe about their legs, down below the ankles, where they are gathered up with ſome ribbon, below which hang about the feet ſome four or five inches in breadth of the ſame ſilk, like a kind of furbelow, or ruffle of a ſhirt-ſleeve, in order, as may be ſuppoſed, to hide the protuberant deformity of the leg; and thus much may ſerve for the preſent dreſs of both ſexes. It will not be amiſs, however, to obſerve under this head, that this which we have been deſcribing above is not the original dreſs of the *Chineſe*, which had been, according to their account, the only one that had been worn by them from the foundation of their monarchy to their conqueſt by the *Tartars*; but rather that which the conqueror forced them, not without great difficulty, to ex-

Forced to change their old dreſs for this.

[q] MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. ſup. citat.

change

change for their antient one, in order to enure them the more effectually to the yoke, by aboliſhing all diſtinction of dreſs between his *Tartarian* ſubjects and them, [r], as will be further ſeen in the ſequel.

WE have already mentioned their luxury in their feſtivals, in which they indulge themſelves in all the variety they can afford. In their common diet they are leſs profuſe and nice; and not only eat of all manner of fleſh, fiſh, and fowl, as we do, but even cats, dogs, rats, ſerpents, graſhoppers, and other vermin. Horſe-fleſh, however, is one of the dainties the moſt eſteemed; and, next to it, that of dogs; but of all of them they eat very ſparingly, and commonly boiled with a good deal of rice, or ſome pot-herbs, and made into broths or ſoops, after the manner of the *French* and *Spaniards*; but, like them, they live moſtly upon rice, pulſe, millet, herbs, roots, and other garden-ſtuff, and variety of fruits in their ſeaſon. The fleſh, fowl, or fiſh, whether boiled, roaſted, or broiled, is commonly brought to the table ready-ſeaſoned, and carved into ſmall bits; ſo that neither ſalt, pepper, or other condiments, are ſeen upon it, any more than knives, forks, ſpoons, or napkins; they uſing only two ſmall ſticks to feed themſelves with, as hath been lately hinted, without touching the meat with their hands. They commonly uſe high chairs and tables at their meals, contrary to all other eaſtern nations, who ſit croſs-legged on the ground, and either uſe no table but the floor, or at moſt have them about a foot high from it. At their entertainments every gueſt hath a neat little japan table ſet before him, on which are ſerved the ſeveral diſhes deſigned for him, either in bowls of the ſame japanned ſtuff, or of china, or coarſer earth, according to the circumſtances of the perſon who gives it. *Their diet and dainties.* *Tables.*

THE moſt delicious food of all, with which the rich entertain their gueſts, are, the ſtags pizzles, birds neſts, and bears claws, of which the reader may ſee an account in the margin (U). Upon the whole, their cooks are ſurpriſingly expert in *Stags pizzles and birds-neſts.*

[r] See PALAFOX Conqueſt of China, & al. ſupra citat.

(U) The former of them they dry in the ſun in ſummer, and roll them in pepper and nutmeg; and, when they are to be dreſſed, they ſoak them in rice-water, to make them ſoft, and afterwards boil them in the gravy of a kid, well-ſeaſoned with ſpices; and this they eſteem as one of their fineſt diſhes.

The birds-neſts are ſuch as are commonly found on the ſides of the rocks along the coaſts of *Java*, *Cochinchina*, *Tong-king*, &c. where

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in the variety of dishes they make of one sort of flesh, fish, fowl, pulse, grain, &c. and the variety of colours, taste, and flavour, they give them; and the mandarins are no less fond of those, not only which are the most nourishing to the body, but which are the most apt to create an appetite to venery, and a suitable vigour for procreation*; on which account they eat most of their dishes very hot with spice. Their bread is commonly made of rice; and, though they have plenty of wheat in several provinces, yet they seldom make any but a sort of flat cakes, of a tolerable taste, and these are sometimes mixed with particular herbs apt to create an appetite; but they use little art in grinding their corn or rice, that being commonly done over a flat stone placed horizontally, by rolling a stone cylinder over it, which, by its weight, forces the grain out of its several husks. This must be done at several times, in order to bring it to its purity and whiteness. The first throws off its outward skin, which is as coarse as that of our barley; the next is of a reddish hue, and is taken off in the same manner, and after a second soaking; and so the third and fourth, which are of a finer and paler colour and texture; after which, you have the rice in its perfection: but the poor people content themselves with stripping it of its first, or almost of its second coat. The cakes or loaves they make of it are commonly baked either in a kind of *Balneo Ma-*

Corn-mills.

* Martini, Le Compte, Nieuhoff, Du Halde, &al.

where they are built by birds, which, in their plumage, resemble our swallows, and are supposed to make them with little fishes they catch at sea, and so fasten to the rock by some viscous juice which distils from their backs. They have been also observed to take some of the scum that floats on the surface of the sea, and to cement the parts of their nests, as swallows do theirs with mud. This matter, though white and soft whilst it is fresh, contracts a transparent solidity, and greenish kind of hue, when dried. As soon as the young ones have quitted their nests, the neighbouring people are very eager to get them down; and sometimes load whole barges with them, and sell them at a good price. These nests resemble the rind of a large candied citron, in shape as well as in size, and, mixed with other meats, give them an agreeable relish.

The bears paws, especially the hindmost ones, which are esteemed by far the finest, are stripped of their skin, and dried with spice, and so preserved for use, much in the same way as the stag's pizzle (62).

(62) *De his, vide Martini, Le Compte, Nieuhoff, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.*

rio,

ria, or elſe in a veſſel which contains the fire in the centre, and caſts ſo great a heat, as to bake them in leſs than a quarter of an hour.

THEIR uſual liquor at their meals is tea, which they drink hot. The common rule is, contrary to ours, to eat cold, and to drink hot; let the weather be ever ſo ſultry, or themſelves ever ſo thirſty, they will patiently ſtay till they can get it made boiling hot, before they will drink it. Wine, we have formerly obſerved [t], they do not make of grapes, tho' they have plenty of them, eſpecially in the ſouthern provinces, and of an excellent kind. This circumſtance is commonly urged to prove, that *Noah*, the firſt planter of the vine, could not be the founder of the *Chineſe* nation; whereas a more probable one could hardly be brought for his being ſo, and for his forbidding the uſe of the juice of the vine, on account of the diſaſter which happened to him on his drinking too plentifully of it: but we ſhall have occaſion to diſcuſs that curious point in a more proper place. In the mean time, though the *Chineſe* have been all along very ſtrict in their forbearance from the juice of the grape, till their late conqueſt by the *Tartars*, they had, from time immemorial, ſubſtituted to it other liquors, equally ſtrong, intoxicating, and pernicious, both brewed and diſtilled, either from rice, wheat, and other grain, or expreſſed from ſeveral kinds of fruits, or made of the liquor which diſtils from the palm, and other ſuch trees, when tapped at a proper ſeaſon; all which they have always indulged themſelves in the free uſe of, eſpecially the two former; which encourages ſuch a vaſt conſumption of thoſe two kinds of grain, that it is juſtly looked upon as the chief cauſe of thoſe dreadful dearths and famines which ſo frequently happen in the empire. There are indeed ſome ſevere laws againſt the brewing and diſtilling of corn and rice, beyond a ſtated quantity in every diſtrict, which, if duly executed, would effectually prevent their immoderate and deſtructive conſumption; but the mandarins, and thoſe under them, bribed partly by the diſtillers, and induced partly by their fondneſs for thoſe liquors, readily wink at it, and ſuffer that complicated abuſe to ſpread ſtill farther its pernicious effects (W).

Common drink.

Made wines;

made of rice, corn, &c.

The vaſt conſumption of them winked at.

THOSE

[t] See Univ. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 113, & (A).

(W) This enormous conſumption of corn and rice by brewers and diſtillers, which deprives the labouring ſort in ſome meaſure of their daily bread, even in time of plenty, and ſtarves ſo many myriads to death in time of ſcarcity, is attended with ſeveral

Distilled liquors.

THOSE liquors, which are made of rice in particular, are in the greatest vogue, and are said to grow stronger by age, and to keep good above 20 years. These are in great esteem among the grandees, especially those which come from some particular parts of the empire; such as that which is made at *Vu-si*-

veral other destructive effects, which chiefly affect the rich and wealthy, and in some sort doubly retaliates upon them the misfortunes which they occasion among the poor.

We are told by a considerable eye-witness, that the *Chinese* have contracted (how long is not easy to guess) such a pernicious fondness for those liquors which are distilled from rice, and other grain, that from the highest mandarins down to the wealthy merchants and tradesmen, they seldom fail of indulging themselves in a large dose of it, just before they go to bed, by way of opiate; and, what is still worse, that few of them drink it before they have previously set it on fire, and burnt it so long as to make it as warm as they can possibly get it down; by which means their throat, or œsophagus, becomes in time so contracted, that they can swallow nothing either liquid or solid, but pine and die for want of nourishment; a misfortune which our author assures us † frequently happens amongst them. Another disaster which these private night doses often occasion, is, that the persons who take them being generally fatigued with the business of the day, and the chambers in which they sleep built very low, and the furniture very light, and easily inflammable, the blaze of the spirituous liquor is apt to get up to the cieling, or take hold of the curtains, and set the whole place on fire before they are aware of it; the flame of which soon communicates itself to the rest of the house, and thence frequently to a great part of the city; so that some hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of houses, are reduced to ashes, before it can be quenched *.

As for the rice of which their wine is made, though it be different from that which is commonly eaten, and of a coarser nature, it is nevertheless in great request, on account of the liquor drawn from it.

This is done by several ways, every country or city having its own peculiar method; but the most common is, by soaking the rice in good soft and fresh water (or, where that cannot be got, by correcting it with some other ingredients), about 20 or 30 days, and afterwards boiling it till it be dissolved; upon which it will appear covered with a light froth, like that of our new wines, occasioned by the ferment of the liquor beneath it. This last they pour off clear into vessels well glazed; and of the lees that remain, they draw off a spirit not unlike our brandy, or rather stronger, and more easily set on fire (63).

† *De hoc, vid. Parenin. in Letter. edifiant. vol.* xxiv. *p.* 65——82, *& seq.*

* *Id. ibid. p.* 81, *& seq. vid. & ul. sup. citat.*

(63) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 303.

hyen,

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hyen, in the province of *Kyang-nan*, and owes its excellence to the goodneſs of the water; and that of the city of *Shau-king*, which is eſteemed ſtill much wholeſomer, and is moſtly uſed at court. Some other ſtrong liquors they likewiſe make by diſtillation, ſuch as we have hinted at in the laſt note; and ſome others, which the reader may find in the next (X).

THE only two liquors, which we find mentioned by our ſeamen, as moſt to their taſte (for, as to tea, they uſually leave that ſort of beverage to the natives), are what they ſtyle the *Hock-ſhue* and *Sam-ſhue*. The former of theſe is of a deep-brown colour, but very clear and ſtrong, ſaid to be brewed from wheat, and taſtes more like mum than beer. The other is ſaid to be diſtilled from rice, and is either of a pale or red-diſh hue, and is by ſeveral travellers called wine. But neither of theſe, for aught appears, are uſed any-where but on the coaſts and ſea-port towns, no mention being made of any ſuch being drank in the inland parts. *Hock-ſhue and Sam-ſhue.*

CHINA, as we have already hinted in the geography of it, is for the moſt part the fineſt country in the world for travelling; the roads being of a ſpacious breadth, that is, between 20 and 30 yards wide, and reaching from one end of the empire to the other; the mountainous parts being either levelled, lowered, or cut through, or having large galleries along their ſteep declivity, built of timber, dreadful indeed to ſtrangers to go over *; but ſo familiar to the natives, that they ride over them without any fear; and others, laſtly, having ſtrong and ſtately bridges, built from one mountain to another, ſome of which we have elſewhere deſcribed. To *Fine roads for travelling and commerce.*

* Vid. int. al. pag. 78.

(X) They diſtil, we are told, a ſtrong ſort of ſpirit from mutton-fleſh, which the late emperor *Kang-hi* drank ſometimes; but this is drank by few except the *Tartars*, on account of its ſtrong and diſagreeable taſte, and intoxicating quality.

Some other liquors are made in different provinces, both by brewing and diſtillation, which it were needleſs to particularize. We have mentioned one ſort of the latter, with which his Excellency Mr. *Ixbrands Ides*, ambaſſador from *Muſcovy*, was treated (64); and we may conclude this head with obſerving, that intoxicating liquors are commonly uſed by the *Chineſe* and *Tartars*, though not in ſuch quantities, and deſtructive variety, as they are among us; and much leſs by thoſe of the female ſex, who ſeldom taſte any thing ſtronger than tea, unleſs in ſome particular diſeaſes, in which they are indulged with ſome ſort of cordials, made ſo rather by ſpices and warm drugs, than by any brewed or diſtilled liquors (65).

(64) *See before, p.* 162. *ſub not.* (D).

(65) *Vid. auct. ſup. citat.*

theſe

these if we add the surprising contiguity of their cities and towns, especially along the high roads; so that one is no sooner got out of one, but one comes within sight, if not into the very suburbs, of another; the great number of their navigable rivers, and the infinite multitude of their canals for water-carriage, and continual bridges over them for those who ride, or travel on foot; the wooden towers about 30 feet high, and at the distance of a mile and half from each other, upon which are written, in large characters, the names of the towns to which the roads lead, and their distances from each other, as exactly measured at the public charge; the forts, or redoubts of earth, cast up at proper distances, and guarded either by the soldiery or militia, to keep as much as possible the roads clear from robbers, to forward the dispatches sent by the government, and to examine with utmost care every traveller that goes by (Y); and, lastly, the vast crouds of people that frequent, or rather croud, those roads; it must be granted, that no country on the whole globe hath made better and more effectual provision for the ease and security of travelling and commerce, as well as for the delight of all that are concerned in either.

Way of travelling. THEIR way of travelling is various, according to the different provinces, and the various businesses of people. In general they use horses, mules, camels, and, in some countries, buffaloes; and the poorer sort asses, either for riding or

(Y) These forts, which are situate on eminences, and seen at a great distance, by the imperial flag set up on the top, are garrisoned by a certain number either of the militia, or of regular troops, under some proper officers; and these are not only to prevent any robberies being committed on the highway, by patroling about the length of their limits, or any other disorders happening from the vast multitudes of travellers and carriages, but to stop and examine every one that goes armed, except they produce a pass and licence for it; so that the utmost care and caution is every-where taken to keep the roads safe and free, and the traffick from one part of the empire to the other easy and uninterrupted: and hence it is that there are so few robberies committed any-where, except in the woody and mountainous parts, where they go in large gangs, notwithstanding the great multitudes of necessitous people that swarm every-where (66), and the rich booties that are always to be met with on the roads: but this last may be one main reason of it, they being so continually thronged with travellers, that it would be very difficult to meet with an opportunity of robbing them (67).

(66) *See before, p.* 12. & 131. & *alib. Nieuhoff, & al. jup. citat.*

(67) *Magaillan, Martini, Cauri.*

carriage;

carriages but in the inland parts they employ ticket-porters to carry their goods from city to city, which they do by ſlings, two to a burden; or, if too heavy for two, they will join two more; and theſe carry it with two poles on their ſhoulders, with ſuch ſurpriſing quickneſs, that moſt of them will travel with their load at the rate of five miles an hour. Theſe are numerous in every city; and have a maſter over them, who is anſwerable for them; and who, being applied to by the merchants, diſtributes their ſeveral loads among them: he gives them at the ſame time a ticket, which they muſt deliver up, with the goods, to the proper perſons, at their journey's end, and bring another from them to him. Theſe are chiefly employed for the carriage of goods which may be damaged by being conveyed in waggons or barges, or where theſe cannot be had; and ſometimes for expedition, they ridding double the ground that any waggons can do. *Goods carried by ticket-porters.*

In travelling, the richer ſort have their coaches and chariots, tho' we are not told of what kind theſe laſt are; and may be only calaſhes, or chaiſes with two wheels, ſuch as are in uſe among the *Tartars*; and litters for the ſick, carried either by luſty fellows, or, which is more common, by mules or camels. The *Tartars* here uſually ride on horſeback, in towns, as well as on the roads, and are generally good horſemen: their ſaddles are much like thoſe in uſe among the *Turks*; and, like them, they ride very ſhort, and with their knees almoſt as high as the top of the ſaddle; ſo that, upon any rencounter either with an enemy or robber, they raiſe themſelves quite upright upon their ſtirrups, to give the greater force to the intended blow. The quality, both *Chineſe* and *Tartars*, chuſe to travel in the night all the ſummer, not only for the conveniency of the coolneſs, but in ſeveral parts to be free from the tygers, and other wild beaſts, which they keep off by lighted torches, and other artificial fires, they carry with them; and which are ſo contrived, that neither wind nor rain can put them out, but will rather make them burn the fiercer. But when they travel with a great retinue, and well armed, as the mandarins commonly do, that precaution becomes needleſs. *Coaches and chariots.* *The rich travel by night.*

These, as hath been formerly obſerved[y], have their inns at proper diſtances, for their reception and conveniency, and kept at the charge of the government. But it is far otherwiſe with other travellers; for though the common inns be in great plenty in all the high roads, yet they meet but with wretched accommodations in them, unleſs they bring them *Bad inns.*

[y] See before, p. 12.

along

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along with them (YY); and this is one of the two main inconveniencies of travelling in *China*: the other is, the prodigious dustiness of the roads, which, though kept in the best order imaginable, yet in dry weather, especially when the wind blows hard, such clouds of dust are raised, as quite darken the sky, and stifle the travellers. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering the vast and constant crouds of people, horses, waggons, *&c.* which are continually passing backwards and forwards; so that they are obliged, at those dry seasons, to go with their faces covered with a thin veil, and with glasses before their eyes, to prevent being stifled or blinded by the clouds of light dust, through which they must make their way. In other respects, a man cannot wish for a better country to travel in, either for speed, safety, convenience, or delight [z].

Roads very dusty.

But what adds still more to the pleasure of it, is the vast and almost constant variety of curious objects, with which the eye is delightfully entertained almost all the way; and this naturally brings us to the two last things with which we were to conclude this section, *viz.* the natural and artificial rari-

[z] Vid. Navaretta, Martini, Kercher, & al. sup citat.

(YY) The generality of those public inns, except here and there one upon the great roads, are wretchedly built, and worse furnished. They are commonly of mud, without pavement or boards; and those who do not bring their bedding with them, must take up with a matt, and lie in their own clothes: but the poorer sort of travellers are so used to this way of accommodation, that they will lie quite naked on them, wrapped about only with a single coverlid lined with linen. The greatest part of their inns are so ill covered, that one may see the light thro' the thatch and rafters, and perhaps feel the rain or snow thro' them.

Their provisions are not much better; and it is a chance if a traveller can get a bit of meat or fish to eat, or any tolerable liquor to drink, excepting in some places, where one meets with wild fowl or fish very cheap; but even there you must take up perhaps with their way of dressing it, which may prove as disagreeable. The inns in the great cities are somewhat better, being built with brick, and large and handsome, and commonly afford better provisions and conveniencies. In the northern provinces one meets with what they call *Kangsi*, which are large alcoves of brick, built the whole length of the room, with stoves underneath, and matts made of reeds on the top, whereon a man may lay his bed if he hath one (68).

(68) *Magaillan, Martini, Careri, Nieuhoff, & al. sup. citat. vid. & De Halde, ubi sup. p. 263.*

ties

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ties of the country. Of the first sort we have already mentioned several, as they came in course, either in the geography, or natural history.

Natural rarities.

THOSE of the most remarkable kind, not yet taken notice of, are, 1. Their volcanos, many of which are not inferior, either in the height of the mountains out of which they issue, the dreadfulness of their flames and smoak, and the torrents of sulphur, and other minerals, which they vomit up, to those famous ones of *Italy* we have formerly spoken of [a], or those in *America*, of which an account will be given in its proper place. 2. The great number of cataracts and cascades, of an extraordinary height and breadth, and no less dreadful and loud, particularly that near the city of *Hoai-gan*, or *Hoay-min-gham*, in the province of *Kyang-nan*, which falls into the canal of that city, near the river *Hoay*, with such violence, that it is with great labour and cost that they prevent its dreadful effects [b].

Volcanos.

Cataracts.

Remarkable rivers.

THERE are many such cataracts in other rivers, particularly in the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow River*, formerly mentioned, and so called from its extraordinary rapidity, and the vast quantity of mud it sweeps along with it. *Le Compte* tells us of another, which is always red like blood, probably from much the same reason; and of a third, in the province of *Se-chwen*, which hath a surprising lustre in the night season, occasioned by the vast number of precious stones that glitter through its waves, and for which the natives give it the name of the *Pearl River*. We read of a fourth near *Fo-ming*, which turns blue in harvest, at which time the inhabitants on each side are used to dye that colour; and of a fifth, near *Pan-gau*, whose waters are too light to bear up any timber; of a sixth, near *Ching-tyen*, affirmed to be sweet-scented; of a seventh in the province of *Fo-kyen*, whose waters are of a greenish hue, and are said to turn iron into copper. We omit mentioning several others, remarkable for some medicinal or other virtues, which we have no room to dwell upon; but the most surprising of all is, that which rises yearly on the 18th day of the eighth month, with such a prodigious high tide, before the city of *Hang-chew*, that multitudes of people flock thither from all parts to behold that surprising phænomenon, which neither theirs, nor any of our philosophers, could ever yet account for. We might add some others, which are no less famed for their gold sand, particularly one which on that account is styled the *Golden River* †.

[a] See before, Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 452. vii. 656. & al. pass.
[b] MARTINI Atlas Sinen. † Id. ibid. KERCHER, LE COMPTE, & al.

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THEY have likewise extraordinary springs and fountains, some of which ebb and flow; others rise, some hot and some cold, at a small distance from each other. *Nieuhoff* mentions a strange one near the city of *Jung-chan*, which issues into two branches out of a stone cut into the resemblance of a man's nose, one of the nostrils of which throws out hot, and the other cold water. Some others, still more surprising, the reader may see in the margin (Z), for which we have not quite so good an authority. They likewise abound with mineral and medicinal springs, either for drinking or bathing; and some of them so intensely hot, that the people can boil their victuals in a kind of *Balneo Mariæ* in them, in a very little time. Some other sorts of water are noted for petrifying every thing that is thrown into them, particularly those of a lake, or river, in the island of *Hay-nan*, which will petrify fishes, lobsters, *&c.* and spoken of in a former section[c]. Other lakes are said to turn copper into, or at least give it the resemblance of, iron. Some others which will bring on storms of rain and thunder, upon the flinging a stone, or any heavy thing, into them; particularly a famed one said to be in the bowels of a prodigious high mountain, full of deep and dreadful caverns, and into which if a stone be cast, it will give a loud roaring report, like a great clap of thunder, and raise a thick mist, which in a little time will dissolve itself into water again. These, and many more of the like nature, which some of our missionaries have in all probability taken from the *Chinese* books, not altogether to be relied on,

mineral springs,

and other waters, strange lakes, &c.

[c] KERCHER, MARTINI. Vid. & DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 118.

(Z) Of this nature is that which the *Chinese* tell you is to be seen at *Kan-ton*, and is looked upon by them as miraculous; and, if what they say of it be true, is little less than such, it being affirmed to cast out of the same opening hot and cold water, which afterwards separate from each other. Much of the same wonderful nature is that in the province of *Quang-si*, one half of whose waters run clear, and the other muddy; and, if mixed together, will separate again immediately. The last we shall mention is that in the city of *Kyng-cheng*, in the province of *Shen-si*, which is no less surprising, it being about five feet in depth, and the water on the top cold; but at the bottom so hot, that it scalds any thing that reaches it (69). These, and many other such, being rather taken from the *Chinese* books, than attested by any *European* eye-witnesses, shall suffice for a sample of the natives fondness for such kind of preternatural rarities.

(69) *Kercher China Illustr. Martini Atlas Sinens. & al.*

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becauſe not confirmed by more modern experienced authors, we leave to the choice of our readers either to believe, or not, but which, if true, would afford no ſmall delight to a curious traveller to take a view of in his way.

Metals, minerals, and quarries.

We omit here their many rich mines of gold, ſilver, quickſilver, copper, iron, and other metals and minerals, and of a great variety of precious and other curious ſtones (among which ſome mention the aſbeſtos, or incombuſtible ſtone, ſo famed among the antients, and as abſurdly exploded by ſome of the moderns, as the product of ſome of their mines); their various quarries of porphyry and marble, ſome of them ſo beautifully veined with figures of men, horſes, trees, cities, mountains, *&c.* as if done with a pencil; and many others of the mineral and vegetable kind, beſides ſome among the quadruped and volatile ſort[d]. But there is one ſort of fiſh among them, which, for its ſurpriſing beauty and nature, may be reckoned one of the greateſt rarities belonging to the watry element, which deſerves a particular notice, and with which we ſhall cloſe this head.

The golden and ſilver fiſh.

This beautiful creature, which, from its colour, the *Chineſe* ſtyle *Kin-yu*, or *Golden fiſh*, is commonly about the length of one's finger, and proportionably thick. The male is of a beautiful red from the head to above half way of his body; and the remaining part, together with the tail, is ſpangled with golden ſpots exceeding our fineſt gilding. The female is white; the tail, and ſome parts of the body, having the perfect reſemblance of ſilver. The tail of neither kind is ſmooth or flat, like that of other fiſh; but forms a ſort of tuft, thick and long, which adds much to the beauty and fine ſhape of that little creature. They commonly ſwim on the ſurface of the water; and ſhew ſuch a ſurpriſing agility in their motion, that it gives an exquiſite brightneſs and variety to it: and it is on that account that they are ſo admired by the richer ſort, that they keep them, in all their pleaſure-houſes, in little ponds made for the purpoſe, or elſe in baſons more deep than wide, and adorn the courts, and other parts of their houſes, with them, where they afford a ſingular diverſion by their play, they being exceeding tame and active, and, as one would imagine, knew their maſters, and thoſe that feed them, by the readineſs with which they come up at their approach. The misfortune is, that they are of ſo tender a nature, that the leaſt inclemency of weather is apt to injure them; and the extremity of heat or cold, ſtrong ſmells, loud noiſes, eſpecially of thunder, or the report of cannon, will

Their beauty and agility.

Tameneſs.

Tender nature.

[d] Of theſe, ſee before, p. 80. 219. & alib. paſſ.

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Shelter. go near to destroy them (A). Those, therefore, who have the care of them, always provide them with a shelter at the bottom of their little pond, which is commonly made with an earthen pan full of holes, and turned upside down, into which they retreat when the sun, weather, or any thing else, discommodes them. Care is also taken to shift their water three or four times a week; and in such a manner, as that the vessel may be always kept full; and to throw some sort of weeds on the surface of it, to shade them from the sun.

Food. THEIR common food is the little imperceptible worms that are bred in the water, or the little earthy particles which are mixed with it; but the owners will now-and then throw some little bits of paste, or, what is still more agreeable to them, some wafers, which, being soaked in the water, are greedily swallowed down by, and is the propereſt food for, those little creatures. They breed exceedingly fast in hot countries, provided their spawn be carefully skimmed off the surface of the water, where it swims (which they would otherwise devour), and be put into particular vessels, to be hatched by the sun. The vessel must likewise be sheltered from wind,

Fertility. Spawn how preserved.

(A) This is the account which Father *Le Compte* gives of them; to which *Du Halde* adds, that the best way of preserving them in the winter is, to give them no food all that time; and that they will live three or four months, that is, while the cold weather lasts, under the ice, without any other sustenance than what the water underneath affords them, even in the large open ponds. As for those that are taken into the houses, and kept in china vessels closely covered, it is certain they live without any other food; and yet when the spring comes on, at which time they are again removed into their usual basons, they will move and swim with as much agility and briskness as they did the year before. The nobility and richer sort are so fond of them all over the kingdom, that they make it one of their chief pleasures to feed them; and will give three or four crowns apiece for those that are the most beautifully coloured and shaped; there being persons every-where who make it their chief business to breed, and sell them to them. As for those which are bred up in large ponds, they become somewhat larger and hardier; and are only preserved there for their spawn, which, when hatched in the manner above-mentioned, raises them to that beauty, and variety of colours, which make them fit for those of the better rank. The way they have to call those which breed in ponds to the top of the water, is by the noise of a clapper, which the persons who feed them commonly use for that end (70).

(70) *Du Halde, vol.* i. *p.* 19. & 316, & *seq. Vid. & Le Compte, letter* 4. *ad fin.*

rain,

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rain, and cold, till they are hatched: at which time the young fry appear first of a black colour, which some of them still retain; but the greatest part change by degrees to red or white, to gold or silver, according to their kind, which displays itself first at the tail, and thence spreads itself more or less towards the middle of their body; and, when grown to an inch in length, may be safely removed into their native reservoirs, there to be admired as a wonder of nature [e]. *Colour.*

THEIR artificial rarities are various and numerous, and much more frequent, and entertaining to travellers. We shall single out some of the most curious and remarkable amongst them; such as, 1. Their famed long wall, which is the first and noblest structure of all, and offers itself to a stranger at the very first entrance into that empire by land; 2. Variety of artificial mountains, bridges, and causeways; 3. Some of their stately temples; 4. Colossian statues; 5. Their high and sumptuous towers in several of their great cities; 6. Their stately triumphal arches; 7. Some of their large bells, especially those of *Pe-king* and *Kang-ton*, which excel all the rest. *Artificial rarities.*

WE begin with their celebrated wall, which is justly esteemed the most stupendous work of that, or any other kind, that the world can boast of; it being in length, according to *Magaillan*'s computation, 405 leagues, exclusive of its windings; and, by *Le Compte*, 500 *French* leagues, or near 1500 miles, with the windings; and fortified all the way, at proper distances, with strong high towers, to the number of 3000 (B), which, before the conquest of *China*, used to be guarded by *The great wall.* *Length.*

[e] LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(B) That is, according to some, at every two bow-shot; but more absurdly, according to others, every mile or two miles; for in neither case could they amount to 3000; so that, if the wall was 1500 miles, and these towers equidistant from each other, there could be but half a mile space between each of them.

The truth is, some have magnified that work at a strange rate; and, from their nearness to each other in some parts, have perhaps inferred the number of these towers according to the extent of the wall; whereas they might stand at much greater distance in other parts that were more difficult of access; for they have committed much the same error, with respect to the strength, materials, height, and thickness, of the wall itself, judging it to be everywhere the same as they saw it in the neighbouring parts of *Pe-king*, where it is built of stone and brick strongly cemented, and very high, stout, and solid; whereas those who have since

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Antient garriſons. by a million of ſoldiers: but, ſince then, they only keep garriſons in thoſe places which are moſt eaſy of acceſs, *viz.* at *Fwen-fu*, *Tay-tong-fu*, *Ning-kia*, *Ya-lin*, *Siang-chew*, *Sian-ning*, and *So-chew*; beſides which, the mountains within the wall are reckoned ſufficient to defend *China* againſt the *Tartars* [f]: however, as it was originally intended to cover the three northern provinces of *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-ſi*, and *Shen-ſi*, from any attack from that quarter, it begins at the latter of them, which lies on the north-weſt of *China*, in about 38 degrees of latitude, and is carried on, over mountains and vallies, rivers and deep marſhes, firſt to the north-eaſt, as far as the 42d degree of latitude, then ſouth-eaſterly to the 39th, and terminates at the *Whang-hay*, or *Yellow Sea*, at the 40th degree, where ſtands the famous gate called *Shang-hay-quan*, and from which it divides the province of *Pe-che-li* within from that of *Lyau-tong* without; and thence, weſtward, the other two provinces from *Tartary*. But though the diſtance from one end of this wall to the other be hardly above 700 or 800 miles, in a direct line from weſt to eaſt, yet, if we take in alſo the various windings north and ſouth, and the many aſcents and deſcents over the high hills and dales which are between, we can hardly allow leſs than twice that number to the whole length of the wall [g].

Extent.

Vaſt windings.

By whom built. THIS ſtupendous fabric was built, according to ſome, by the emperor *Chi-ho-ham-ti*; and, according to others, by *Shi-whang-ti*, or, as others call him, *Shing-ſhi-whang*, 215 years before Chriſt [h]; and is built here and there on ſuch high

[f] See Hiſtoric, Obſervations on Tartary, ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 263. [g] Id. ibid. vid. & MARTINI, KERCHER, NIEUHOFF, & al. ſup. citat. [h] DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 20. 172. 262. & alib. LE COMPTE, letter 3. & al.

taken a more accurate view of it (71), aſſure us, that it runs at moſt but about 600 miles in that manner, that is, from the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow Sea*, to the province of *Shan-ſi*, where it hath ſeveral other faces beſides, which form double, and ſometimes treble, incloſures for the ſecurity of the moſt conſiderable paſſes; but, from the entrance into that province, to its very end in the weſt, it is all built of earth, or is rather a kind of mud rampart, not only very defective in many places, inſomuch that they were obliged to build, at every four leagues diſtance, ſtrong forts on the inſide, to defend them, but the far greater part of the towers belonging to it were of earth; thoſe that were of brick or ſtone being but few in compariſon of them.

(71) *Vid. Obſervat. Hiſtoric. on Tartary, ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 263.*

rocks

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rocks and mountains, as ſeem altogether inacceſſible; and in other parts over wide and rapid rivers, and ſuch marſhes and ſandy hollows, as one would judge incapable of admitting a ſufficient foundation to ſupport ſuch a prodigious weight. The height of it varies according to the ground; but is no- *Height.*
where leſs than 20, nor higher than 30 feet; and the breadth about 15 feet, or wide enough for five or ſix people to ride abreaſt (C), and extraordinarily well paved all the way. It is continued from one end to the other without any interruption, except at the entrance of the *Whang-ho* into the *Chineſe* empire, and near the city of *Se-chwen*, in the province of *Peche-li*, where, inſtead of it, the country is guarded by high and inacceſſible mountains; but is continuous every-where elſe: and though other rivers flow likewiſe from *Tartary* into *Rivers* the *Chineſe* territories, and ſome of them run in and out of *run under* them more than once, they all run under ſtately high arches *it.* made in the walls; and ſo ſtrongly built, that their current, though rapid, hath not hitherto cauſed the leaſt breach or detriment in them. The ſame may be ſaid of the wall it- *Strength.* ſelf, and its ſtout high towers, ſo far as both are built with brick and ſtone, though both have lain expoſed to all winds and weathers almoſt 2000 years: but as to the weſtern part of it, which, as we ſhewed in a former note (B), is built of earth, it is gone to decay in many places, and hath been ſeveral times repaired by the government. The former, however, is only caſed on the outſide with brick or ſtone, and the ſpace between them filled with ſome ſtrong morter, ſand,

(C) So ſays Father *Regis*, who was employed by the emperor to make the maps of the empire, and had been often on the top of it; though *Iſbrands Ides*, and others, make it wide enough for eight horſemen to ride abreaſt upon it; ſo that when *Le Compte* tells us it is but four, or at moſt five, feet in thickneſs (72), it is plain it muſt be ſome error of the printer, or of his tranſlator, and that he muſt have meant at leaſt yards, if not toiſes, which are equivalent to two of our yards.

Some tell us, that its height is every-where alike, whether on the top of the higheſt mountains, or at the bottom of them, and in the plains, that is, four fathoms, or twenty-four feet, according to ſome; and thirty feet, according to others; which diſagreement itſelf would be ſufficient to convince us of the contrary, did not the reaſon of the thing, and the known œconomy of the *Chineſe* nation, perſuade us that they would hardly have beſtowed equal coſt and labour every-where alike, merely for the ſake of obſerving an uniformity in the work; for that would rather expoſe their folly than wiſdom, for which they ſo highly value themſelves.

(72) *Le Compte, letter* 3.

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and other rubbish; but so strongly cemented, as to be of equal hardness with the rest.

The first bulwark founded in the sea.

THE bulwark, at which this noble wall begins, at the east end is a large pile of stone raised in the sea, upon a foundation laid on a number of ships sunk into it by a stupendous weight of iron, and huge stones with which they were laden, in order to secure the superstructure from sinking. The work is well terrassed and cased with brick and stone; and the architect was obliged, under pain of death, to cement them so strongly together, that a nail should not be driven between them; which cement runs through the whole work. This bulwark stands in near the same latitude with *Pe-king*, and at a small distance westward from it is to be seen the first gate called *Shang-hay-quang*, of an extraordinary height and strength. The other gates are built much in the same manner; and every one of them is defended by a stout fort built on the *Chinese* side. Upon the whole, it is a stupendous work; and, considering the height of some of the mountains on which it runs, and the marshy, dry, sandy, and barren grounds, on which other parts are built, one cannot but admire how it could be carried on to that height and thickness, and such a vast length, considering that in many places the bricks, stones, morter, and all other necessaries for the work, must have been brought thither from a great distance, and with incredible cost and labour: and what adds still more to the wonder, if we may believe their records, is, that the whole was finished in five years time[1]. They add, that the emperor obliged every third man out of each province of his empire, who was of an age fit for the work, to help to complete it; so that he lived to see his dominions fenced on every side, and severed in some measure from the rest of the world by the strongest barriers; *viz.* on the north by this new and extraordinary rampart; on the west by high and inaccessible mountains, and vast sandy deserts; and by the wide ocean on the south and east.

Eastern gate.

All finished in five years.

Artificial mountains, whether really such.

THE next sort of artificial curiosities of *China*, that we read of, is their mountains fabricated into various shapes of men, horses, birds, *&c*, which, if really such, must be works of immense labour as well as time; and being, to all appearance, designed merely to please the sight, and to set the spectators a gazing, can serve no other end than exposing the ill taste of the *Chinese*, for bestowing so much of either upon such fantastic and unnatural oddities. But this seems to us too oppo-

[1] DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 20. 172. 262. & alib. LE COMPTE, letter 3. & al. sup. citat.

site

ſite to their natural prudence and oeconomy, to be eaſily credited; and though we are told, that their notion of them, eſpecially among the ſuperſtitious vulgar, is, that they are the work of demons, and the reſult of a deep inſight into magic; which ſeems to intimate, as if they bore ſo near a reſemblance to thoſe creatures, as could hardly be given to them by human art; yet, till we have better authority than we have of their doing ſo, we ſhall look upon them rather as the effect of chance, aſſiſted by a ſtrong fancy, to ſupply what is wanting to complete the pretended reſemblance. However that be, we think ourſelves obliged to give our readers one inſtance at leaſt of them, that we may not be blamed for omitting what other authors have ſpoken of with ſo much admiration, and that ſhall be one of the moſt remarkable of all the reſt; *viz.* the famed mountain of the five horſes heads; and ſo called from its five ſummits, which are ſaid, at a diſtance, to bear a near reſemblance to them. It muſt be owned, that none of them pretend to have gone near enough to know whether that ſeeming likeneſs was wrought by dint of labour of the chiſſel and mallet, nor whether it appeared the ſame at any point of ſight, or only at that which they viewed them from: ſo that the only wonder ſeems to be in the number of heads; for, as to other mountains that are ſaid to bear a reſemblance of a bird, horſe, dog, or any other ſingle animal, thoſe who have but travelled over the *Alps* or *Pyrenees*, will find enough of ſuch cragged rocks on the tops of thoſe mountains, which a warm imagination will eaſily conceive to bear a near reſemblance to thoſe, or a variety of other creatures; and where, did ſuperſtition and prieſtcraft reign ſo much as they do in *China*, the people might be made to believe them to have been the work of demons, or of ſome famous conjurers.

Others of a different fabrica-ture.

NOT but there are other mountains in *China*, fabricated in ſuch a manner as muſt appear the work of art, and to have required immenſe labour; at leaſt we read of ſome that are perforated quite through in many places, and ſeem rather a parcel of irregular rocks, or ſmall mountains, caſt up at random one upon another, and have on the top either a temple, monaſtery, or ſome other curious building; of others that are filled with large ſpacious caverns; a third ſort that have roads cut through them of a conſiderable length; ſome cloſe on the top, and others cut open quite up to it. There is one, in particular, in the province of *Fo-kyen*, and near the city of *Hing-wha-fu*, or, as others call it, *Hingoa*, which is cut between two mountains, of a conſiderable height, and nicely paved the length of twelve miles, and ſhaded on each

Noble cauſeways cut thro them.

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side by trees planted at proper distances all the way [k]; but indeed most of the roads round that city are paved in the same manner with square stones, and planted with shady trees, the towns and villages about it standing so thick, that they seem to be but one continued town [l]; and it must be owned, that the *Chinese* are not wanting in any cost or labour to make their causeways and roads as easy and pleasant for travellers as they possibly can [m]; and this makes them build so many fine stately bridges, not only over their rivers and canals, but even from one mountain to another, which is a third sort of their artificial rarities.

Bridges. We have already described several of them in the geographic part; but, as it would be endless to speak even of the most curious of them throughout the country (for the other sort are without number), we shall content ourselves with describing two or three of the most celebrated, to give our readers an idea of the excellent taste of the nation in these kinds of work also. That called *Lu-ko-kyau*, seven or eight miles westward of *Pe-king*, was one of the finest that ever was seen, before part of it was broken down by a land-flood. It was built all of white marble, curiously wrought and polished. It had seventy pillars on each side, divided by cartridges of fine marble beautifully carved with flowers, foliages, birds, beasts, and variety of other ornaments. On each side of the entrance on the bridge, at the east end, stood two lions, of an extraordinary size, on two curious pedestals likewise of marble, with several other smaller lions in different attitudes; some climbing on the backs of the great ones, others leaping off, others crawling between their legs.

A stately one near Pe-king.

Two others, like each other, of a great length and beauty. At the other end of the bridge stood likewise two other curious pedestals, on which were carved two children with the same skill, and all the rest of the work was answerable to it [n]. Father *Gerbillon* mentions two more of the same kind, of fine marble, and exactly like each other in their fabricature, ornaments, &c.; one on one side of the city of *Cha-ho*, 50 *li's* from *Pe-king*, and the other on the other side of that place; their length was 60 geometric paces, and their breadth between six and seven, and the pavement and parapets were of huge blocks of the same stone [o]. This sort of bridges is the most common in the empire, and of which we may say that the *Chinese* spare neither for length, breadth, beauty, nor strength,

[k] Kercher, Martini, La Martiniere, & al. sup. citat.
[l] Iid. ibid.
[m] See before, p. 78.
[n] Du Halde, vol. i. p. 288.
[o] Travels into western Tartary, ap. eund. vol. ii. p. 274.

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in the building of them; ſome of them conſiſting of upwards of 100 lofty arches, and are above 160 fathom in length, as is that of the city of *Fu-chew*, or, as others call it, *Ox-u*, capital of the province of *Fo-kyen*, which is built acroſs the bay, all of fine white ſtone P (D).

THEY have a ſecond ſort, which are built upon barges, ſome of which are of a very great length. One of theſe, in particular, built over the river *Kyang*, at the place where the *Kan* falls into it, conſiſts of 130 barges ſtrongly chained to one another, yet ſo as to be parted, and to open a way in any part of it, to let the veſſels paſs which continually ſail up and down the river. There are great numbers of this ſort likewiſe all over the flat countries, they being much more convenient in thoſe parts where the traffick is chiefly carried on by water. *A ſecond ſort built on boats.*

P DU HALDE, & al. ſup. citat.

(D) There is one ſtill more ſtupendous at the city of *Swen-chew-fu*, which is built over the point of an arm of the ſea, which otherwiſe muſt be croſſed in a bark, and very often not without danger. It is 2520 *Chineſe* feet in length, and 20 in breadth, and is ſupported by 252 huge piers, 126 on each ſide. All the ſtones of it are of a greyiſh colour, and of the ſame length and thickneſs, as well thoſe which croſs from pier to pier, as thoſe which are laid acroſs, and join them to each other (73). The greateſt wonder is, how they could cut or place ſtones, of ſuch enormous weight as theſe are, high enough for large veſſels to paſs underneath.

As for the more common ſort of bridges, their way of building them is more eaſily underſtood, and appears to be this: As ſoon as they had finiſhed the ſides of the arch next to the land, or, if of more arches than one, the piers that ſtand between them, they proceeded to lay on the ſtones, which are commonly not above four or five feet long, and half a foot broad, alternately upright and croſs-wiſe, ſo that the key ſtones lay always horizontally. The top of the arch is uſually no thicker than that of theſe ſtones; and becauſe the bridges, eſpecially thoſe which have but one arch, are ſometimes 40 or 50 feet between the piers, and conſequently much higher than the cauſeway; the aſcent on both ſides is by eaſy flat ſteps, not above three inches thick, which makes it ſomewhat inconvenient for horſes and carriages to go up and down them (74); and might be eaſily obviated, by making the aſcent and deſcent more even; but, in other reſpects, they are generally well contrived.

(73) *Du Halde, ubi ſup. p.* 17. (74) *Ibid. p.* 287.

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A third sort, from mountain to mountain.

THERE is still a third sort, more surprising than the two former, which are built some over rivers, and others over a valley, and join two mountains together. Of this sort, we read of one which consists of but one intire arch, which is reckoned 400 cubits long, and 500 in height, and is, by travellers, styled *Pons volans*, or the flying bridge [q]. That which was formerly built over several high hills, on the road to *Hang-chang-fu*, in the province of *Shensi*, is still more stupendous. We are told, that 100,000 men were employed in it, to level some of the hills, and to build arches from mountain to mountain, supporting them with pillars, of a monstrous height and thickness, where the intervening valley proved too wide. There are several of these bridges that form part of the road above-mentioned; and some of them of such height, that one cannot look downwards without terror; for which reason, they are all well railed on each side, for the security of passengers [r]. And thus much may suffice for this third sort of artificial rarities [s].

Triumphal arches.

THE next kind of curiosity that entertains the travellers, is their beautiful triumphal arches, which are to be seen, in great numbers, not only in all their cities, but on the mountains and eminences along the roads. These were originally erected in memory of their heroes, whether princes, generals, philosophers, or ministers of state, who had signalized themselves for some great actions, or some eminent services, done to the public. The number of those that have been erected to such heroes is computed to amount to above 1100, amongst which, there are near 200 of exquisite beauty and grandeur. There is besides, a small number of others, no less noble and beautiful, erected to several of their illustrious women, whose wisdom and virtue have intitled them to the same glorious monuments, as well as to a place in the *Chinese* history, and in the works of their most famous poets (E).

Some erected to women.

THESE monumental structures consist mostly of one, or, at most, three arches, the middle of which is lofty and spacious,

[q] KERCHER, MARTINI, & al. [r] DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat. [s] Iid. ibid.

(E) The male worthies recorded in their history, including those who have been famed for their virtue and piety, as well as for valour, learning, &c. amount to about 3636; and the number of the females, whether virgins, wives, or widows, who are recorded for their chastity, piety, or any other eminent virtues, either on those monumental arches, or in the *Chinese* annals, to about 208 (75).

(75) *Le Compte, Du Halde, Martini, & al.*

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and the other two on each side of it are of a smaller size and beauty. Some of them are of wood, except the marble pedestal; others are of stone, and others partly stone, and partly wood. Some of them are wrought with exquisite skill, especially those of the oldest standing; while most of those of a more modern date are so clumsy, and ill-designed, as to deserve scarcely any attention (F). Their height is commonly between twenty and twenty-five feet, few above; the whole variegated with figures of men, antics, birds, beasts, *&c.* in various attitudes, festoons, and other ornaments, indifferently carved; the relievo's of some of which are so bold, that they seem to be separated from the work. Upon the whole, though they are but slightly built, yet, when placed to advantage, as in a narrow street, where two streets cross each other, or in the center of a square, and if in the country, at a due distance from the road, and a right point of sight, afford no disagreeable delight to the beholders [t]. *Their make, height, &c.*

To these, we might add their burying-places, and the noble buildings reared on those of great men, which, at a *Sepulchral monuments.*

[t] Le Compte, Martini, Kercher, & al. sup. citat. Vide & Du Halde, vol. i. p. 17. & 288.

(F) The ornamental part of those antient arches is so curiously wrought, the festoons and flowers so neatly cut, and the birds and other animals carved in such lively attitudes, that Father *Le Compte* looked upon them as *Chinese* master-pieces of that kind; and indeed they appear so wonderfully detached from each other, as if they were only joined to, or run into, each other, by small cordons; and without the least confusion; which sufficiently shews the superior skill of their antient workmen; whereas in those of later date, the sculpture is sparing, looks coarse, heavy, and without any piercing, or variety, to enliven it. Which is a plain indication of their genius having been, in a great measure, cramped and debased, since their late conquest, seeing that few of those antient monuments are of much more than 300 years standing (76).

However, it must be owned, that, excepting the beautiful neatness of the carving abovementioned, their best architecture, of any kind, comes vastly short of ours, both as to the proportion and disposition of the parts. They have neither cornices nor chapiters; and that which bears some kind of likeness to our frizes, is of such a height, that it rather shocks the eye of those who are unaccustomed to it; though it is so much the more agreeable to the *Chinese* taste, as it affords more space for the ornaments which adorn the inscriptions engraven on them (77).

(76) *Le Compte, Du Halde, Martini, & al.* (77) *Du Halde, ubi sup.* p. 17. & 287.

distance,

distance, appear like towns, being mostly built on some conspicuous eminences along the road, and yield a very pleasant prospect; but of these we have already spoken, on another occasion [u].

Stately towers.

BUT, of all their artificial curiosities, their fine stately towers are the most delightful to strangers, though built in a stile peculiar to this country, and unlike any thing of that kind among us. These are mostly to be met with in their great cities, and are every-where built much in the same form; so that the describing one or two of the most beautiful, will suffice to give our readers an idea of the rest (G). There are two of these without the walls of *Nan-king*, the most beautiful of which, styled *the porcelain tower*, because it is lined all over the inside with china tiles, delightfully painted, is the most admired by all travellers, for its height, symmetry, and variety of carving, gilding, and other ornaments. It is of an octagonal form, nine stories, or 200 feet, high, and forty feet in diameter; so that every side is fifteen feet in length. The whole is built on a large basis of brick, strongly cemented, which forms a stately perron, or flight of nine or ten steps, likewise of an octagonal figure, by which you ascend to the first story; and this perron is surrounded with a balustrade of unpolished marble on the outside. The first story, or, as it is called, the hall, is the highest of all, but hath no windows, nor any light but what comes in at three spacious gates, which open into it. The wall is said to be

The famed one at Nan-king.

Its height, ascent, &c.

[u] See before, p. 264. & seq.

(G) These stately structures, which, we are told, are to be met with at every metropolis of a province, and in some other of their cities, some within, and others without, the walls, are chiefly designed as ornaments, they being seen at a great distance by travellers, and, from their top galleries, affording a beautiful prospect of all the country round. Their height is commonly from seven to nine, though, *Du Halde* assures us, there are some twelve and thirteen, stories high, every story being commonly between eight and nine feet high, and the lowermost about twelve. But, as they are also built for strength, as well as shew, some of them having stood considerably above three centuries, there is a prodigious deal of timber, as well as work, in them; which yet, as *Le Compte* rightly observes, rather betrays the ignorance of the *Chinese* architects, who have not yet discovered that lovely simplicity, wherein the strength and beauty of our *European* buildings consist (78).

(78) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p.* 289. *Le Compte, letter* 3. *Martini, & al.*

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about twelve feet thick, and eight and a half high, and caſed with porcelain, but of the coarſer ſort, and not a little damaged by duſt and rain. From this, you aſcend to the ſecond, and thence to all the other ſtories, which are all of equal height, by a narrow, and very inconvenient, ſtaircaſe, the ſteps of which are ten inches high, and very narrow. Every ſtory hath eight large windows, one at every front. They all leſſen, as they mount one over the other, ſo as to form, in the whole, a kind of cone, or ſugar-loaf; and between each of them is a penthouſe, or ſhed, which projects ſome yards from the wall all around, and leſſens in the ſame proportion the higher they go. Theſe divide the ſtories from each other without, as the timber and the floorings do within: and each room is adorned with paintings, and other ornaments, after the *Chineſe* ſtile, both on the ſides, and on the cieling, whilſt the outſide is embelliſhed with variety of work in baſs-relievo, niches, and imagery, in the ſame taſte (H); all which make an agreeable kind of inlaid work, very beautiful at a diſtance, though both that and the painting and gildings, are ſomewhat impaired by the wind and rain. But the moſt beautiful part of the whole fabric is a kind of cupola, which ariſes thirty feet higher than the uppermoſt ſtory, and is ſupported by a thick maſt, fixed at the bottom of the floor of the eighth ſtory. This piece ſeems to be incloſed in a large iron-hoop, all the way, and which winds round it like a ſpiral line, or ſcrew, at the diſtance of ſeveral feet; ſo that the whole looks like a hollow kind of cone, pierced through, and riſing in the air, and ſupporting on the top a golden ball, of an extraordinary bigneſs. Such is the ſtructure of that famed tower, which, whether of brick, marble, or whatever other material, is looked upon, by *Le Compte*, and other authors, as the beſt contrived, moſt ſolid, and magnificent work in all the eaſt [w]. *Cupola and ball.*

NIEUHOFF adds two circumſtances concerning it; *viz.* that the ball, or pine-apple, on the top, is reported by the *When, and by whom, built.*

[w] LE COMPTE, letter 3. MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, KERCHER. & al. mult.

(H) The outſide appears to be of ſome ſort of wrought marble, or poliſhed ſtone, gilt over; but *Le Compte* rather imagines it to be of brick, ſo caſt in proper moulds, in the manner of our plaiſter-work; the *Chineſe* being, it ſeems, ſurpriſingly ſkilful in ſtamping all ſorts of figures on their bricks; the earth of which being much finer, and better tempered, than ours, is much fitter to take any impreſſion from the mould (79).

(79) *Le Compte, ubi ſupra.*

Chineſe

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Chinese to be of massy gold; and the other, that the tower hath stood 700 years; and was erected by the *Tartars*, as a monument of their having made themselves masters of the *Chinese* empire; whereas *Le Compte* affirms it to have been, in his time, of no more than 300 years standing, and to have been built, together with the temple of gratitude, by the Emperor *Yong-lo*; to which *Du Halde* seems to subscribe [x].

Bells hanging on the angles without.

Most of these sorts of towers have, either in the uppermost penthouse, or gallery, and others in every one of them, and at every angle, small bells, hanging at some distance, by chains, or wires, which are easily moved by every blast of wind, and make an uncommon sort of tinkling; which is, nevertheless, agreeable enough to the *Chinese* taste. Of this nature is that we have elsewhere described, which stands near a stately temple built on a very high mountain [y]. But the greatest delight which these kinds of structures afford, is from the vast charming prospect one hath from their upper stories, or galleries, of all the country round about, which is commonly bespangled with great variety of houses of pleasure, orchards, gardens, sepulchral monuments, and such agreeable objects, far and near.

Stately temples, built in solitary places.

Their temples are no less stately and curious. They have a prodigious number of them, both in their cities and towns, and in the country at a great distance from them. The most celebrated of which are mostly built in barren mountains; to which, however, the industry of the natives hath given beauties which were denied them by nature; such as, canals, cut at a great expence, to convey the water from the adjacent heights, into proper reservoirs, for the use of the bonzas, and their votaries; gardens and groves for their use and diversion, and deep grottos cut into the rock, to shelter them from the excessive heat; all which do not a little contribute to render those solitudes delightful. These structures, which, whether large or small, are built much after the same manner, consist partly of fine porticos, paved with large square polished stones, and partly of halls and pavilions, which are reared on the corners of the courts, and have a communication with each other, by galleries, adorned with statues either of stone or brass. The roofs of these buildings shine with beautiful japanned tiles, of green or yellow, and are embellished at the corners with dragons of the same colour, which project a great way forward. The rest of those buildings are built of timber, and most of them have some such high tower as those we have

Their painted roofs, &c.

[x] Le Compte, ubi supra. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 288.
[y] See before, p. 25. & seq. and note (H).

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been ſpeaking of in the laſt paragraph. We read of ſome of theſe temples that are of a prodigious length and breadth, and have ſtatues in them of a Coloſſian magnitude (I), to which the bonzas, who have their apartments round about, offer their wine, rice, and other proviſions, which are brought thither by their ſtupid votaries, whenever they come to conſult them about their temporal affairs. The reader may ſee what hath been ſaid, in a former ſection, of the various impoſitions of thoſe religious charlatans on the ſuperſtitious and infatuated vulgar [z].

Their large bells; their uſe,

Most of their cities have ſome large bells ſet up in their high towers, by which they give notice of the different watches of the night; and thoſe which have no bells do it by large drums. The firſt watch is notified by a ſingle ſtroke, which is repeated at certain ſhort diſtances of time, *Le Compte* ſays, every moment, till the ſecond watch begins, which they notify by two ſtrokes; the third by three, and ſo on. Some of their bells are of a monſtrous bigneſs and weight; but the largeſt of all are thoſe of *Nan-king* and *Pe-king*. *Le Compte* tells us of ſeven they have in the latter of thoſe cities, that weigh 120,000 pounds, which is near five times the weight of that of *Erford* in *Saxony*, which, *Kercher* ſays, weighs but 25,400 pounds, and is, by him, ſuppoſed to be the largeſt in *Europe*; though he ought, at leaſt, to have ex-

weight,

[z] See before, p. 112. & ſeq. and notes.

(I) *Nieuhoff* mentions one of thoſe temples, in the province of *Pe-che-li*, which is 165 feet high, and large in proportion, in which ſtands the ſtatue of a virgin 106½ feet high. The *Chineſe* ſuperſtition makes them generally more profuſe in theſe kinds of ſtructures than in any thing elſe: they build them, for the moſt part, very lofty and ſpacious, and embelliſh them with great variety of idols, before which hang an infinite number of lamps burning with coſtly perfumes. The reſt are alſo embellished with all the other ornaments of painting, carving, gilding, &c. They reckon no leſs than 480 of thoſe ſtructures of the firſt rank; and thoſe of the inferior ſort are almoſt without number, eſpecially if we join to them thoſe that are built not to their gods, but to their great men, of which they reckon above 700, which are very grand, and ſome even magnificent, beſides the triumphal arches and ſepulchral monuments, already ſpoken of. But, as this latter ſort of temples were chiefly built by the antient nobility, in honour of their families and anceſtors, and thoſe illuſtrious families have ſince dwindled away, great numbers of thoſe fine ſtructures have likewiſe gone into decay and ruin (80).

(80) *Martini, Kircher, Le Compte, & al.*

cepted

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cepted that monſtrous one of the city of *Moſcow*, whoſe height is ſaid to be nineteen feet, diameter twenty-three, compaſs ſixty-nine, thickneſs two, and weight 366,000 pounds, and of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak, in a more proper place. Thoſe ſeven of *Pe-king* we are now ſpeaking of, are twelve feet high, beſides the ear by which they hang, which is three feet more, thirteen in diameter, and forty in circumference. But, if we may believe Father *Le Compte*, all the *Chineſe* bells are vaſtly inferior to ours in ſound, their clappers being made of a hard wood, which they call iron-wood, of which we have elſewhere ſpoken [a]; their metal is moreover very coarſe, and full of knots, and their ſhape ill-contrived, they being almoſt as wide at the top as they are at the bottom, and their thickneſs gradually leſſening from the bottom upwards. So that, upon the whole, they are mere unwieldy maſſes of metal, without muſical tone, or any thing worth notice, but their huge, dull, heavy ſound, and monſtrous weight [b] (K).

and ill ſhape and ſound.

THE

[a] See before, p. 190. & p. 226. [b] MAGAILLAN, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al.

(K) Thoſe who have read Father *Magaillan*'s account of that which is in the imperial palace of *Pe-king*, who affirms, that its ſound is ſo clear, delightful, and harmonious, that it ſeems rather to proceed from ſome muſical inſtrument, will, doubtleſs, be ſurpriſed at what we have ſaid above of all their bells in general, on the authothority of other miſſionaries, who pretend to have had as good an ear as he: and, it is not improbable, that what *Le Compte* objects as one of their defects, *viz.* their wooden clappers, might be the main cauſe of that ſweetneſs and harmony which his brother Jeſuit admired; becauſe, the more theſe abate of the loudneſs of the ſound, the more they are found to add, in proportion, to the harmonious ſweetneſs; it having pretty near the ſame effect upon the bell, or rather the ear, as its being rung at a diſtance.

Le Compte adds, that thoſe he ſaw were almoſt in the form of a cylinder, except that they ſwelled about the middle, where the circumference was equal to the bottom; and that the lower brim was ſix inches and a half thick, but the top only two, which he could as eaſily meaſure; becauſe they had ſome holes bored through that part to increaſe, as he ſuppoſed, their ſound (81). So that, upon the whole, nothing can be more different than the *Chineſe* and *European* way of bell-founding, whether theirs or ours be allowed to exceed the others in ſweetneſs and harmony.

(81) *Le Compte, ubi ſup. letter* 3. *ad fin.*

But,

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THE laſt artificial curioſity we ſhall mention, and cloſe this ſection with, is their ſurpriſing fire-works, in which they may be juſtly ſaid to exceed all other nations. We have already taken notice, that this was the chief uſe they made of gunpowder, which they had among them many centuries before it was found out in *Europe*; and that they were wont to exhibit theſe fire-works at their ſolemn feſtivals, and other grand occaſions, and in a great variety of figures and repreſentations. What increaſes the wonder, is, that they give all that imagery not only its true form and ſhape, but natural colour. Thus *Magaillan* relates, that he ſaw one of them, with no ſmall delight and ſurprize, which repreſented a vine-arbour, that burned without conſuming, the root, branches, leaves, and grapes, of which, burned, but by ſlow degrees, and all in their true ſhape and colour [c]; the grapes were red, the leaves green, and the ſtem and branches ſo curiouſly imitated nature, as to have deceived any ſpectator. And, ſince the late peace hath occaſioned ſo great a variety of them in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, our readers will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed, if we give them a ſhort deſcription of one, which the late Emperor *Kang-hi* cauſed to be played off, for the diverſion of his court, from the account of thoſe miſſionaries who belonged to his train, and were preſent at it. *Fire-works.*

[c] MAGAILLAN, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al.

But, after all, we much queſtion whether their boring holes on the top of theirs be not done with the ſame deſign that they prefer wooden to iron clappers, *viz.* to ſweeten and ennoble the ſound, rather than increaſe its loudneſs; and whether their caſting them ſo much thicker at the bottom than at the top do not very much contribute to that ſolemn melodiouſneſs of their tone, which Father *Magaillan* ſo much admired, but which his brother Jeſuit injudiciouſly miſcalled a dull heavy noiſe, becauſe it did not anſwer to the loudneſs of thoſe of the ſame ſize, which he had heard in *Europe*. That a metal hammer, or clapper, will be heard at a much greater diſtance than one made of ever ſo hard wood, is what every one will readily grant; but which of the two will give the moſt melodious and agreeable ſound, at a nearer approach, we ſhall readily leave to the reader to conjecture. All that needs be added on this head, is, that the *Chineſe* have a cuſtom of giving particular names to thoſe large bells, not, indeed, that of he or ſhe ſaints, as thoſe of the church of *Rome* do, but of a more trivial import: thus, of the ſeven above-mentioned at *Pe-king*, one is called the *Hanger*, another the *Flyer*, a third the *Eater*, a fourth the *Sleeper*, and ſo on (82).

(82) *Le Compte, ubi ſupra.*

IT

A noble one played off at court.

It began by setting fire to half a dozen cylinders, which were planted in the earth, and spouted flames into the air, and, at the height of twelve feet, fell down again, in a kind of golden or firey rain. This was followed by a sort of bomb-cart, supported by two stakes, or pillars, from whence proceeded a shower of fire, intermixed with many lanthorns, which had sentences written on them, in large characters, of the colour of burning sulphur, and half a dozen of branched candlesticks, in form of pillars, consisting of several rings of light, one above another, which cast a whitish or silver-coloured flame, and, in a moment, turned night into day. At length the emperor, with his own hand, set fire to the whole machine, which, in an instant, appeared all in a blaze, and, being eighty feet long, and forty in breadth, displayed a very great variety of objects, and other curious scenes. The flame having soon after caught hold of several poles and paper figures, placed on all sides, a prodigious quantity of squibs flew up into the air, and a multitude of branches and lanthorns, such as we have elsewhere described, were lighted all over the place. The shew lasted about half an hour longer; and, from time to time, there appeared, in one part or other, flames of a bluish or violet colour, in the form of bunches of grapes hanging on a vine-arbour; which, joined to the brightness of the lights, that shone like so many blazing stars, yielded a most delightful prospect to the spectators [d].

SECT. VII.

Of some remarkable Diseases which reign among the Chinese, *and their Manner of curing them; their boasted Skill in Pulses, Phlebotomy, Cupping, Cauterising, Inoculating, and treating the Small-pox; and Method of Extracting of the Camphire from the Tree of that Name.*

Diseases, and their method of curing,

It were an endless task to go through the bare mention of the various diseases, which must be supposed to reign in so vast and extensive an empire, and through such a great difference of climates and countries, or of their methods of curing them, which differ more or less in every province, and almost in every precinct, notwithstanding the vast multitudes of books which have been published among them upon that ample subject. We have already had occasion to hint what wretched physicians and surgeons the generality of their practitioners

[d] Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 292. & seq.

of

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of either of those useful branches are, for want of better skill in anatomy and natural history [a]. They might, indeed, have made a much greater progress in both, since the coming of the *Europeans* among them, if they could have overcome their natural reluctance to every kind of foreign learning, as well as their extreme aversion to the dissecting of human bodies, for the sake, as they style them, of a few paultry discoveries in the animal oeconomy, which may be more surely and copiously attained by experience and observation, by a thorough knowlege and understanding of, and due attention to, the pulse, and other symptoms and prognostics leading to them; in all which branches, they pretend a knowlege far exceeding that of all nations of the world.

founded chiefly upon observations

In this persuasion, they are contented to go on in their old beaten tract; and how much soever our theory may exceed theirs, it will be well if their practice, upon examination, doth not prove more safe and agreeable than ours, whilst they draw the main part of their medicinal assistance from the long experienced virtues of the vegetable kind, from gentle purgatives, emollients, alteratives, and other salubrious remedies, calculated to strengthen, rather than fatigue and weaken, the stomach, to assist and invigorate nature, rather than to storm and endanger it: and, it must be owned, that they have some very expert practitioners in this excellent way, as well as the greatest plenty and variety of medicinal plants and roots, exactly suited for that purpose, of any nation in the world. They are, indeed, seldom, if ever, troubled with rheumatisms, gout, stone and gravel, and other chronic diseases, which seem to require a stronger regimen; and this is partly owing to their constant use of those noble diluters and purifiers of the blood, their green and bohea tea, and partly to their frequent chewing of ghin-seng, rhubarb, and other physical roots [b]. But, were they so, we much question whether they would not still prefer their gentle, though slow, method of curing them, to those of a quicker, but more violent nature. The misfortune is, that their very best and most approved physical books do commonly clog every receipt and remedy with such mixtures of roots, leaves, seeds, gums, *&c.* prescribe so many rules and punctilio's, in the choice, weight, quantity, and preparation, of them, as make the process difficult and tedious; so that the far greater part of their very practitioners are quite discouraged from following of them, though the whole stress of their success, according to

Prefer gentle medicines and vegetables.

Why free from chronic disorders.

Their physical compositions clogged and difficult.

[a] See before, p. 194, & seq.

[b] Vide Le Comte, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.

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their authors, seems to depend upon a scrupulous observation of every rule, and minute circumstance, and chuse rather at all hazards to follow their own experience; which they may the more safely do, as their medicines are all of the gentle kind.

Pretended skill in pulses.

NEXT to the knowlege, and due mixture and preparation, of their *materia medica*, they likewise challenge a superior skill in the pulse above all other nations; and pretend to judge exactly of the kind and degree of every disease, what part of the body, either inward or outward, is affected, whether it be curable, or no; and, if the latter, how many days, weeks, or years, the patient may linger under it. They make a particular difference between the pulse of a man, and of a woman; between that of persons of tall or short stature, corpulent or lean; between that of youth, middle, and old age; between that of one season of the year and another, especially spring and autumn, summer and winter. This variety of pulses they distinguish by sundry odd names, as well as those which are caused by the nature of the distemper; that is, not by the obvious ones of quick and slow, weak and strong, and the like, but by such canting ones, if our authors have rightly translated, as are only understood by themselves. Thus they stile one sort the *superficial*, another the *sliding*, the *four*, the *tremulous*, the *rolling*, the *scattered*, the *leaping*, *swimming*, *ebullient*, and many others of the like sense and import. They do not content themselves with applying their fingers to the wrist, without distinction of right and left, between which they suppose another material difference, but move them from one part of the body to another, according as they find them more or less affected with the disease: if it be the heart or liver, they feel the wrist of the left; if the stomach or reins, that of the right. They dwell a considerable time upon it, and at different times, in order to discover, as near as possible, every irregularity in the pulsations, before they venture to give their judgment, or administer any medicine to the patient[c].

Various sorts of them.

and manner of feeling them.

Rules for judging rightly of them.

THEY likewise pretend to fix the right number of times the pulse ought to beat, between every respiration, in a person that is in full health, *viz.* four, or, at most, five times; if above that, they infer some disorder to be in the body, greater or less, according to the number of beats; if six, it denotes only some slight indisposition; if seven or eight, they

[c] DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 184, & seq. LE COMPTE, NAVARRETTA, & al. sup. citat.

judge

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judge the distemper proportionably dangerous; and, if above that number, mortal.

THEY observe a multitude of other formal ceremonies, and punctilious niceties, both in the discovering the root, seat, and degree, of a distemper, as well as exact a great number of others from their patients, which it would be tedious to mention; especially as there is so much reason to question their so much boasted skill in botany and pulse, and whether the tenth part of their theory or practice be really founded, as they pretend, upon reason and experience [d]; especially when we consider, that the basis of both is laid chiefly on a thorough knowlege in astrology; and that, according to them, there is no part of the body, no species of the vegetable, mineral, or animal kind, but what are under the influence of some planet, sign, or constellation, whose nature, virtues, places, periodical times, and other such whimsical circumstances, must be diligently consulted, before any vegetable can be gathered, or any medicine applied with any success: insomuch that their almanac-makers were obliged to mark out the proper days and times for bleeding, purging, sweating, &c. as well as for planting, sowing, reaping, journeying, and other such superstitious fooleries, till that care was turned over by the emperor *Kang-hi* to some of the learned Jesuits, who, on that very account, declined the task (A), till that

Astrology the basis of their physic.

Times for bleeding, purging, &c. marked in their almanac.

[d] DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 184. LE COMPTE, NAVARETTA, & al. sup. citat.

(A) They excused themselves, we are told, to the emperor, from having any hand in these almanacs, though much better qualified for it than the *Chinese*, not only on account of the ridiculousness of the astrological rules and observations of good and bad, lucky and unlucky days, which were always carefully inserted in them, but likewise because such kind of superstitions, which were inconsistent with their religion, might be imputed to them. To this the emperor replied, That is not what I desire of you, and you shall be excused from that part; neither do I give any more credit to those ridiculous whimsies, than you: I require nothing of you but what regards the kalendar, and hath relation to astronomy.

After such a declaration, they had nothing more to object, and were obliged to comply; but as they foresaw, that the *Chinese* would not be contented with such maimed productions from the observatory, and that the pretended defect would be supplied from other hands, they took particular care to protest against, and condemn, such superstitious fooleries; because human actions could in no respect depend on the influence of the stars, but only on the wisdom by which they were conduct-

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that monarch had consented to their leaving all the astrological trash out of them [e]; which yet doth not hinder others from still supplying that supposed defect.

Circulation of the blood known.

We have formerly observed, that the circulation of the blood was known to them long before the coming of the *Europeans* among them [f]. Their old physical books make frequent mention of it, though without pretending to account how it is performed; nevertheless they are very sparing of the use of phlebotomy, unless in cases of absolute necessity; and even then they take care to make but a very little orifice, and let but a very small quantity of blood at a time, seldom above the value of half a porringer. Those who have no lancets, will make their incision with any other sharp tool, or even with a broken piece of china. They apply no bandage or linen over it, but only sprinkle the orifice with a few grains of salt. They use, in some particular cases, another way of bleeding, which may be called acupuncture, or pricking several holes on the part affected with a large needle: but, as this curious invention was brought to them from *Japan*, we shall defer the farther description of it till we come to speak of that empire, where that operation is performed in much greater perfection.

Way of bleeding.

Cupping.

The *Chinese* in general attribute the greater parts of their colics, aches, and other distempers, to the malignity of some stagnated and corrupted winds which breed in the body, and which they endeavour to draw away by topical application, such as the acupunction last mentioned, cupping, or, if those fail, by cauterising the part affected. There is one distemper very common and dangerous among the lower class of people, occasioned, as is supposed, by the badness of their diet; which at first seizes the stomach and bowels, and causes intolerable gripings and vomitings, and other inward pains and convulsions; and, if not timely removed, throws the patient into a profound lethargy, or atrophy. In this case, their common method is, to apply a red-hot iron bullet near enough to the soles of the feet to raise a blister. If the patient becomes sensible of the pain, they withdraw the bullet, and he commonly recovers soon after; but if he continues senseless, they apply it closer and closer, till the flesh is burnt up to the very bone.

Cauterising in the stubborn lethargy.

[e] Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 133, & al.

[f] See before, p. 194, & seq.

ed. Which precaution the emperor highly commended, as well as the manner in which they expressed themselves (1).

(1) *Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 133. Engl. edit.*

The

THE use of clysters might prove of excellent use to them in several of their colicky ailments, but that was wholly unknown to them. The *Portuguese* of *Macao* tried to introduce it among them, but without success; the *Chinese* being, on the one hand, too averse to all *European* novelties to admit of it, and, on the other, affecting too great a degree of modesty to give it any better name than that of the *barbarian remedy*, which is that which it goes by all over their country. *Aversion to clysters.*

THERE is hardly any nation in the world, among which one may see a greater number of purblind and quite blind folks, or a greater variety of distempers of the eyes. This is commonly attributed to the quantity of rice consumed among them at their daily meals. Whether that grain, which in other respects is so friendly and nourishing to the body, have any such pernicious effect upon that curious and most valuable part of it, or whether it be not rather owing to some other cause hitherto unknown, and particularly to their drinking so much of it distilled and burnt, which may probably affect the eyes, as much as it is found to do the throat and swallow g, we will not pretend to determine. *Distempers of the eyes frequent.*

AMONG the great variety of disorders in the eyes, we shall single out a very extraordinary one, which is very little, if at all, known in *Europe*, but is very common all over *China*; the natives give it the name of *Ki-mung-yen*, which, in their language, implies, according to our author h, a darkness in the eyes, like that which is natural to fowl and poultry, by which they pretend to explain the cause, but doth by no means come up to it, this last being only a heaviness of the eyelids, occasioned by the absence of the sun's rays; whereas the distemper we are speaking of, and which *Etmullerus* calls *Nyctalopia* i, doth not consist in a bare dimness of sight morning and evening, but in an almost total darkness during the whole night, not to be removed by any artificial light, whilst the patient enjoys a perfect sight all the rest of the day. In the night, the flame of a wax-candle, brought near him, appears like a large and dim globe of fire, without enabling him to discover any other object either near or distant: in the daytime he sees every thing as distinctly as those who enjoy a perfect sight. We shall not trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the learned concerning this periodical succession of light and darkness, but only subjoin the method of cure which the *Chinese* doctors make use of, and which, *A singular instance of that kind, called* Nyctolopia.

g See before, p. 280, sub. mut. h DU HALDE in Let. edif. vol. xxiv. p. 130, & seq. i Vid. & Dict. Art. & Scient. in voc.

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from the instances which our author gives us, appears to us to be effectual; the receipt of which is as follows:

How cured. TAKE the gall of a black-headed ewe or wether, cut it from the liver, not with an iron, but a sharp bamboe knife; strip it of its nerves, pellicles, and filaments, and sprinkle it over with salt-petre; wrap up the whole close in a leaf of *Nenubar*, and stew it over a slow fire in a proportionable quantity of water: let the patient keep stirring it all the time, holding a sheet spread over his head, to keep in the steam from evaporating, but that it may be all received by him at the nose and eyes; which will cause the latter to run, and by that means discharge the morbific matter, and complete the cure. Some advise the drinking of the liquor in which the gall is stewed; and others pretend that the patient will be cured without it, and even though the ewe or wether's head were of any other colour than black, but all agree that the fumigation is the chief cause of the cure [k].

THE reader may see in the author last quoted, and in *Du Halde*, several curious extracts out of the *Chinese* physical and botanic books [l], for which we have not room in a work of this extensive nature, and which, at the best, would prove agreeable but to few of our readers; we shall therefore con-

Inoculation of the small-pox. tent ourselves with selecting two of the most curious and remarkable ones out of them; *viz. their method of inoculating*, or, according to their own more significant term, *Tchung-teou* (B), of *sowing the small-pox*; and the description of the famous

[k] DENTRECOLLES, ubi sup. p. 183, & seq. 212, & seq. & alib. pass.

[l] Hist. of China, vol. ii.

(B) The verb *Tchung*, we are told, properly signifies to sow, and *teou*, or *teoo*, is the name they give to the small-pox, and to a small eating pea they have among them; so that it is probable this name might at first be given to that distemper on account of the likeness of the pustules it raises on the skin to the colour and figure of that small pulse, there being no difference either in the writing or pronouncing of that word.

The term sowing, which they use instead of grafting and inoculating, may likewise be in all probability taken from their method of communicating it, which is not by injection of the pus, as ours is, but by blowing some small quantity of the powder of a dried pustule into the nostrils of the patients. The first hint of it, it is supposed, was taken from the violent itching in that part, which was observed to be the forerunner of that distemper in children; from which they rightly inferred, that the place where the first seeds or symptoms of it appeared might be the

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mous camphire-tree, the method of extracting and purifying its gum, together with the various virtues they attribute both to that, and to the wood itself.

THAT the *Chinese* had the art of inoculating the small-pox, in order to prevent the dreadful havock which that distemper made among them, long enough before we knew any thing of it in *Europe*, or in all probability the *Armenians* at *Constantinople*, from whom we first received it, is evident from their physical books which treat of that distemper, and of the propereſt methods of communicating and curing it, and vindicate and recommend it as a most safe and beneficial discovery. *Known in China, and probably discovered there.*

THIS last circumstance, joined to the great vogue which it hath gained throughout the empire, may be looked upon as a strong presumption that the *Chinese* were the first authors of it (C), it being quite contrary to the maxims and practice

the propereſt place for sowing them in other persons, and the most likely to convey it with ease and speed into the rest of the body (3).

(C) Some of our *English* writers, who received the first news of this new method from *Constantinople*, and other parts of the *Othman* empire, where it was practised only by a few *Armenians* about the 17th century, have imagined that they had brought it from some of the countries adjacent to the *Caspian* sea; which conjecture, if true, might incline one to believe, that the *Chinese* might likewise receive it from those parts by the means of the same *Armenian* caravans which have trafficked into that empire a considerable number of years: but if we take in the account which the *Chinese* themselves give of it, it will be much more probable that both the *Armenians*, and those countries thro' which they travelled, had it originally from them.

But it is hardly credible that those *Tartaric* nations about the *Caspian* should have the least notion of so valuable a secret, who knew not so much as how to fence against that distemper, and were wont, upon the first appearance of it, to flee from it as from the most dreadful pestilence, abandoning their nearest relations, when once infected with it. Add to this, that if the discovery of it had been brought by the caravans of those parts into the *Chinese* empire, the province of *Shen-si*, which is contiguous to it, must have had it before that of *Kyang-nan*, which is situate on the south-west of it, and is that where the *Chinese* assure us the author of the discovery then lived; so that, every thing duly weighed, we may venture to agree with that author (4) in giving the credit of that useful discovery to the *Chinese* nation.

(3) *Deutrecollet in Lettres edifiant. vol.* XX. *p.* 306, *& seq.* (4) *Id. ibid. p.* 312, *& seq.*

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of that politic nation to admit, at leaſt with ſuch zeal and readineſs, any new arts or inventions, how promiſing and uſeful ſoever, much leſs ſo uncertain and dangerous a one as this muſt appear at firſt, which comes to them by the hands of ſtrangers. Accordingly their books tell us, that the firſt diſcoverer of this new method flouriſhed in the province of *Kyang-nan*, near the frontiers of *Kyang-ſi*; and that it began to grow in vogue about the latter end of the dynaſty of *Ming*, or about 120 or 130 years ago.

By whom, and where.

Its great ſucceſs in Tartary.

BUT that which gave it the greateſt reputation and authority, was the great ſervices it did afterwards in *Tartary*, about the year 1724, whither the emperor ſent ſome of the moſt expert proficients to exerciſe it upon the children of his *Tartarian* ſubjects, among whom the ſmall-pox was looked upon as the worſt of all peſtilential diſeaſes; inſomuch that whenever any of them, whether old or young, were attacked with it, every-body, even his neareſt relations, fled from him, and left him to take his chance, either to die of it, or, which ſeldom happened, to overcome it by the help of a ſtrong conſtitution.

Encouraged by the emperor.

ANOTHER motive which induced that excellent monarch to take this precaution, was the dreadful havock which it made among not only his grandees, and other officers, who brought from thence the uſual tributes and preſents to him, but likewiſe among the merchants who came thither to traffick, as ſoon as they arrived at *Pe-king*, which is ſeldom free from that diſtemper; ſo that few of them eſcaped being ſeized with, and moſt of them of being killed by, it.

THOSE phyſicians, according to his orders, ſoon went and diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral parts of *Tartary*; where they, by their prudent care and management, had ſuch ſurpriſing ſucceſs, that they returned ſome years after laden with the moſt valuable commodities of that country, and became immenſely rich, and in high eſteem at that prince's court, who, we may be confident, did not fail of encouraging ſo uſeful and beneficial a diſcovery. But it is time now to give our readers an account of their method of proceeding in it, as it was, not without great difficulty and ſecreſy, communicated to our author by ſome of thoſe phyſicians then attending the court[m] (D).

PRO-

[m] DENTRECOLLES, ubi ſup. vol. xx. p. 315, & ſeq.

(D) There were three of thoſe phyſicians who were prevailed upon to give him each an account of his method; the firſt of whom, though the moſt conciſe, hath given as explicit and ſatisfactory

PROVIDE yourſelf with a good quantity of the dried ſcales which fall off the breaſt or back of a young healthy child, between one and ſeven years old, eſpecially if he be gone thro' the ſmall-pox in thirteen days, and the puſtules appear to have been full and clear; preſerve thoſe ſcales in a china veſſel cloſely ſtopped with wax, by which means they will keep good a whole year; whereas leaving them expoſed to the leaſt air would ſpoil them in a few days: let the child, on whom you deſign to inoculate the ſmall-pox, be at leaſt a year old, and in full health, and his body be rightly and duly prepared by proper medicines. If the ſcales you have for uſe be ſmall, take four of them; if large, only two; and put between them about a grain of muſk, and wrap up the whole in ſome fine cotton, in the form of a tent, which you ſhall thruſt into the left noſtril, if it be a boy; and in the right, if a girl; taking previous care that the ſuture of the child's cranium be well cloſed, and that the body be not inclined to a looſeneſs, or any ailment which is contrary to the operation. If after all theſe cautions, the puſtules do not appear in three days after the fever hath begun to ſhew itſelf, then one may ſafely promiſe one's ſelf that eight or nine in ten will go through it with ſafety, and do well after it; but if they put forth on the ſecond day after the fever, it is a queſtion whether one half of them, and, if on the firſt day, whether any of them, will outlive it.

Their method of proceeding in it.

Convey the diſeaſe by the noſtrils.

THUS far the firſt phyſicians; from whoſe account, though ſhort, one may ſtill ſee what wiſe precautions they take in every ſtep of their progreſs. As to the mixture of the muſk with the ſcales which are put into the noſe, it may perhaps appear to us a trifling nicety; and ſome authors tell us, that they uſe no other ceremony than that of blowing the powdered ſcales into the child's noſtril through a funnel or cornet: but this can be at beſt but a ſlovenly way, and uſed only

Muſk, why added to the ſcales.

ſatisfactory one as our readers would care to read. The other two differing in no eſſential part of the proceſs, but having only added ſome further minute directions and receipts towards preparing the patients, and promoting the proceſs of the operation; but which conſiſt only of ſome compoſitions of plants, and other drugs, moſt of them unknown, and of little or no uſe to us in the like caſes; for theſe reaſons, and to avoid needleſs repetitions, we ſhall only add ſuch material directions out of the two laſt, as the firſt had omitted in his; and refer thoſe of our readers, who are deſirous to be more fully acquainted with the *Chineſe* practice, to the author himſelf (5).

(5) *Dentrecolles, ubi ſup. p.* 320—361.

among

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among the poor vulgar; for, besides its carrying such a great force with it, as may cause the nose to run, and discharge the morbiferous powder, if we consider that the use of those high perfumes is in great vogue amongst them, and enters into a great number of their physical compositions, it is not without mature deliberation that they apply the musk in this present case, not only as it is a strengthener of the brain, heart, and stomach, and consequently a promoter of the intended secretions; but as it may, by its balsamic quality, correct the acrimony of the fermentative virus, as well as the nauseousness of the effluvia which arise from the morbific scales.

Some further improvements in their process.

THE other two doctors are somewhat diffuse and intricate, especially the last, which might be designedly done, either to display his skill and accuracy, or more probably to perplex a process which he reluctantly communicated to a stranger, and to prevent his reaping any advantage from it. However, as neither of them differs from the first in any of the material points above-mentioned, we shall readily subjoin whatever we meet with in the two latter, that may serve as a supplement or improvement of the former. And,

Proper time for it.

FIRST, As to the proper time for performing the operation, they exclude extreme hot or cold weather, when the animal spirits are either dispersed and exhausted, or else too clogged and stagnated; and recommend the spring and autumn as the fittest season, when they are free, and in full vigour. Upon the same account they commonly chuse serene and clear before rainy and foul weather; for we must remember, that it is not subject to such sudden changes in those countries as it is with us.

The scales, whence to be taken.

SECONDLY, With respect to the scales to be used in the sowing of the distemper, they prefer those that come off the back or stomach before those of any other part of the body, especially the forehead and feet: and as those that are recently gathered are apt to convey too great an acrimony into the blood, they usually correct that defect by holding them some time in a thin gawse over the steam of hot water, in which have been infused some slices of liquorice and scorsonera root: but those scales which have been kept above a month have no need of this corrective, and may be safely used without it.

The patient how to be treated.

THIRDLY, With regard to the treating of the patient, they prescribe the same regimen which is commonly used in the natural small-pox; only the last of the above receipts adds the administering to the decumbent about two or three scales pulverised in half a pint of the broth called *Chinna*, to be drank on the second day after the insertion.

In

If the puſtules do not appear on the fourth or fifth day, the morbific tents muſt be taken out, and recourſe be had to the doſe preſcribed to be taken before the inſertion, by way of preparative, the compoſition of which the reader will find in the margin (E); and which, the third phyſician aſſures us, will as effectually preſerve the patient from ever having the diſtemper, as if the inoculation had had its due effect; eſpecially if the ſame be repeated on the fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth, moons after his decumbiture.

This, by what our author could learn, is all the *purgative* they uſe by way of preparing their patients, if the gentleneſs of its operation may admit of that name. Emetics, bleeding, and other more forcing remedies, they carefully avoid, leſt they ſhould debilitate rather than aſſiſt nature, and obſtruct the ſecretion and excretion; inſtead of which, when they find the fever to continue, and no puſtules appear, ſome of them mix a ſmall quantity of opium with their other medicines, which helps to reunite the ſpirits, and aſſiſts them in throwing out the morbific virus. Thus far their method of ſowing or inoculating the ſmall-pox, which, whether more eaſy and ſafe than that of conveying the morbiferous pus by inciſion or puncture,

Opium given to help the ſecretion.

(E) Take of red, green, and black peas, and ſliced liquorice, of each one ounce; let them all be finely pounded and ſifted, and put into the hollow of a piece of pilled bamboe, leaveing the knot at the two ends; and let them be ſtopped very cloſe with two pieces of firwood, covered all over with wax. Suſpend the ſaid ſtick, in the winter, in the ſoil of a *Mao-cang*, or houſe-of-office, during the ſpace of a month or two. When taken out, cleanſe the outſide thoroughly, and dry the powder in the ſhade: and add to every ounce of it three *Maſs*, or three tenth parts of an ounce, of the flower *Moei-tſe*, a kind of wild apricot, which blows only in winter, and bears no fruit, well dried by a fire, and powdered. The doſe is from one half to a whole *Maſs*, or from half an ounce to an ounce, in proportion to the child's age; the whole diluted in a decoction of the ſtalks of a *Se-kwa*, or kind of oblong wild gourd, which are ſaid to have a diuretic, carminative, and refreſhing quality.

Some *Chineſe* books give us, however, a more cleanly, ſhort, and eaſy way, of preparing this medicine, by boiling all the above-mentioned ingredients in an earthen veſſel, till the whole becomes of a moderate thickneſs, and giving it in a double quantity; but whether or no it will have the ſame virtue, we will not warrant; only our miſſionary aſſures us, that the red peas expel all peccant matters from the heart, the black from the reins, and the green from the ſtomach (6).

(6) *Dentrecolles, ubi ſup. p.* 330, *& ſeq.*

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puncture, as is practiſed by the *Greeks* in *Turky*, and by our ſurgeons in *England*, we will not take upon us to determine; much leſs whether it ought to have the preference before the natural one. If our reader ſhould be deſirous to know what account the *Chineſe* books give of the latter, we can only tell them, that they ſeem unanimouſly to agree, that every child brings the morbific poiſon with him from the womb; but whether it receives it from the father or mother, they are not agreed; neither can they give any tolerable account why or how it diſplays itſelf in ſuch various ſhapes, produces ſuch different effects, and at ſuch different and diſtant periods of life [m].

Their notion of the natural pox.

The camphire-tree deſcribed.

THE laſt thing we propoſed to mention, under this head of phyſic, was the famed camphire-tree, their method of extracting and purifying its gum, and the virtues they aſcribe to it, as well as to the wood which bears it. This noble tree, ſo famed for its largeneſs and prodigious height, is called by the *Chineſe Tchang*, and the camphire which is extracted from it *Tchang-nao*. The account we have of it, and of the *Chineſe* way of extracting and ſublimating its excellent gum being taken from an old *Chineſe* book, which the emperor *Kang-hi* cauſed to be reprinted, with the obſervations of ſome of the moſt learned and curious virtuoſos and literati of the empire, carries its own authority with it, and confutes ſeveral erroneous notions we had of that proceſs here in *Europe* (F); for which reaſon we hope our readers will not be diſpleaſed to have a more clear and authentic account of it than they have hitherto met with, as it hath been communicated to theſe *European* parts by the ſame ingenious miſſionary, from whom we had the curious proceſs of the *Chineſe* inoculation, mentioned in the preceding article †.

Its vaſt height and thickneſs.

THE tree itſelf is of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, that ſome of them riſe to above 300 feet; its thickneſs is proportionable to

[m] DENTRECOLLES, ubi ſup. p. 406, & ſeq.

† Idem, ubi ſup. vol. xxiv.

(F) Amongſt theſe we may reckon that of the famous Mr. *Lemery*, who affirmed the camphire to diſtil from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree; and that of *Etmuller*, and others after him, who pretend that it is drawn from the tree by inciſion (7), and that it is brought crude from thence by the *Dutch*; all which is plainly confuted by the more curious account given us by the *Chineſe* book abovementioned, as the reader will ſee by what follows.

(7) *Diction. Art. & Scient. ſub voc.* Camphor.

it,

it, insomuch that 20 men can hardly embrace its trunk. The branches spread a considerable way; and the wood, which is very hard and durable, is of singular use for the construction of large ships, as well as for other more curious pieces of joinery, by reason of the beauty and glossiness of its surface, and the great variety of its veins. Their texture is so tenacious and close, that it is very common to see many of them above 300 years old.

The gum how extracted,

They neither yield their fine gum by distillation nor by incision; an operation so easy, and well known among the *Chinese*, that, if it could be got by that way, they would readily adopt, as they do with regard to the fir and other resinous trees, preferably to that tedious and difficult one which they are obliged to take to extract it from this; and which is as follows: They take some of the newest branches, and saw them across in thin slips of about an inch in thickness; and these they chop again into small square bits, and soak them three days and three nights in well-water, by which time they are sufficiently macerated to be set a boiling on a moderate fire. They stir them all the while with a fir stick, till they have yielded their gummy juice, which is easily known by its sticking like a white jelly to the fir-stick: they then strain *percolated,* the whole, taking special care that none of the fæces, or other filth, be intermixed with it; and pour it gently into an earthen vessel well varnished, in which they let it stand and cool a whole night, and on the morrow is found the camphire coagulated into a mass or cake.

purified, and sublimated.

This mass is afterward purified or sublimated in the following manner: They take a bason or flattish vessel of red copper, and put into it a layer of the pulverised earth of some old mud wall, and over that one of the mass; they add a second, third, and fourth, layer of each, and cover the whole, first with a fresh layer of the leaves of the plant *Po*, or penny-royal, and this with another copper bason of the same bigness, turned upside-down upon the first; and so strongly cemented together, that none of the effluvia can evaporate through the joining, which would otherwise mar not the process. The first bason being thus filled, and closely covered, is set on a moderate fire, which must be neither too fierce nor too slack, and care be taken that the cement be the cracked by the heat, or any accident; and, after having been a sufficient time on the coals, which is mostly gained by experience, it is taken off, and left to cool; and, upon parting the two basons, the camphire will be found incrustated and sublimated, sticking on the top and sides of the uppermost one. If the same experiment be repeated in the same manner twice

The operation repeated. twice or three times, each operation will yield a fresh quantity of the same odoriferous gum. These must likewise be put between two earthen vessels, well closed together with cement, or with wet paper, to stop all evaporations; and be set upon a moderate fire, in order to make it fit for use; and, when taken off and cooled, the camphire will be found in its utmost perfection, and ready for all uses.

Whether it may not be done in a quicker way. " It is not unlikely, continues our Jesuit, that some expert *European* chemist, who could procure a quantity of those recent branches, might find out a more easy and expeditious way of extracting this valuable gum from it[n], and sublimateing it to the same degree of perfection; and yet it is no less plain, that the *Chinese* are neither ignorant of, nor averse to, a shorter way, seeing they can sublimate even mercury between two well luted common crucibles; so that they must be supposed to have some grounds for keeping up to this more laborious process, in order to have it in its true purity and perfection; though, from the notion of *Lemery*, and others, of its being brought crude and foul from thence into *Holland*, one may easily conclude, that they do by it as they do by their tea, and other commodities; and either extract it in a more slovenly way, or adulterate it with some heterogeneous mixture; the cakes of it, which are brought from thence by the *Dutch*, or perhaps rather by the *Batavian* natives, who commonly trade thither, appearing as if they were cast in the lid of a porridge-pot. However, it is plain they make sufficient quantities of the purer sort for their own use, since it bears no higher a price at *Pe-king* than about 2 *d. per* ounce, and is still cheaper in the distant provinces, from whence they fetch it. There is moreover a double advantage in extracting it in the tedious manner above-mentioned; the one is, that it may be done at all seasons of the year, whereas there could be but one season for doing it by incision; the other, that the lopping off the branches doth not hurt the tree like the wounding of it[o].

The double advantages of this long one.

Virtues of the camphire. THE virtues the *Chinese* book above-mentioned attributes to the camphire are various. It is of an acid and warm nature, and in no case prejudicial or hurtful; it helps to carry off the phlegm and slime from the stomach and bowels; it purifies the blood from filth, and rectifies the disorders which are caused by cold and dampness; it eases the most violent colics, and *colera morbus*, loathings and flatulencies in the stomach; it cures the itch, scabs, and other cuticular ailments; fixes

[n] Dentrecolles, ubi sup. p. 422, & seq. [o] Id. ibid. p. 424.

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looſe teeth, and cleanſes rotten ones; and is an excellent preſervative, as well as an effectual remedy, againſt bodily vermin. The wood of it is likewiſe affirmed to have all the virtues of the gum, though in a much inferior degree, the decoction of it being ſucceſsfully uſed againſt all the abovementioned diſorders; and, if taken in a large quantity, works as a gentle emetic, and cleanſes the ſtomach and bowels from peccant humours. Laſtly, and to name no more, ſhoes, the ſoles of which are made of this wood, cure the feet from exceſſive ſweating, and are a great ſtrengthener of them. And thus much may ſuffice for the virtues of this tree, and its excellent gum; though the *Chineſe*, it muſt be owned, is univerſally allowed to be greatly inferior to that which comes from the iſland of *Borneo* [P]. *Of the wood.*

To conclude this article, one may ſafely ſay, that the whole ſkill of the *Chineſe* practitioners in phyſic, among whom the *Lamas* are reckoned ſome of the beſt, conſiſts chiefly in the knowlege of a certain number of plants and drugs, and the poſſeſſion of ſome approved receipts, tranſmitted as an inheritance from father to ſon, and preſerved with the utmoſt ſecrecy in their families; and which, if miſapplied through inadvertency or ignorance, which is often the caſe, and fail of the promiſed ſucceſs, thoſe pretenders are never at a loſs for ſome ſpecious excuſe, by throwing the blame either on the weather, the irregularity of the patients, or the careleſſneſs of thoſe who attend them: whereas the emperor *Kang-hi* had been ſo well convinced, that moſt of their miſcarriages were owing to their want of ſkill in anatomy, that he ordered one of the beſt *European* treatiſes on that ſubject to be tranſlated into the *Tartarian* language, and adorned with all the variety of cuts that were neceſſary for ſuch a work, which were thoſe of the famed *Bartolinus*; all which was executed with the utmoſt care, under the direction of Father *Parrenin*, and highly admired at court. When the work was completed, that prince, recollecting that he had ſeen, among other of his rarities, a ſtatue about three feet high, caſt in copper, on which were, as he imagined, all the veins and arteries delineated in their proper places, he ordered it to be brought out, and compared with thoſe of the treatiſe. To their great ſurprize, they found thoſe lines all parallel to each other, and almoſt all of the ſame length, without any the leaſt reſemblance either to veins or arteries, or anſwering to their true ſituation and number. The ſtatue having at length been examined by two of the experteſt phyſicians be- *Complete treatiſe of anatomy tranſlated into the Tartarian tongue.*

[P] DENTRECOLLES, ubi ſup. p. 428, & ſeq.

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longing to the palace, they soon found that those lines were traced on the figure with no other view than to point out the places that were proper to let blood at, by the operation lately mentioned, called acupuncture, or by the help of coarse needles, in cases of rheumatism, gout, sciatica, &c. Upon which the emperor told them, that he remembered that there had been a dissection of a human body under the foregoing dynasty of *Ming*, which was the first, if not the only one, that had ever been made in *China*: *Though*, added he, *I should not be against their being often repeated on the bodies of criminals, for the sake of the advantages that may be reaped from it, provided it were done privately, and only in the presence of physicians and surgeons; it being but just that those wretches, who have done so much mischief to the public in their life-time, should be doomed to make some useful amends for it after their death*[q]. But the difficulty is, how to induce the *Chinese* to think in the same just manner.

The emperor's judgment on the dissection of criminals.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Origin, Antiquity, and Chronology, of the Chinese *Nation.*

WE have already, in some of the foregoing sections*, had occasion to inform our readers, that, with regard to the account we gave of the origin, antiquity, and first peopling, of the *Chinese* nation, we contented ourselves with following the most received opinion, which supposes them, as well as the *Tartars*, to be descended from *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*[a]; and accordingly laid before our readers a series of the most material arguments which have hitherto been urged against the hypothesis of the late learned *Shuckford*, of *Noah* being the same with the *Chinese Fo-hi*, the founder of that monarchy[b]. These we endeavoured to set in the strongest light, not so much as our real opinion, as with a view of exciting thereby some of our ingenious correspondents, whom we know to be on the contrary side of the question, to communicate their thoughts to us on that curious and so much controverted subject, in hopes of receiving some farther light from their discoveries, which might either corroborate or explode the general opinion of the learned. Our hopes have not been frustrated; and we dare flatter ourselves, that the many judicious hints we have since received from a certain

Origin and antiquity of the Chinese.

Mr. Shukford's *argument resumed.*

[q] Parrenin. ubi sup. vol. xvii. p. 386, & seq. * See before, p. 100. & Antient Hist. vol. xx. p. 109, & seq. [a] *Ibid.* 200, & seq. [b] Connection, part 1. p. 99, & seq.

quarter

quarter have now enabled us to resume the argument in favour of Dr. *Shuckford*'s system, not only in a manner almost intirely new, but backed with such fresh and authentic proofs as will, we doubt not, appear to every unbiassed reader more than equivalent to any thing that hath hitherto been objected against it, and on that account justly to deserve a place in a work like this; that, by a fair comparison between them, every one may be enabled to embrace that side of the question which appears to him to carry the greater weight. And this we judge the more incumbent upon us, as the greater part of the authorities we shall produce are such as have not hitherto appeared in public, at least in the clear light in which they will be found in the following pages, and which we are not without hopes may afford matter for greater improvement among such as are best versed in those remote antiquities: for though we readily own, that the ingenious Dr. *Shuckford*'s hypothesis, on the foot he hath proposed it, and from the method he hath undertaken to prove it, appears still clogged with such seeming insurmountable difficulties, as might easily determine a hasty reader to reject it in the lump (for which reason we shall follow it no farther than we can plain the way before it); yet if those seeming difficulties can be clearly removed, and such new proofs be brought, as will make it appear not only extremely probable and rational, but (which is the most important, though difficult, point to carry) easily reconciled with, and by some authentic fact shewn to be quite consistent with, our *Hebrew*, as well as with the antient *Chinese* chronology; it is to be hoped that the mutual evidence which these two will be found to reflect on each other will easily outweigh all that can be urged against it, either on account of the newness or singularity of it: and much more so, if, by their mutual help and agreement, we shall be enabled to fix the *Chinese* chronology, from the very foundation of its monarchy, upon a surer basis than hath been hitherto attempted, or thought upon. But as this last is the most important point of all, and fittest to precede immediately the history of the *Chinese* monarchs, we shall defer it till then; whilst we now go on with the other topics, by which we intend to shew the great probability of *Noah* being the same with *Fo-hi*, and the founder of the *Chinese* monarchy.

His system clogged with great difficulties;

but which are yet easy to be removed.

THIS hypothesis (for we will not yet venture to call it by a stronger name) hath been in a great measure already confirmed by various learned pens, by a much greater number of arguments than our designed brevity will permit us to insist on; for which reason we shall confine ourselves to such only as either carry the greatest weight, or as have not yet been urged

Arguments for the probability of Noah *and* Fo-hi's *being the same.*

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in favour of it by any author. We begin with the former; which are as follow:

Affinity of their names. 1. THE affinity and analogy of the names of *Noah* and *Fo-hi*; together with other particulars of their history, too trite and well known to need a longer detail here, as some of the most material will come in more properly in the sequel.

Were co-eval. 2. *NOAH* and *Fo-hi* being contemporary; a point which hath been partly proved by Dr. *Shuckford*[c], but will be more fully so under our last head.

Other remarkable co-incidents. 3. SEVERAL remarkable particulars which *Chinese* history records of *Fo-hi*, and do in a great measure agree with those which *Moses* hath related of *Noah*, are another strong presumption of their being the same person (A).

Opposition between the Chinese *and all other nations.* 4. A FOURTH argument is the vast and almost universal opposition which is found between the *Chinese*, and all other the descendants of *Noah*; particularly with regard to their religion, laws, government, learning, arts, customs, *&c.* and more especially still with respect to their language[d]; from all which it is justly concluded, that they must have been a different people from those who were dispersed soon after the building of the tower of *Babel*, among whom there still remained a sufficient conformity in all the above-mentioned re-

[c] Connection, part 1. p. 102. [d] BAYER Gramm. Sinic. & Music. Sinic. KERCHER Chin. Illustr. LE COMPTE, MARTINI, & al. plur. WEB Primitive Language, SHUCKFORD, &c.

(A) Thus *Fo-hi* is affirmed by the *Chinese* to have had no father; and *Noah*, all whose ancestors perished by the flood, being the first patriarch of the postdiluvian world, stands there as if he had no father, no mention being made of any in the *Chinese* annals. 2. *Fo-hi*'s mother is said to have been impregnated by the rainbow; a conceit most probably arising from its being given by God as a pledge to *Noah* and his posterity (1); and agreeable enough to the imperfect notion which the *Chinese* retained of that phænomenon. 3. *Fo-hi* is said to have carefully bred up seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme Spirit of heaven and earth. *Noah* is affirmed by *Moses* to have taken into the ark of every clean beast, and fowl of the air, by sevens, and to have offered them up a burnt-offering unto the Lord (2). Lastly, The *Chinese* derive the name of *Fo-hi* from his oblations (3); and *Moses* gives *Noah* his name on account of the grant which God made to him in consequence of his offering (4).

(1) *Genes.* ix. 13. (2) *Ibid.* vii. 2. (3) *See Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.* (4) *Genes.* viii. 20, *& seq. See also Antient Hist. vol.* p. 261. *& seq.*

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ſpects to help one to trace them to their common original: for if all the difficulties that are raiſed againſt the poſſibility of *Noah*'s leading a colony into *China*, and founding a monarchy there[e], long before his death, can be effectually removed, as we hope they will in the ſequel, what can be more rationally inferred from this ſurpriſing difference between the *Chineſe* and all other nations, than that the good old patriarch, finding his authority too ſmall to deter the greateſt part of his deſcendants, grown by that time too numerous and untractable to be deterred from their deteſtable deſign of fortifying themſelves againſt the power of Heaven (B), wiſely ſeparated himſelf from them; and, taking as many with him as abhorred that impious conſpiracy, led them far enough eaſtwards to be out of the danger of being involved in the puniſhment which he had cauſe to fear would quickly fall on thoſe rebellious miſcreants; till, by ſlow and gradual migrations, he at length reached ſome of the northern provinces of *China*. This ſuppoſition, which we ſhall endeavour to back in the ſequel with much ſtronger proofs, will then eaſily account not only for the vaſt difference between the *Chineſe* and the reſt of the world, but likewiſe for the ſingular contempt they have ever had for all other nations; their interdicting all commerce and intercourſe with them; their ſhutting up the entrance into their dominions againſt all ſtrangers, unleſs by way of ambaſſy; and their forbidding their natives to go into foreign countries, without the emperor's permiſſion, leſt their religion, laws, and cuſtoms, ſhould become corrupted by ſuch intermixtures. Now, if the impious conſpiracy abovementioned be allowed a ſufficient cauſe for *Noah*'s ſeparating himſelf and ſmall colony from the reſt of his rebellious off-

Noah ſeparates himſelf from his offspring at Babel.

Reaſons why the Chineſe differ from other people.

[e] See Antient Hiſtory, vol. xx. p. 111, & ſeq.

(B) It muſt be obſerved, that ſome commentators and bold critics have given themſelves ſome pains, not only to palliate, but even to commend that action as a very laudable one, and as intending no more than the building a kind of metropolis, which might be as the centre of their future empire, and a citadel which might be ſtrong enough for its defence (5). It plainly appears, however, from the whole tenor of the *Moſaic* account, particularly from his introducing the Divine Providence as expreſly deſcending from heaven to view and blaſt their enterpriſe, that it muſt have been of a more malignant nature, and calculated to defend themſelves againſt a ſecond deluge. But of this we ſhall find a proper occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſequel.

(5) *Vide Toſtat. Peirer. Le Clerc, & al. in Geneſ.* xi.

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ſpring (and a more rational and laudable one cannot well be imagined); then it will be no longer a wonder that the religion, laws, government, *&c.* which he eſtabliſhed in his new monarchy, which were, without all doubt, the ſame which he received from the antediluvian patriarchs, ſhould be in all reſpects ſo oppoſite to thoſe of a mutinous crew, whom the Divine Providence had thrown into a ſtate of confuſion and anarchy; and, being diſperſed over different parts of the world, and ſplit into various governments, rather ſought how to enlarge their dominions by fraud and force, than how to ſettle the old patriarchal religion and government among them; for this plainly appears to have been the caſe of all the monarchies which were formed after the general diſperſion at *Babel*, whilſt the empire of *China* alone, by their cloſe adherence to, and improvements on, the old patriarchal maxims of religion and government, lived in plenty and ſecurity, promoted all the uſeful arts and ſciences, and rather ſtrove to cultivate their own territories to the beſt advantage, than to enlarge them at the expence of their own peace and happineſs. As to the difference of their language, it muſt of courſe be expected to have been ſtill greater, if we ſuppoſe *Noah* and his colony to have ſeparated themſelves from the reſt before the confuſion at *Babel*. Accordingly we find ſo little affinity between the *Chineſe* and thoſe tongues that were formed juſt before the diſperſion, that it is juſtly, and on all accounts, allowed to carry the marks of an undoubted priority to them; ſo that nothing can be more extravagant than to ſearch out for any of the roots of the latter out of the former, ſeeing the more it differs from all the reſt, eſpecially as it bears ſuch viſible marks of a primitive one, the fairer it bids for being that of *Noah*, and of the antediluvian world.

And moſtly in their language.

5. For, if this prodigious difference between the *Chineſe* and all other nations be ſuch a ſtrong argument of their being originally a diſtinct people from them, as hath been fully proved by the generality of *Chineſe* writers, and other learned pens; and if no properer time or occaſion can be probably aſſigned for this ſeparation, than the conſpiracy above-mentioned at the tower of *Babel* [f], what other part can we reaſonably ſuppoſe the good old patriarch to have acted on ſuch a juncture, than firſt to uſe all his rhetoric and authority to diſſuade and deter them from it; and, when he found it to prove ineffectual, to abandon thoſe wretches to their deſtiny, and ſave himſelf, and his ſmall number of adherents, from it, by leading them into ſome of the remoteſt climates from thoſe

Reaſons for Noah's *ſeparating himſelf from his deſcendants.*

[f] See Gen. xi. 3, & ſeq.

curſed

curſed plains, and ſettling them in ſome more peaceful abode, where they might quietly enjoy the fruits of their piety, and the benefit of his farther inſtructions? This will at once ſufficiently account for the vaſt difference above-mentioned between his own colony and the reſt of his offspring, that is, for the primitive ſimplicity and purity preſerved in the former, and the exceſſive depravity of the latter; and likewiſe for *Moſes*'s ſurpriſing ſilence concerning the remainder of the good old patriarch's life, whoſe name is not ſo much as mentioned by *Moſes*, in the ſequel of his hiſtory, except where he acquaints us with the year in which he died; which ſeems plainly to imply, that he wholly withdrew himſelf from the reſt of his deſcendants: for, had he continued ſtill among any of them after the general diſperſion, is it credible that the inſpired hiſtorian would have let him ſink ſo ſoon into utter oblivion, whilſt he is ſo particular in his account of the migrations and ſettlements of his three ſons, and their numerous deſcendants? But there may be ſtill aſſigned a more powerful reaſon why *Moſes* concealed this remarkable particular from the *Jewiſh* nation, if not rather for God's concealing it from him; *viz.* to prevent any intercourſe between thoſe two nations, which might in time not only degenerate into a ſuperſtitious veneration for the ſepulchre of that patriarch (for this ſeems to be the very motive why the Divine Providence took ſuch care to have that of the *Jewiſh* lawgiver altogether unknown) †; but much more ſtill to prevent their contracting ſuch a fondneſs and admiration for the purity and ſimplicity of the *Chineſe* worſhip, as might inſpire them with ſome ſtrong and invincible diſlike againſt the great number of rites and ceremonies which he, for very wiſe ends, was going to impoſe upon them.

China peopled very early.

VI. ANOTHER proof that *China* muſt have been peopled by ſome ſuch early colony as we are ſpeaking of, is, that it plainly appears to have been not only inhabited, but very populous, much ſooner than it can be ſuppoſed to have been by any other of *Noah*'s deſcendants after the general diſperſion: had any of theſe, whether *Tubal*, *Meſhech*, or any other, been the firſt peoplers of the *Chineſe* empire, as they are allowed to have been of the north-eaſtern parts of *Tartary*, conſidering the length and difficulty of the way, and the ſlowneſs of their migrations, which were chiefly occaſioned through want of room in proportion to their gradual multiplying, not only the kingdoms moſt contiguous to *Shi-*

† See Deuter. xxxiv. 6. See alſo Ant. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 444, & (I).

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naar, as *Babylon*, *Persia*, &c. but a great number of countries to the eastward of it, must be supposed to have swarmed with inhabitants before they could have reached, or at least before they could have tolerably peopled, any of the *Chinese* provinces; for this plainly appears to have been the case of the north-eastern *Tartary*, which we have formerly shewn was thinly peopled even so late as the time of *Madyes*'s expedition into *Asia* *. But that this was not by any means that of *China*, and other eastern tracts, may be easily inferred from that noble resistance which they made against the prodigious armies of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: for though we should, as we justly may, suppose the accounts of it to have been greatly exaggerated by antient historians [z]; yet, as we have no reason to think them more so on one side than on the other, we may still safely conclude both the invaders and invaded to have been upon a par; and that the latter were strong and numerous enough to repel the forces of the former, whether or no they were really so many as they have been represented. Nothing, therefore, can so fully account for those remote eastern parts being so well inhabited and populous at such early times, as the supposition of some such colony, whether under *Noah*, or any other chief, separating themselves from the rest, either before or about the time of the dispersion, and marching still directly eastward, till they settled themselves there in about a century or two after.

Their early armies against Ninus.

How much more than probable such a supposition is, will be made to appear more fully still under several of the subsequent heads: at present we shall content ourselves with observing what double advantage such a colony, how small soever in its first beginning (C), must have had over all the other people of

Double advantages over all the rest.

* See before, Ant. Hist. lib. xx. p. 5, & seq. 110, & seq.

[z] D. Sicul. l. ii. Justin, l. i.

(C) By that expression the reader may observe, that we purposely avoid entering into a too nice disquisition, whether *Noah* had any sons after the flood; and, if he had, whether they only, or any number of his other descendants, accompanied him eastward.

As to the first, though *Moses* makes no mention of any, probably for the reason already given, yet the *Chinese* records give him a numerous issue; in which they agree with the *Pseudo-Berosus*, who makes them to amount to thirty, whom he styles *Titanes*, a word which implies no more than easterlings, or people settled in the eastern parts of the world; it being derived, as we have formerly shewn, from the old *Celtic Ti*, and *tan*, which, in that language

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of the dispersion, with regard to its growth, in number, strength, and opulence; for, as they were united into one body, and under one head, their strength, and capacity of promoting the welfare of the whole, was greater in proportion than that of the rest of mankind, who were soon split into so many governments, as must of course greatly diminish their power. 2. They lived in peace and plenty, in a rich and fruitful country, and under an excellent climate and government; and so could propagate and multiply much faster than those, who, besides their being less happily situated, were ever warring against and depopulating one another.

The dispute about the two Ararats *of no consequence in this case.*

VII. FROM what hath been hitherto said of *Noah*'s separating himself from the rest of his descendants, either a little before, or soon after, the confusion of *Babel*, the reader may easily conclude of how little import the much disputed point, whether the *Ararat* of *Armenia*, or that of *India*, be that on which the ark rested, is to our present argument. The latter, which is that of Dr. *Shuckford*, makes indeed that patriarch's migration into *China* much easier and shorter; but the former, which is the most commonly received, is far enough from making it appear so impracticable and absurd as is pretended by those on the opposite side: for, if he and his descendants could travel from the *Armenian Ararat* to the plain of *Shinaar* in about 70 years (D), by which time they were grown

guage, signifies the house of fire †; a very proper and significant expression for the sun, from whence that of *Titanoi*, or *Titanes*, was commonly given to those people who were seated nearest to the sun-rising.

As to the second point, we think it highly probable, that not only *Noah*'s postdiluvian sons, but a much greater number of his other descendants, chose to follow him into the east, rather than join in the impious design of their brethren: but let the number of his followers have been ever so small, yet the 200 years, which, we shall shew in the sequel, he and they took up in travelling from *Shinaar* to *China*, were more than sufficient to enable him to bring thither a numerous and powerful colony enough to found his new empire upon; considering the then great increase of mankind, their longevity, health, vigour, and other advantages they enjoyed above the rest of the dispersed tribes, from whom they separated themselves.

(D) The dispersion is said by *Moses* to have happened about the 100th year of the flood, out of which number less than thirty cannot be supposed to have been taken up in hatching, ripening, and executing, the impious design that occasioned it,

† *See before, Ant. Hist. vol.* vi. *p.* 6.

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numerous and ſtubborn enough to form that conſpiracy, where can be the impoſſibility, or even unlikelihood, of their reaching to the frontiers of *China* in a much leſs time than the 250 years which he lived after the diſperſion? Add to this, that as, in his firſt migration from *Ararat* to *Shinaar*, it doth not appear that he had any other inducement for it but the change of paſture and climate, ſo his journies might be made as leiſurely as he pleaſed; whereas in his ſecond, from *Shinaar* to *China*, he haſted away from a crew of determinate rebels, bent on their own ruin, from whom he could not part too ſoon, nor go too far, to avoid ſharing in their puniſhment. However, though we ſeem thus far to give up the point in favour of the *Armenian Ararat*, we are ſo far from looking upon the main argument inſiſted upon in proof of it, *viz.* the ſons of *Sennacherib* fleeing thither for refuge, to be at all concluſive on that ſide, that we think it might with much more reaſon be urged on the other; and that the vicinity of *Armenia* to *Aſſyria*, if it was not then ſubject, or at leaſt tributary to it, would never have permitted two ſuch ſacrilegious parricides to flee thither for ſanctuary, or to raiſe forces for their own ſafety; eſpecially if we conſider that, in their flight from *Nineveh* thither, they muſt be forced to croſs over too conſiderable a part of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and be in continual danger of being ſeized: whereas by ſteering their courſe towards the north-eaſt, or towards the other *Ararat*, they could be much ſooner out of thoſe dominions, and be in greater ſafety when got to their journey's end. We beg leave here likewiſe to add, that the argument urged by Dr. *Shuckford* in favour of the *Indian Ararat*, from *Moſes*'s expreſſion of the builders of *Babel*'s tower coming מִקֶּדֶם from the eaſt [h], is far enough from being ſatisfactorily anſwered by the oppoſite ſide [i]; and that the induction of one or two doubtful parallels, allowed to be irregular, ungrammatical, and ungeographical, and which is the only one in the whole Old Teſtament in which the particle מִן appears to bear a different ſenſe, is not a ſufficient authority to determine in any other caſe that is free from thoſe defects.

Armenian Ararat not a ſafe place for Sennacherib's murderers to flee to.

The argument drawn from their coming from the eaſt not ſufficiently anſwered.

[h] Geneſ. xi. 2. [i] See Antient Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 116.

the procuring the proper materials, and the rearing of their ſtupendous edifice to ſome conſiderable height; ſo that the lateſt they can be ſuppoſed to have come to the plain of *Shinaar* muſt be about the 70th year after the flood (6).

(6) *Geneſ.* xi. 1, & *ſeq.* *See alſo Uſher's Annals on that year.*

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In the parallel inſiſted upon, the geography of the place plainly ſhews, that, in the words *Mikeddem*, the particle *mem* cannot ſignify, as it every-where properly doth, *from*, but rather *to*, or *towards* (E); but, in the other caſe, the point from which thoſe builders ſet out, whether from the eaſtern or weſtern *Ararat*, being the matter in diſpute, muſt be determined by ſome better proof than that; and the learned Mr. *Baſnage* was ſo far from being ſatisfied, that, in this laſt caſe, the words *Mikeddem* might be taken to ſignify *towards the eaſt*, notwithſtanding the parallel above-mentioned, that, to avoid giving them ſuch an unnatural and ungrammatical ſenſe, he has made thoſe builders to fetch a wide compaſs about, from *Armenia* to *Meſopotamia*, in order to bring them from the eaſt into the plain of *Shinaar*. The truth is, that thoſe learned pens, who have declared in favour of the *Armenian Ararat*, have endeavoured to overwhelm their antagoniſts with a confuſed heap of teſtimonies from antient authors, geographers, lexicographers, hiſtorians, *&c. Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arab*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, which have lived a vaſt number of centuries one after the other, and all of them at ſome thouſand years after the flood; to ſay nothing of the pretended antient arts, relics, common tradition, medals, and other ſuch precarious arguments, as if their number could be of any deciſive authority in a point of that remote antiquity, and make up in bulk what is wanting in evidence; altho' the greateſt part of them have been ſince ſo effectually confuted,

(E) This we ſay upon the ſuppoſition that the *Hebrew* word was originally ſo written; whereas, from the well known ſituation of the places, one would be apter to ſuppoſe it to be an error of the tranſcriber, who miſtook a ב for a מ, and wrote *Mikeddem*, from the eaſt, inſtead of *Bikeddem*, into or towards the eaſt; ſuch overſights not being unfrequent in the books of the Old Teſtament. This plainly appears from the inſtances mentioned by *Baſnage* (1) out of the book of *Kings* (2), compared with the parallel text in the *Chronicles* (3); and that in the former, where *David* is ſaid to have gone to *Baal-Jehuda*, to fetch the ark from thence, the grammar requires it to have been originally written בבעלי, *Bebaale*, inſtead of מבעלי, *Mibehale*, that is, the particle ב inſtead of מ, or *to* inſtead of *from*.

If we ſhould be aſked why the ſame error may not have crept in both, as well as in one of the texts? we can only ſay, that we ſhall be ready to acknowlege the poſſibility of it, when the one can be proved as ungrammatical and ungeographical as the other; neither of which can be ſaid of that which we are now upon.

(1) *Antiq. Judaiq. tom.* ii. *c.* 1. § 19. (2) *Kings* vi. 2. (3) 1 *Chron.* xiii. 6.

that

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that there is just reason to wonder they should appear afresh in print †.

So that, for any thing that hath hitherto been urged on either side, though we readily own that the *Armenian Ararat* is commonly meant by the sacred historians in most places where that word occurs, yet the *Indian* may still be that on which the ark rested, if they are not indeed only parts of one and the same continued ridge, reaching quite from *Armenia* to *India*.

The difficulties laid in their way ill grounded.

VIII. NEITHER need we here be much deterred at the insurmountable difficulties which are thrown in *Noah*'s way to *China*, whether he set out from *Shinaar*, *Armenia*, or *India*. Those pretended impenetrable forests, long and insurmountable ridges of mountains, and vast sandy deserts, which lie now between them, are mere illusions, which could have no being so soon after the deluge, to whatever cause they might owe it afterwards: for, 1. With regard to those monstrous forests, the whole globe must be supposed to have been too well peopled at the time of the flood to have any room for such wild plantations; or, if any such there had been, they must have been all pulled up by the roots by the violence of the waves which covered the whole surface of the earth. 2. As to the long and high ridges of mountains which lay in the way, what insurmountable difficulties can we imagine there could be in going over them, if we rightly consider the condition they must have been in immediately after the flood, and during some centuries beyond, that is, with their vallies filled and choaked up with a thick incrustated mud, which everywhere subsided after the waters were dried up? Can we call a gradual declivity on both sides, covered with a pleasant continued verdure, an insurmountable difficulty? for this is all that can be supposed those mountains could then present, to obstruct those travellers journey, till the rains and the rivers, which sprang from the tops, had gradually washed away all that mud and earth; which could hardly be done till some centuries after.

No forests,

inaccessible mountains,

nor sandy deserts, so soon after the flood.

THE same may be said, 3dly, of those now unpassable deserts, whose sands must, by their own weight, have subsided under such a thick crust of the same mud and earth, as nothing but a vast length of time could wash away, or sink through them. If such, then, was the surface of the earth for a much longer number of years than were sufficient for *Noah* and his colony to have reached the *Chinese* territories,

† See Ant. Hist. vol. xx. p. 113, & seq. BASNAG. Antiquit. Judaic. vol. ii. c. 2. § 20, & seq.

though

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though they had set out even from *Armenia*; or for his descendants to have marched from the *Bactrian* hills to the plains of *Shinaar*, as Dr. *Shuckford* supposes; is it not a mere illusion to lay such pretended insurmountable obstructions in their way, as were not in being till some centuries after, and then represent such journies as absurd, monstrous, and against the nature of things? But,

IX. THERE was still an easier and speedier way for *Noah* and his colony to have reached *China*, namely, by water. He could not so soon have forgot the structure of the ark, which had preserved him in a more perilous navigation; so that, upon his meeting, in his way from either place, either with the *Indus*, *Ganges*, or any other large river, which he could not but conclude must disembogue itself into some sea, or large reservoir, he had nothing to do but to fit out a sufficient number of vessels for himself and company, and sail down it, and thence steer his course as nearly as he could eastward, till some milder climate than those sultry ones he had left behind, or the prospect of some pleasant and fertile coasts, invited him to the shore. He might also proceed farther into the country, either by land, or by the help of some of those noble rivers with which *China* abounds, till he met with a settlement to his liking; the farther from his other descendants the better, and more out of danger of their disturbing his new colony. What would almost determine us to conclude that this was the way which that patriarch took to come into that country, is, that the *Chinese*, and their descendants, are the only people in all the known world, who, in the fabricature of their trading vessels, have kept strictly up to the original model of the ark, as will be shewn more fully under a subsequent article. But if the *Chinese* tradition be rather followed, which tells us, that *Fo-hi* first settled in some of the northern provinces, which are at a great distance from the sea-coasts, it will be more probable that he came thither all the way by land, unless we will suppose that he first landed on some of the southern coasts; and, either for conveniency or safety, removed farther northward, till the vast high mountains which divide that part of *China* from *Tartary*, appeared to him a sufficient barrier to secure him, on that, from any invasion or disturbance from the other side.

Noah might get to China by water.

As none of the suppositions above-mentioned can appear otherwise than rational and feasible (especially if we can, as we doubt not to do, remove all the other objections urged against *Noah*'s being really cotemporary with *Fo-hi*, and consequently more probably the same with him), the only difficulty remaining with respect to the point in hand will be, how that

How he came to steer so right.

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that patriarch, who muſt of courſe be ſuppoſed to have been but very little acquainted with the nature, form, and ſuperficies, of the poſtdiluvian world, particularly with reſpect to its different zones, climates, ſoil, air, *&c.* came to ſteer his courſe ſo happily and judiciouſly, as to hit upon one of the pleaſanteſt and moſt fertile ſpots in the whole world. To this it may be anſwered, that he might acquire a great part of of that knowlege, by obſerving, as he travelled eaſtward, how parched and barren every ſoil, and how ſultry the climate, the nearer he approached to the ſun, and *vice verſa*; ſo that he could not be long at a loſs how to make the beſt choice. And as to the extraordinary fertility of the country, we have already ſhewn, in the geography of it, that it is more owing to the ingenuity and indefatigable induſtry of the inhabitants, than to the mere natural fecundity of its ſoil or climate. As to the other part of the difficulty, it being raiſed on a wrong ſuppoſition, that the antediluvians had but a very imperfect knowlege of what we call the ſphere, or globe, we ſhall now, in the

The antediluvians maſters of aſtronomy.

TENTH place, make it evidently appear, that whatever not only the antient *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, &c. but even the *Chineſe*, knew of aſtronomy, was, for the moſt part, if not wholly, derived from them. This being a curious point, which hath not hitherto been ſufficiently cleared up, we ſhall beg our reader's patience, if we dwell a little longer upon it, than we have on the former; eſpecially, as the ſurpriſing harmony and uniformity which reign through the fundamentals of their ſeveral ſyſtems, will afford us a farther, and, as we think, a very convincing proof of the *Chineſe* having received their own from no other, but the immediate hand of the patriarch *Noah*, after his ſettling himſelf with them in that country.

Convey it alike to all the poſtdiluvians.

To make this clear, we beg leave to obſerve, that the whole baſis of what the antient nations above-named comprehended, under the notion of aſtronomy, was every-where the ſame, not only with regard to ſuch points as were demonſtrable from obſervation and deductions, but likewiſe to many more, which were altogether arbitrary, and, which is ſtill more ſurpriſing, with reſpect to a much greater number of ſuch as were imaginary, doubtful, and groundleſs, or abſolutely ridiculous and falſe. We ſhall, for the ſake of ſuch of our readers as are not ſo well acquainted with theſe abſtruſe matters, ſubjoin an inſtance or two of each ſort, in the ſubſequent note (E), by which they will eaſily perceive, how early

(E) Among thoſe of the firſt, or demonſtrable, ſort, we may reckon the diviſion of the heaven into zones, and other circles, the

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early the superstitious and ridiculous notions of astrology intermixed themselves with the more useful and noble discoveries in astronomy, among all those antient nations, how separate and distant soever from each other.

NEITHER

the declension of the ecliptic, the distance of the poles from the equator, the course of the sun, moon, and other planets, &c.; of the second, or merely arbitrary, sort, were the division of the ecliptic into twelve signs (whence came the twelve months of the solar year, which we have formerly shewn, from *Moses*'s account of the deluge, were in use as well before as since that time), that of the signs into degrees, and that of the rest of the heavens into constellations, and others of the like nature. Among those of the third, or imaginary, uncertain, or erroneous, kind (which are still more numerous and various, as superstition and falsehood commonly propagate farther and faster than truth), we may reckon the whole tribe of superstitious rules, which make up the astrological art; such as dividing the ecliptic into four triplicities, answerable to the four elements, and allowing three signs to each of them; as, ♈, ♌, and ♐, to the fire; ♉, ♍, and ♑, to the earth; ♊, ♎, and ♒, to the air; and and the remaining three to the water. The assigning to each planet a different nature and influence, as hot, cold, moist, dry, malevolent, or benevolent, as also certain houses, or signs, in which their influence is more more or less strong and powerful; thus, ♄, which is allowed the most malignant of all, hath his night and day-houses, and is reckoned strongest, in ♑ and ♒, is exalted in ♎, detrimented in ♋ and ♌, which are opposite to, or half a circle of 360 degrees distant from, his two houses above-mentioned, and hath his fall in ♈, opposite to the place of his exaltation; ♃, which is allowed the most benevolent of all the seven, hath his two houses in ♐ and ♓, is exalted in ♋, detrimented in ♊ and ♍, and hath his fall in ♑; and so of the rest; only with this difference, that the sun and moon have but one sign, or house, allotted to each of them, whereas the other five planets have each of them two. 3dly. Of the same uncertain or fabulous kinds are the different influences of these planets, according to their aspects to, that is, their distances from, each other; thus, a sextile, or distance of two signs, or sixty degrees, is reckoned good; a square, or three signs, bad; a trine, or four signs, best; and an opposition, or six signs, worst of all. From these various configurations of the planets, and the nature of the signs they chance to be in, and from numberless other rules of their art, equally uncertain, not to say imaginary and fabulous, they pretend that all sublunary affairs are so intirely governed, that not only the conception, birth, life, death, &c. of every living creature, the production, growth, perfection, and virtues, of all vegetables, minerals, &c. but

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How it came to be intermixed with aſtrological figures.

NEITHER were the former confined to a mere ſpeculative theory, or embraced only by a few crazy enthuſiaſts, but taught by the moſt learned, encouraged by the moſt powerful, men in every kingdom, and conſulted by great and ſmall, in the moſt important emergencies. Now there are but two ways to account for this general conformity, both in theory and practice, as well in points of an arbitrary, uncertain, and fallacious, as in thoſe of a more certain and demonſtrable, nature; *viz.* either by ſuppoſing, with ſeveral learned men, that *Adam* was created with a perfect knowlege of the nature, courſes, and influence, of the heavenly bodies, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, by whom it was, in proceſs of time, corrupted with an intermixture of the aſtrological and ſuperſtitious notions mentioned in the laſt note; or elſe, that his deſcendants acquired it, by the help of thoſe frequent obſervations, which their longevity, ſerener atmoſphere, and other advantages, they then enjoyed, enabled them to make, till, in proceſs of time, their degeneracy, and natural propenſity of prying into futurity, ſunk them into all the aſtrological ſuperſtitions we have been ſpeaking of.

Both flowed from the old to the new world.

LET the reader then ſuppoſe which of the two caſes he will, he muſt be ſtill forced to conclude, that the aſtronomical ſciences, as well as the aſtrological ſuperſtitions built upon it, muſt have immediately flowed from the old into the new world: for, had thoſe two ſyſtems been the product of the poſtdiluvian world, they muſt have been both completed, either before the general diſperſion, or ſince. The former is altogether incompatible with their condition ſo ſoon after the deluge, that is with the ſmallneſs of their number, the ſhortneſs of the time, their frequent migrations, and the few opportunities they had of making ſo many exact obſervations on the heavenly bodies, under ſuch diſadvantages.

NEITHER can it poſſibly be ſuppoſed to have been done after the diſperſion; for then, inſtead of that ſurpriſing conformity, which we obſerve to have reigned among all their ſyſtems, as well of aſtrology as aſtronomy, we ſhould have met with nothing but the wideſt difference between them; at leaſt, this muſt have been the caſe among nations ſo vaſtly

but the riſe and fall, good or or ill fate, of empires and countries, good and bad ſeaſons, wars, peſtilence, drought, famine, and, in a word, all the good and evil which happen in this world, is intirely owing to them, and may be foreſeen, and foretold by that pretended art, in which the aſtrologers of all nations followed almoſt the very ſame rules; and, from all which, we cannot but of courſe conclude, that they muſt all have received them from the ſelf-ſame hands.

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diſtant from each other, with regard to the arbitrary points, and all the imaginary and groundleſs parts of their ſeveral aſtrological ſyſtems, whatever agreement there might be in thoſe more demonſtrable ones of their aſtronomy. And as for the *Chineſe*, as they were the moſt diſtant from, as well as leaſt converſant with, the reſt, they muſt, of courſe, have differed more widely from them all; whereas, by all that we can judge from their antient writings, either in the aſtronomical or aſtrological way, they plainly appear to agree with them in all the fundamental rules of both, whether of theory or practice. From all which, we may fairly conclude, that they, as well as the reſt of the eaſtern nations, muſt have received them from *Noah* and his three ſons, ſome time before either he ſeparated himſelf from them, to go eaſtward, or they were diſperſed from one another. But how inconſiſtent this is with the contrary ſuppoſition, of *China* not being peopled till ſome long ſeries of years, or rather ages, after the flood, let the reader judge.

The Chineſe received their's from Noah.

How the aſtrological came ſo ſoon to intermix itſelf with the aſtronomical part, we ſhall endeavour to account for in the ſequel; but, with relation to the latter, we beg leave to add, that nothing can more plainly evince their having received it from the antediluvians, than the little progreſs and improvements they made in it afterwards: for, can it be imagined, that the few men who were then in the world, by the mere ſtrength of their genius, and by the help of the few occaſional obſervations they made within the ſhort ſpace, which elapſed from the flood to the general diſperſion, could be able to compile ſo exact and excellent a ſyſtem of the heavenly bodies, and yet not be able, in a much greater number of ages, to raiſe it to any higher perfection? And yet nothing more clearly demonſtrates this, than the great ignorance we find all thoſe nations in, till we come to the time of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, concerning the cauſe, and method of calculating, of eclipſes, and the jejune hypotheſis of epicycles, by which they pretended to ſolve the ſwift and ſlow, the ſtationary and retrograde, courſes, which they obſerved the inferior planets to move in; which epicycles, however ſtrange and irregular, did yet paſs current among all the old aſtronomers, till within theſe two centuries, when the *Copernican* ſyſtem opened their eyes to a more ſatisfactory ſolution of that, and other puzzling phænomena, of the *Ptolemaic*.

The ſlow and ſmall progreſs of aſtronomy after the flood.

The reaſon of this univerſal neglect of aſtronomy, appears plainly to be their fondneſs for aſtrology; and that their learned only ſtudied the former, for the ſake of diving deeper, or, at leaſt, of being thought ſo to do, into the pretended myſteries of

The chief cauſe of it.

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of the latter; and, as this was the most encouraged, and sought after by the great ones, and, of course, the most gainful to the professors, it is no wonder they should neglect the other, though the more noble and useful, for the sake of that. The *Chinese*, equally wrapped up with the same superstition, are the only antient nation that pretends to have made any considerable improvements in it, and to have found out the art of calculating eclipses, from the earliest times; and yet we have sufficiently shewn, in a former section, that all this boasted skill consisted rather in a diligent and curious observation, and recording of these, and other heavenly phænomena, than in foretelling them. In the former, no nation was more careful and exact; but that their skill fell vastly short with respect to the latter, plainly appears from their being wholly ignorant of the above-mentioned irregularity of the motion of the inferior planets; insomuch, that they never took any notice of it, much less did they ever attempt to account for it, either by the supposition of epicycles, or by any other way, till the whole matter was unravelled to them by the *European* missionaries [m].

The boasted skill of the Chinese *uncertain.*

Consisted rather in observing than in calculateing.

THE sum and substance of what hath been said, under this tenth head, is briefly this:

1. THAT the exact harmony which we have observed to reign between the astronomy and astrology of the *Chinese*, and that of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and other antient and far distant nations, from them, not only in demonstrable, but in arbitrary, uncertain, imaginary, and erroneous, points, is an evident proof of its being derived to them all from *Noah*, and his three sons, as it was to these from the antediluvian world.

2. THAT all this great variety, both of true astronomical knowlege, and of astrological superstition, could neither be preserved by mere strength of memory, nor conveyed by bare oral tradition (F), but plainly supposes those antediluvians to have

Antediluvians had some sort of writing.

[m] See Father GAUBIL's Remarks in DU HALDE, Engl. part ii. p. 129.

(F) It is, indeed, hardly to be supposed, that they could preserve, much less convey, the ideas of such a great number of circles, lines, &c. as compose the celestial sphere, together with the signs of the zodiac, and all the other constellations, without some such method as we are speaking of; especially, if we take in the names, nature, magnitude, situation, distance, &c. of those fixed stars that compose each constellation. With respect to

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have had ſome better helps, whether by painting, delineating, engraving, cutting in wood, ſtone, or metal, or by ſome other way, near equivalent to our writing or printing. The age of the world, and the longevity, vigour, and other advantages mankind then enjoyed, will not permit us to doubt of their being capable of making ſome ſuch inconſiderable diſcovery, for preſerving and communicating their knowlege; and the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the original *Chineſe* characters [n], which they boaſt to have received from their founder, makes it highly probable, that the art of writing was at leaſt brought to that low pitch about the time of the deluge. If ſo, then it will as probaby follow, that *Noah*, who had lived to ſee the greateſt improvements made either in that, or any other branch of learning, ſpent ſome time in that long 100 years warning, which God had given him of the approaching deluge, in collecting and ſecuring the beſt of theſe monuments, for his own and his poſterity's uſe and inſtruction, and eſteemed them as the moſt valuable relics of the old world. *The beſt records preſerved by* Noah.

ACCORDINGLY, we are told, by *Joſephus* *, that *Seth* firſt began to reduce aſtronomy into a regular ſyſtem, which was gradually improved by his deſcendants, down to the time of the deluge; which they might the more eaſily do, conſidering their extraordinary longevity, paſtoral life, ſerene ſky, and other advantages, already named. *Noah*, who was heir to all their diſcoveries, and, without doubt, added many con-

[n] See them deſcribed in Ant. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 133. * JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. & ſeq.

to theſe laſt, we are told (6), that ſome antient *Chineſe* maps exhibit a number of them; which, though not viſible to the naked eye, are yet found in their proper places (allowing for their progreſſive motion), by the help of a good teleſcope, an inſtrument which doth not appear to have been known in *China* before the coming of the *European* miſſionaries thither. But whether theſe ſtars were diſcovered by the antediluvians, who, probably, enjoyed a better ſight, and, doubtleſs, a clearer atmoſphere, or whether, ſince the flood, by any other inſtruments unknown to us, is not in our power to divine. We are indeed told, by *Diod. Siculus*, on the authority of *Hecateus*, that the antient druids made uſe of ſome ſuch inſtruments, by which they could draw the moon ſo near, that they could perceive ſeas, mountains, *&c.* in it. But if the *Chineſe* had ever any of that kind, they have ſince quite loſt all remembrance of them (7).

(6) *Vide Father Kepler ap. Du Halde, Engl. vol.* ii. *p.* 130. (7) *Father Gaubil ap. eund. ibid. p.* 129.

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siderable ones of his own, all which he took care to communicate to his three sons, is, on that account, rightly supposed to be the *Atlas* of the heathen writers. His descendants so far imitated his example, as to be able to make some very considerable observations on the planetary system; particularly, that remarkable one which is recorded by those two celebrated astronomers of antiquity, *Adrastus Cyzicenus* and *Dio. Neapolites*, to have happened in the planet *Venus*, in the reign of *Ogyges*, when that luminous planet was observed to have received a very great change in its course, magnitude, colour, figure, &c. This singular phænomenon is likewise mentioned by *Castor*, and from him by *Varro*, and from them by St. *Augustin* †. It is true, none of the afore-mentioned authors tell us in which of the *Ogyges's* reigns it happened; but it is commonly supposed to have been that who is surnamed *Priscus*, and is reckoned to be the same with the Patriarch *Noah*; and that this wonderful change was occasioned by the vicinity of that planet to the earth, at the time of the general deluge ‡; which is highly probable, considering, that she is nearest of all the seven to the earth, except the moon; and that, during the ten months in which the waters prevailed on the globe's surface, she came at least three times to her apogee, or greatest nearness to it; so that it can hardly be supposed, but that she must have received some very considerable change, or impression, from the vast atmosphere of fluid that then surrounded it on all sides, and much more so still, as often as she came in conjunction with the moon. Which being granted, doth plainly shew, not only how soon after the flood they began to make such curious observations on the planetary system, but likewise that they must have received the theory of them much earlier, *viz.* from the antediluvians, otherwise they could never have taken notice of this surprising change, in so many particulars as are above-mentioned. *Origen* accordingly tells us, that there had been found in *Arabia Felix* several manuscript copies, mostly treating of astronomy, which were universally allowed to have been transmitted to the new world by *Noah*; and *Tertullian*, who had seen, and read, some of them, assures us, that they were written on that subject; though, as we may probably suppose, not without some intermixture of the then reigning astrological stuff, foisted in by the transcribers of them.

HENCE those who kept close to, and were most conversant with, that patriarch, must, of course, have received a double

† AUGUSTIN. Civit. Dei, l. 21. c. 8. ‡ See BURNET's Theory, WARREN's Geologia, & al.

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advantage by it, above thoſe that diſperſed themſelves from him; for, in the firſt place, though it be reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he imparted his knowlege to them all alike, yet the latter being forced, after the diſperſion, to ſuſpend that ſtudy whilſt they went in ſearch of new ſettlements, and ſoon after that in the purſuit of their frequent wars againſt each other, that ſcience muſt have ſuffered no ſmall decay; whereas the former, whom we ſtyle *Noah*'s eaſtern colony, had not only the conſtant uſe of his valuable records, but likewiſe the benefit of his expoſitions and lectures, both during their peregrination, and after their ſettlement in *China*; ſo that it is no wonder that they ſhould make ſo much earlier a progreſs in it than the reſt of the world: and accordingly the *Chineſe* annals tell us that *Fo-hi* laid the firſt foundation of that, and other arts and ſciences, and that his four or five immediate ſucceſſors (G) brought them gradually to the perfection they were raiſed to afterwards °, till the arrival of the *Europeans* among them.

The great advantage his colony received from them and him.

BUT, 2dly, there was ſtill a much greater advantage which they reaped from the leſſons and example of the good old patriarch above all his other deſcendants, namely, that it preſerved them from falling into the horrid idolatries which the reſt gradually ſunk into; for though, like all other antient nations, the *Chineſe* aſcribed ſome particular influences to the heavenly bodies, to which all ſublunary things were in ſome meaſure ſubject (H); yet neither they, nor their deſcendants, ever degenerated ſo far as to worſhip them, till after ſeveral cen-

° See their ſeveral reigns in MARTINI, DU HALDE, and others.

(G) Theſe five laſt we ſhall prove in the ſequel on the authority of our *Hebrew* chronology, to have been cotemporary with *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Amram*, *Levi*, and *Moſes*.

(H) What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that they, as well as all the other antient nations, ſhould ſo unanimouſly agree in aſcribing ſuch particular influences to the very conſtellations, which, being no other than a colluvies of fixed ſtars of different natures, magnitudes, diſtances, &c. circumſcribed within certain limits or lines, ſo as to repreſent in ſome meaſure the creatures whoſe names they bear, can, at beſt, be ſuppoſed, when thus arbitrarily joined into one ſign or figure, to acquire a new virtue, in the ſame manner as a certain quantity of medicinal drugs of various natures do, when jumbled together in one compound: and yet we find this unaccountable influence not only acknowleged by all the antient aſtronomers, but even

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centuries, that is, till 64 years after Christ, when the accursed heresy of *Fo* was accidentally brought thither from *India*, and with it an inundation of the most abominable idolatries, but which are nevertheless held in the greatest abhorrence to this very time by all their philosophers, literati, and better sort of people.

FROM what hath been observed under the last article, one may be enabled to make a probable conjecture at the nature of the epidemical sin which occasioned the destruction of the old, and the so speedy dispersion of the new, race of mankind. The former, we have shewn, were infected with the absurd notion of the heavenly bodies having a considerable influence over all sublunary events: from this they might gradually degenerate into that of their being the only directors

taken particular notice of in the book of *Job* (8), where the Almighty being introduced, by the inspired writer, as making express mention of their virtues, would incline a serious person to think that notion better founded, than the almost infinite distance of those bodies seems to admit of.

The words of our version, though short of the energy of the original, run thus: *Canst thou bind* (prevent, or restrain) *the sweet influence of the* Pleiades, *or let loose the bands of* Orion? *Canst thou bring forth* Mazzaroth *in his season, or guide* Arcturus, *with his sons? Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven, or how to appoint them their dominion over the earth?* How far our version hath hit the right names of these constellations, is out of our province to inquire; the reader may consult the commentators about it, and more particularly the curious dissertation published by the learned Mr. *Coster*, of *Oxford*, on that subject. It is enough for us that the *Hebrew* words *Chezid*, *Mazzaroth*, *Hay*, &c. are agreed to signify some certain constellations; and that the terms of binding, loosing, *&c.* imply some kind of peculiar virtue or influence belonging to them, by the appointment of their all-wise Creator. And thus far all nations might agree in general; but that they should all be so unanimous in assigning to each its proper influence, can hardly be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing that they all received the same theory from one person, that is, from *Noah*. In which case it will be equally difficult to conceive how the *Chinese*, the most remote from, and unacquainted with, the rest of the world, should retain so great a share of it in common with them, if not led and settled there under him. Had their country been peopled by the same latter colonies that peopled north-east *Tartary*, they would have been quite as ignorant of astronomy and other sciences as they, instead of cultivating and improving, as they did, from the beginning of their monarchy.

(8) *Ch.* xxxviii. 31, *& seq.*

and

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and governors of this lower world, and consequently the only objects of their worship; than which notion, nothing could be more capable of sinking them into that universal corruption and degeneracy, in which the deluge overtook them [p]. We must, however, here except the righteous line of *Seth*, among whom alone the true religion, that is, the belief of an over-ruling Providence, was still preserved; the last of whom were *Noah* and his sons, who were on that account reserved to replenish the new world with a more hopeful progeny. However, it but too plainly appears, that these three last were not all perfectly cured, by that severe punishment, from the antediluvian contagion, since it so quickly raged afresh, and infected the greatest part of this new offspring in less than seventy years after the flood: for what else could they mean by building such a monstrous high tower, but to secure themselves against a second deluge? and what should put such a wild and impious notion into their heads, but a firm persuasion, agreeable to the antediluvian belief above-mentioned, that, as the first was caused by the power and influence of the stars and planets in some certain configuration, so the same might again, or would most likely, happen whenever these heavenly bodies came to meet again in the same position †. It is true, they had an express promise and assurance to the contrary from God himself [q]; and no doubt the good old patriarch took care to urge that, and all other proper topics, to deter them from that wicked enterprise; but the catastrophe shews how little regard they paid to either, or even to the punishment that so closely followed their rebellion, seeing they had not been long dispersed from one another, before we find them all alike immersed in the old idolatry, and the worshipping of the sun, moon, and stars, and all the hosts of heaven, whilst even the bare notion of an over-ruling Providence seems to have been quite extinguished among them.

Preserved from sinking into idolatry.

The old superstition not quite extinct among the rest.

XI. This consideration affords us another probable argument of *Noah* being the *Chineze Fo-hi*, and planting his colony there; namely, the just and constant idea which that nation hath religiously preserved, not only during a long series of ages, but doth still to this day among their philosophers and better sort of people, of a divine over-ruling Power, who directs and governs all things, knows the secrets of all hearts, and to whom all men are accountable for their thoughts, words, and actions [r]. Had *China* been peopled by *Tubal*,

The Chinese *believe an over-ruling Providence.*

[p] Vid. Genes. vi. 5. † See Josephus Ant. lib. i. c. 5. [q] Genes. ix. 8—13. [r] See their Shu-king, Confucius's Morals, and other philosophical works.

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Meshech, or any other remote descendants from *Noah*, we should have found them, like all the rest, immersed in idolatry, and worshipping the whole starry and planetary tribe, under the names of *Baal*, *Astarte*, *Milkom*, *Chemosh*, *Dagon*, and such-like, without the least notion of a superior power over-ruling them. Even the very heads of the line of *Shem* were so tainted with the same idolatrous infection, that it was the very reason why God called *Abraham* from among them, when he made choice of him to be the restorer of his true religion and worship*: whereas the *Chinese* appear to have retained, from the earliest times of their monarchy, the sublimest ideas of, and deepest regard to, the divine and over-ruling Lord of heaven, not only from their *Shu-king*, and other canonical books, but from the constant and regular sacrifices which they offered up to him at all proper seasons, and the solemn manner in which it was performed; insomuch that no person, however great, wise, or good, was deemed worthy to perform the priestly function, but the emperor himself, as we have elsewhere shewn †.

And other parts of the antient religion and worship.

To this we may add another equally antient and laudable custom of theirs in all public calamities, such as civil wars, pestilence, famine, great droughts, *&c.* of applying themselves in the humblest manner to the Supreme Being alone for relief; and returning their most solemn thanks to him alone, as soon as they had obtained it (I). How opposite was this to

* See Genes. xiii. & seq. Josh. xxiv. 2. † See before, p. 157. See also vol. v. p. 32, & alib. pass.

(I) We find accordingly, in the *Chinese* annals, many singular instances of their pious antient monarchs, who, in all such public calamities, went at the head of a numerous court, all dressed, as well as themselves, in the meanest garb, and other marks of the deepest humility and repentance, to intreat the Lord of heaven to divert his just judgments from them; and here the good monarchs, addressing themselves to that Supreme Being in the most humble and pathetic terms, earnestly besought him, that, if his anger and justice could not be otherwise appeased, he would let the effects thereof fall upon them alone; and that their lives might be accepted by him, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the rest of the nation. The blessing, once obtained, was celebrated with public and solemn thanks; to which those princes added vast donatives, and other immunities, to the poorer sort of their subjects, especially to such provinces as had been the greatest sufferers. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to give some remarkable

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to the practice of all other nations, who, upon all ſuch occaſions, uſed to celebrate ſolemn feſtivals to their falſe deities, carry their images about in ſolemn proceſſions, and aſcribed the glory of all their bleſſings and deliverances to them!

Their aſtrology did not exclude an over-ruling Providence.

IT muſt be owned, indeed, that the *Chineſe* were infected, like all the reſt of *Noah*'s poſterity, with the ſuperſtitious contagion of the ſtarry influence over all ſublunary bodies, and from the earlieſt times directed moſt of their aſtronomical obſervations to that end: but there was ſtill this difference between them, that whereas the other nations believed thoſe heavenly bodies to be free and powerful agents, and applied to them as to the ſole directers of all ſublunary events, the *Chineſe* looked upon them only as neceſſary agents, whoſe power and influence were impreſſed upon them by an almighty hand, who had ſtill the ſupreme rule and government over them, and, as ſuch, addreſſed themſelves to him in all great emergencies, without the leaſt regard to any of the ſtarry tribe, which they believed to be no other than inſtruments in his over-ruling hands[t]. But how they came to judge and diſtinguiſh ſo juſtly of both, above all other nations, will be difficult to account for, unleſs we aſcribe it to the ſingular care which their good old patriarch muſt be ſuppoſed to have taken to forewarn them againſt that dangerous error, which he ſo well knew had been the main cauſe of the deſtruction of the old world, and of the fatal degeneracy of the new, and the chief motive of his withdrawing himſelf ſo far from them (K).

XIII. THIS

[t] See their Shu-king, and other canonical books.

ble inſtances of this ſingular piety, in which thoſe monarchs, as high-prieſts of the whole nation, ſeem to have acted ſo very conformably to the office of the ſacrificature, both before and under the *Jewiſh* law, that we could not forbear taking particular notice of it.

(K) If it ſhould be aſked, how ſo wiſe and good a man as he could ſuffer this favourite colony to intermix ſtill with ſuch ſublime and juſt notions of the Supreme Being, ſo much of the aſtrological ſuperſtition, and did not rather endeavour to extirpate all the remains of that old antediluvian leaven? it may be anſwered, either that the notion of the influence of the ſtars on this lower world might not appear to him ſo falſe, abſurd, and ill-grounded, as it is now commonly judged *, nor in any other way dangerous, than as it excluded the belief of an over-ruling Providence, which laſt

* *See before, note* (H), on *Job* xxxviii. 31. *Judg.* v. 20. *& alib. paſſ.*

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Their antient religion, philosophy, &c. worthy of Noah.

XII. THIS last consideration naturally leads us to a new and no less probable argument in favour of our hypothesis; namely, the excellency of the religion, laws, government, policy, morality, philosophy, *&c.* of the *Chinese*, above all other antient nations, even those which are allowed the most learned and polite; and consequently every way worthy of so divine a patriarch and lawgiver. This is indeed a point we could with pleasure dwell longer upon, had it not been already so learnedly displayed by much better pens, that it is now universally allowed by all sides; but, on that account, we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to the short sketch we have formerly given of them [u], and shall only add here a remark or two from the whole, which will still farther confirm it.

Some excellent doctrines of the Chinese.

FIRST, then, it is well worth observing, that, among the sublime ideas which their canonical books give us of the Deity, beyond what is to be met with in the theology of other antient nations, it mentions, in particular, the care which the Divine Providence takes to forewarn mankind by signs, prodigies, and other awakening methods, of the impending judgments which are going to fall upon them, in order to excite them to avert the divine vengeance by all proper acts of repentance [x]; which excellent notion, taken in its full extent,

[u] See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 261, & seq. vol. xx. p. 124, & seq. [x] See their Shu-king, and other canonical books.

he doubtless was careful to prevent both by his lessons and example; or else it may be reasonably enough supposed, that some of the seeds of that superstitious notion might be privately preserved by some of his people, and suffered to spread itself by degrees amongst the rest, unknown to him, or perhaps, more likely, against all his endeavours to suppress it; so bewitching was that belief, and still is among the greatest part of the world.

We have dwelt somewhat the longer on this subject of the astronomy and astrology of the antients, as it is a point which hath been but slightly, if at all, considered, either with respect to the inventers of it (the honour of it being generally given to the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, &c, and by few, if any, to the antediluvians); or, secondly, with regard to the *Chinese*, so far as they have excelled all other antient nations in cultivating and improving it; nor, lastly, with respect to the proofs which might be, and which we hope we have, actually drawn from its universal conformity, of *Noah* being the *Chinese Fo-hi*; which we therefore flatter ourselves will be a sufficient excuse for the extraordinary length of this article; we shall endeavour to be more succinct in those that follow.

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can hardly be supposed to have flowed from any other source than from the threatnings, warnings, and dreadful omens, which the good old patriarch had been a mournful witness to, during more than a whole century before the flood: for, tho' other heathenish nations not only looked upon all such dire prodigies, but even upon every uncommon phænomenon, to be the forerunners of some public calamities, yet it doth not appear that they looked upon the former as directed by the divine goodness to forewarn mankind against the danger of the latter: much less did they entertain any notion of repentance being the only effectual means to avoid it; chusing rather to have recourse to such horrid rites and sacrifices, as were more likely to hasten than avert the impending judgment.

Prophecies of the coming of the Messiah; and of the very year of his appearing.

SECONDLY, We find that they had, among their most valuable records, some signal prophecies of the Messiah's being to appear in human flesh in some of the western parts of the world; and which were so plainly understood, so firmly believed, and so religiously preserved, that their great philosopher *Confucius*, who lived near 500 years before our Saviour, could point out the very year of their cycle, or sexagenary, in which he was to be born. And we are farther assured, that in that very year, which was that in which the world's Redeemer was born, the then reigning emperor *Ngai* (which name signifies victorious) exchanged it for that of *Ping*, *peaceful*, or *pacific* [y]; from which we may reasonably infer, that they must have likewise had some clear notion of the character, and peaceable reign, of that divine person; and it was from a firm persuasion of this prophecy that the philosopher above-mentioned used to comfort himself with the thoughts that the HOLY-ONE, as he styled him, was to come from, or to appear in, the west [z]. But how the *Chinese*, of all the descendants of *Noah*, came to preserve such lively traces of the promised Messiah, when all the rest, and even the family of *Shem*, of whom he was to be born, hardly retained any notion, till he was more clearly revealed to *Abraham* and his posterity, can no otherwise be accounted for, than by supposing that *Noah* left some authentic records of it among them, and that *Confucius* had been sufficiently conversant with them as to be able to find out the year in which he was to be born, and the part of the world where he was to make his appearance. If it be asked, how even *Noah* could so exactly know the time of his birth, whilst the latter *Jews*, who had much clearer revelations concerning it, and we may

[y] MARTINI Hist. Sinic. lib. iv. p. 149. x. p. ult. Vid. & KERCHER, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

[z] Ibid.

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Whence they had this last.

add the Christians too, are at such variance about it? The answer is easy, there being a constant tradition in *Noah*'s family, as well before as after the flood, that Christ was to be born either at the very close of the fourth, or the entrance of the fifth, millenary (L); so that the difficulty among the Christians and *Jews*, about settling that remarkable period, proceeds merely from the difference of their chronologies with respect to the age of the world, of which we have given an ample specimen at the beginning of our antient history †.

The antient Chinese *chronology proved thence to be more pure.*

If, therefore, the *Chinese* could so exactly point out that remarkable epocha, and fix the end of the fourth millenary so rightly, all that can be inferred from it is, that they have preserved their records more carefully, and in greater purity, at least from the creation to the birth of Christ, than any other nation we know of, whatever corruption they may have been suffered since to undergo, either to make them tally more exactly with the septuagint chronology, or to give the *Chinese* nation a greater antiquity: for it is hardly to be supposed they could have any other rule to fix that epocha by, but the tradition in that patriarch's family, of Christ appearing in our flesh at the end of the fourth millenary; and since, as it plainly appears that he was born exactly at that year, according to our *Hebrew* chronology; and that, in the very same year, the then reigning monarch did, out of regard to his character, exchange his name of victorious into that of pacific; we cannot but look upon this as a strong presumption that *Chinese* chronology would be found more exact, and agreeable to our *Hebrew*, if it had not been lengthened and disfigured, to answer some of the sinister ends above-mentioned. This is not, however, the only proof we have to offer on that head,

† See before, Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 142, & seq.

(L) This tradition, which is affirmed by the *Jews* to be as antient as the promise made to *Adam* after the fall (9), is founded on the creation being finished in six days, and God resting on the seventh; from which, computing a day for a thousand years (10), they concluded that the world would last 7000 years, that is, 2000 before the law, 2000 under the law, and 2000 under the Messiah, after which was to follow his glorious and universal reign of 1000 years, styled by them the great sabbath, and by the Christians the millennium, of which we have given an account in the antient history of the *Jews* (11).

(9) *Genes.* iii. 15. *Ant. Hist. vol.* iii. *p.* 39. (10) *See* ii. *Peter* c. *ult. vers.* 8. (11) *See*

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though the propereſt place in which it could be mentioned. The remainder, which we hope will be allowed of much greater weight and authority, will be better reſerved for a ſubſequent article; in which we ſhall diſplay ſuch farther harmony between the *Chineſe* and *Hebrew* chronology, from ſome authentic facts recorded in both, as will at once make them reflect a mutual and ſurpriſing evidence on each other, diſcover the fallacy of the pretended *Chineſe* antiquity, and of its boaſted agreement with the ſeptuagint, and enable us to fix the beginning of their monarchy upon a more rational and authentic foundation than any hitherto extant.

Their religion a proof of Noah *being their founder.*

BUT, before we diſmiſs the topic of their excellent religion, laws, &c. we beg leave to obſerve how inconſiſtent the ſuppoſition of its having been founded by ſome of the more remote deſcendants of *Noah* muſt appear, to any unbiaſſed reader, with that purity of their antient worſhip and doctrine, which diſplayed itſelf ſo wonderfully from the earlieſt times, whilſt all other nations were ſunk into the loweſt kind of idolatry, the moſt unnatural and inhuman rites, and ſcarcely retained the leaſt awe or notion of a ſupreme and over-ruling power. If *Noah* muſt not be allowed to have gone into *China*, but to have ſettled any-where elſe amongſt his other deſcendants, how comes it that neither the excellency of his doctrine as a preacher of righteouſneſs, nor his authority as their common parent, could preſerve them from the general corruption and degeneracy in theory and practice? And how can a few late ſtragglers, who, by gradual and long-continued migrations, ſearched for new ſettlements, be ſuppoſed to have been the only ones who preſerved their faith and manners ſo long incorrupt, and lived in a manner the moſt agreeable to all the precepts and example that ſuch an holy patriarch could have given them, had they been under his immediate care and government *? Is it not more rational to think that they received their religion, laws, philoſophy, morality, learning, and way of life, from him; and that it was their deep regard to his authority that influenced this people to obſerve them with that conſtant tenaciouſneſs, which they have ever ſince maintained? whilſt all his other deſcendants (the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans*, *Celtes*, *Scythians*, &c. down to the *Greeks* and *Romans*), chuſing rather to be guided by what they called the light, though too often

* De hoc, vid. TRIGLAND Chr. exped, ap. Sin. lib. i. SMED. Relig. Sinar. p. 1. c. 18. NIEUHOFF Ambaſſ. part ii. PURCH. Pilgrim, lib. iv. & alib. KERCHER Sin. Illuſt. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, MAGALLAN, & al. ſup. citat.

more

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more truly the corrupt appetites, of nature, than by his excellent maxims and authority, gradually sunk into the most extravagant follies, monstrous impieties, and inhuman rites and superstitions, as every reader may see by the account we have formerly given of the religion and customs of those antient nations, in each of their respective histories: but it is time now to pass on to some other arguments.

Their antient characters another argument of Noah *being their founder.*

XIII. The *Chinese* records ascribe the invention of their antient characters, of which we have formerly given an account [a], to *Fo-hi*, and his immediate successors; and we have lately observed, that the antediluvians could not but be possessed of some such way of preserving and imparting their knowlege, of which *Noah*, apprised as he was so long before of the approaching deluge, and of his being designed to repeople the new world, must be supposed to have made the best collection. But as those characters, whatever they were, could not prove sufficient to answer all the variety of ideas which he had acquired by the different scenes which the new world continually offered to his observation after the flood, he must of course be under a necessity of inventing some new ones answerable to them. And hence probably proceeded both the primitive similitude, and the accidental difference, between those of the antient *Chinese* and *Egyptians*, the two most distant nations, not only in point of situation, but likewise with respect to their religion, learning, *&c.* whilst the descendants of *Shem* and *Japhet* seem to have wholly neglected that useful art; at least it doth not appear that they had it among them till the use of letters was divinely revealed to *Moses*. However, as to those antient characters, or hieroglyphics, there can be no doubt but that the vast alterations which were made on the new world must have required a fresh supply of them; and who could be fitter for such a task than *Noah*, who was so well acquainted with the old ones? on which account he might easily enough be styled the inventer of the whole; and it cannot be denied that those ascribed to *Fo-hi* bear the undoubted marks of a primitive and original one.

If, upon the whole, therefore, *Fo-hi* and *Noah* can be shewed to be coeval, the invention of those characters will still add to the probability of their being the same person, only under two different names; and at the same time account for the singular and even religious regard which the *Chinese* have ever paid to that way of writing, since, in that case, they

[a] See Ant. Hist. vol. xx. p 133, & seq.

could

could not but look on the author of it as a person divinely inspired.

XIV. And hence may also have proceeded that surprising zeal, and tenacious fondness, they have always retained, above all other nations, not only for their religion, laws, discipline, *&c.* but likewise for their antient customs relating to education, behaviour, dress, eating, drinking, conversation, ceremony, œconomy, and the like: for it is plain that they look upon all the maxims and rules concerning every one of them to be plainly either expressed or implied in their canonical books, which they esteem to be of divine authority; insomuch that their monarchs thought themselves indispensably bound to observe them; and those are most celebrated in their annals, who paid the greatest regard to them. And under this head may we not justly insist upon that singular and extraordinary respect which we have elsewhere observed is paid by the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest rank, by children to their parents? This is indeed one of the duties the most strenuously insisted upon in their canonical and other philosophical writings; and the unparalleled instances we have formerly given of its strict observance, fully shew to what a height they have carried it above all other people we know or read of: but, whether in this, or in all other respects above-mentioned, how can it be supposed that a less authority than that of the good old patriarch, joined to a deeply-rooted consciousness of the efficacy of parental blessing or cursing, such as they had seen a remarkable instance of in the case of one of his three sons, could have ever inforced such a religious and indelible sanction on all his institutes, and inspired a whole nation with so lasting a regard to them, as even to despise and hate all the rest of the world for not observing them? *Their religious fondness for all their old customs another argument of it.*

XV. The same may be urged with relation to their agriculture, the invention of which they ascribe to the same *Fohi*, as *Moses* doth to the patriarch *Noah* soon after the flood [b]. From the words, indeed, of the sacred historian (*and* Noah *began to be an husbandman*, or, as the original imports, began his first essays in husbandry) we may reasonably infer, that the antediluvians were not much versed in it; and therefore his first attempts seem to have been only of the rude and common kind, as planting, sowing, *&c.*: but, by that time he had travelled through so many different climates, and variety of soils, in his slow and gradual migrations towards the east, he might become so perfect a master of it, as to be able to *Their agriculture another argument.*

[b] Gen. ix. 20.

leave

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leave his descendants such useful rules and observations, as might justly intitle him to the honour of being the inventer of it.

No-where more encouraged and improved.

In the like manner the *Chinese* records tell us, that *Fo-hi* left some such excellent directions to his successors, for the encouragement and improvement of it; and that they proved such diligent and strenuous observers of them, that they enacted sundry laws, and caused divers treatises to be written, for the promoting and endearing it to all their subjects. And the reader may judge, by the description we have given of that whole country in a former section, to what a degree of perfection their genius and indefatigable industry have since raised it; insomuch that no nation under the sun ever cultivated it to better advantage, or gave greater encouragement to it, than this. We shall only add, that even their greatest monarchs are not exempted by their laws from *putting their hands to the plough*; but, over and above the many immunities, and other favours, they are under a necessity of granting to the husbandmen, in times of drought, famine, and the like, are obliged, at some particular seasons of the year, and more especially soon after their accession to the throne, to divest themselves of the imperial grandeur, and, in the homeliest rural garb, to perform some of the lowest exercises in agriculture, as we have elsewhere shewn [c]: so that, upon the whole, as no nation ever more closely followed the steps of the first postdiluvian patriarch than this, it can hardly be supposed that a less authority than his could have enforced so strict and long an observation of those laws which are there enacted in favour of that most useful art [d].

Their monarchs obliged to exercise it.

The forbidding the use of wine another argument.

XVI. The subject of agriculture naturally leads us to another argument on this head; *viz.* that the *Chinese* are the only people that we know of, before *Mohammed*'s time, that ever interdicted the use of wine, or ever so religiously abstained from it, from the earliest date of their monarchy down almost to their late conquest by the *Tartars* [e]. This singularity hath indeed been urged by the opposite side as an argument that *Noah* never set his foot in the *Chinese* territories; since this branch of husbandry is there wanting, which that patriarch is recorded to have made one of his first essays [f]: but how justly or judiciously, let the reader judge. *Noah*, whilst yet with his sons, planted a vineyard; and being at that time, as is most likely, quite unacquainted with the

[c] See before, p. 27. [d] See Kercher, Martini, Le Compte, & al. supra citat. [e] Idem ibid.
[f] Genes. ix. 20.

strange

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ſtrange effects of its juice, drank ſo plentifully of it, that it threw him into a deep ſleep, in which he lay with his body ſo expoſed, that two of his ſons were put to no ſmall difficulty to cover him with a truly filial decency; whilſt his third had a moſt dreadful curſe pronounced on him and his poſterity, for expoſing him [s]. If, therefore, there had not been one ſingle vine growing in the whole *Chineſe* empire, could a better reaſon be given or imagined, why the good old patriarch would not ſuffer ſuch a dangerous plant to be propagated within his dominions, than the diſaſter which befel him by it, let it have been of what nature it would †. Could he expreſs his diſpleaſure at it in a ſtronger manner, than by the bleſſings he beſtowed on the two former, and the curſe he vented againſt the latter? or could any thing be a ſtronger motive for his interdicting the uſe of that dangerous liquor to his deſcendants, though *Moſes* hath not taken any notice of it? And indeed to what purpoſe would it have been for him to have mentioned it, when he ſo well knew that all the reſt of the world, his own kindred not excepted, ſhewed ſo little regard for it, and the *Chineſe* alone were the only people that paid a due and ſtrict obedience to it? But, what ſtill more redounds to their honour, and confirms our hypotheſis, is, that vines are as much cultivated among them as in any other nation, whatever be pretended to the contrary by the oppoſite ſide, and afford as great a variety of the fineſt grapes (M), which they content themſelves with eating either ripe or dried, and only abſtain from the juice of them.

XVII. THE *Chineſe* are the only people that we know of in the whole world, excepting the *Japaneſe* (who have taken it from them), who, in the ſtructure and dimenſions of their *ſels made* *The Chineſe veſſels made*

† See Ant. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 268, (L). [s] Geneſ. ubi ſup. verſ. 25, & ſeq.

(M) We are told accordingly by *Martini*, *Smedo*, *Nieuhoff*, and others, that the provinces of *Shan-ſi* and *Shen-ſi* are famed for the beauty and ſweetneſs of their grapes; and thoſe are more particularly celebrated which grow in the neighbourhood of the city of *Pyng-yang*, where *Yau*, their eighth emperor, and great promoter of agriculture, who was a great lover of them, did, on that account, chuſe to reſide. Since, therefore, the *Chineſe* allow themſelves the uſe of other exhilarating and intoxicating liquors, which are neither ſo palatable, nor ſo eaſily made, it will be hard to account for their abſtaining from ſuch fine wines, as they might expreſs out of their noble grapes, if it be not done upon ſome ſuch religious account as we have been ſpeaking of.

trading

after the model of Noah's *ark, another argument for* Noah's *being their* Fo-hi.

trading and other vessels of burden, have retained the original model of the ark. 1. They allow them six breadths to their length, which *Moses* tells us was exactly the proportion of *Noah*'s ark [h]; whereas other nations allow theirs only three breadths, except only in some small canoes. 2. They build them flat at the head, stern, and bottom; whereas all other nations have them sharp. 3. They commonly give them three tiers, or stories, one over the other, and each of them parted by long galleries reaching almost from end to end, and subdivided into smaller apartments of different sizes; some for stowage of merchandizes, provisions. *&c.* and others for lodgings for passengers, and those that belong to the vessel; all which is likewise exactly according to the structure of the ark, and quite different from all other nations. This cannot but be allowed to be very singular; and, though we will not enter into a needless contest, about which of the two methods be most preferable, or best contrived, either for safety, expedition, or for carrying the greatest burdens; but readily own, that the latter is an improvement of the former; yet will it then be still more hard to conceive how the *Chinese*, who are in no way inferior to any other nation in ingenuity, and have moreover been inured to the maritime trade from the earliest ages of their monarchy, came to give all along the preference to their old way of building, unless we suppose it to be out of a singular respect they ever paid to the divine model abovementioned, and to the venerable builder of it (N).

XVIII. To

[h] Genes. chap. vi. vers. 14, & seq.

(N) In speaking of that surprising structure, we know not whether we may not add another *Chinese* custom, which seems very probably to have taken its rise from it; *viz.* their famed festival of lights or lanthorns, of which we have taken notice in a former section †, as having been observed throughout the whole empire from time immemorial, and with the greatest pomp and solemnity. We have there shewn what a lame and uncertain account some of their writers give of its origin and institutor; but which is so unsuitable and unworthy of the solemnity and grandeur with which it is kept, that the wiser sort justly look upon it as ridiculous, though they cannot substitute a better to it.

May we not therefore more reasonably conjecture it to have been instituted, from the very beginning of that monarchy, in memory of the many lamps with which the good patriarch was obliged to enlighten his gloomy habitation, during the twelve melancholy months of

† *See before*, p. 253, *& seq.* & (D).

his

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XVIII. To all the topics lately urged from the extraordinary regard they paid to every thing which they thought to be derived to them from their worthy founder, we may add the sacred antiquity and authority which their philosophers and literati have always attributed to their *Shu-king*, and other canonical books, as well as to their other antient records, above all other nations. Of this we need no greater proof than, 1st, The many comments which have been written on them, and the high encomiums they have bestowed on their authors, whom they esteemed as men inspired by heaven, and endowed with a divine character and authority. 2. The great veneration that is paid by the learned to their commentators and expositors, such as *Mencius*, *Confucius*, and others. And, 3dly, the generous use they have always made of those books and comments, for the good and instruction of the people; and that most justly too, since there is nothing to be found in them but what plainly leads their readers to their original fountain the great *Fo-hi*, and his immediate successors, without the usual parade of any such obscure, remote, and incredible, antiquity as we meet with in those of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and other antient nations: neither did they contain any thing but what was conducive to make men wiser and better, in proportion to their being conversant with them. It is therefore no wonder if, instead of secreting them from public view, and locking them up as the great arcana of their religion and government, as was done every-where else, they esteemed it their duty and glory to publish and explain them to all who had capacity or inclination to dive into them; rightly judging, that that was the most effectual way to preserve to those antient writings the veneration they so justly deserved; and to prevent at the same time their being abused and corrupted by designing men, as those commonly are most

Their religious regard to their old canonical books another argument for it.

The generous use they made of them.

[1] De his, vid. HERODOT. MANETHO, SANCHONIATH. & al.

his confinement in it? And may not those shews, which we observed are exhibited in some of those large lanthorns by puppets, and other machinery, have been originally designed to represent some of the scenes of that dreadful transaction, such as his conveying all the living creatures into the ark, feeding them there, his coming out with them, his first sacrifices to God, and the like; the remembrance of all which, by length of time, became obliterated, as well as the reason of the institution of that pompous festival: but these conjectures we submit to the reader, only as being at least more probable than any which have been hitherto offered concerning it.

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liable to be, which are purposely kept from public sight, and can only be admired by the ignorant.

The two chief objections against those writings cleared.

XIX. To what hath been urged under the last head, some seemingly considerable objections have been started, which we shall now endeavour to clear up under this.

The pretended fabulousness not a sufficient argument against their genuineness.

I. IT is pretended, that there are many false and fabulous things inserted in the six or seven first reigns, which quite destroy their authority; and that the length which is allowed to them in their annals is very much disputed, nay discredited, by the most judicious writers, and even by those of that nation. To the first of these it may be easily answered, that there hath been scarcely any antient people under the sun that have not had something in their origin, and first beginnings, which hath the air and appearance of fable, but which would carry a quite different aspect, were we better acquainted with their mythology, antiquities, idiom, characters, and other the like particulars; so that all this pretended series of fables may, for aught that appears to the contrary, be intirely owing to mistake and ignorance, and that in no case more probably than with relation to the *Chinese*, whose original character, language, *&c.* were understood by so few of their learned, and so liable to be misunderstood. And as to the length of the first reigns above-mentioned, though they are allowed to be much questioned, or even discredited, by the partisans of the septuagint chronology, or even by some of the *Chinese* writers, out of an affectation of a greater antiquity; yet if we can prove, from good authority, that those which have intervened between *Fo-hi* and *Yau* do as exactly tally, as any thing of that nature can do, with the coeval generations recorded by *Moses* between *Noah* and *Joshua*, whom we shall likewise prove to have been cotemporary with *Fo-hi* and *Yau*, according to our *Hebrew* chronology, it is to be hoped that this will be looked upon not only as a sufficient answer to the objection above-mentioned, but likewise as no small confirmation of the *Chinese* annals, so far as relates to the length of those reigns; especially as nothing material hath been hitherto urged against it, except its disagreement with the septuagint, and *Chinese* chronology; according to which, that of all the subsequent dynasties and monarchies is calculated and determined, or rather hath been stretched out and lengthened at pleasure, as will be more clearly seen in the sequel.

HOWEVER, 'bating that one point, in which, to reconcile two chronologies together, they have been forced to spin out the period between the reign of *Yau* and the birth of Christ, by near 900 years above what our *Hebrew* makes it, there can hardly be any question, but in all other respects the history

is

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is as exact, faithful, and well compiled, as any extant; and more particularly so with relation to the series of dynasties, the names, successions, and exploits, of each royal family, and respective reign, as *Du Halde* hath lately shewn[k]; and if, in this last respect, it be confessed to be less copious and particular than those of some other nations, it will also be found less fabulous, and consequently more to be depended upon, than they, as we shall shew in the sequel.

Nor the scarcity of facts, and other materials.

BUT to this two things are objected, which seem to carry some weight; *viz.* that their great *Confucius*, who is said to have lived about 500 years before our Saviour, complained much of the great scarcity of materials then to be found towards compiling such a history as might be worthy to be transmitted to posterity; insomuch that he was forced to content himself with these few observations on some extraordinary phænomena, and such other common events as he could find upon record, instead of the illustrious atchievements with which he would much rather have chosen to have embellished the reigns of those antient monarchs, had any such been transmitted down to his time. Well, be it so; can the sterility of those old records destroy the credit of those facts which they take particular notice of? Is it not rather a mark of their faithfulness, that they transmit nothing to us that might be liable to be questioned? The characters and exploits of those antient monarchs might have been, as too commonly is the case, greatly exaggerated in their favour; whereas such uncommon phænomena as are there recorded, and could be observed by the whole nation, and more safely relied upon, were things which they justly thought more worthy to be transmitted to posterity. We shall have occasion, under our next head, to instance in one or two particulars, which will sufficiently shew how curious, exact, and just, they were in observing and recording such kinds of remarkable events, whilst they appeared to have been quite negligent of others, which we should judge more weighty and proper for a national history.

All the antient records pretended to have been destroy'd by Shi-whang-ti.

BUT, 2dly, the universal destruction which *Shi-whang-ti* caused to be made of all the *Chinese* books and writings which related to history, or any other science, except law and physic, is here objected against the credit of all their antient records; and from this general havock, which happened, according to their chronology, about 213 years before the birth of Christ, they infer that little else could be recovered but some scraps and fragments, which were so liable to be mangled and corrupted by the collectors, that no credit can be safely given to, or de-

[k] See Engl. edit. vol. i. p. 130, & seq.

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pendence had upon, them; insomuch, that these hypercritics much question whether any of those editions of them, which were since published, bear any resemblance to their prototypes; though the *Chinese* annals assure us, that *Vu-ti*, a wise and excellent successor of the tyrant above-mentioned, caused them to be every-where sought for, and written anew, within little more than seventy-three years after, and to be taught in all the academies of the empire [1]. To which it may therefore be justly answered, that it is absurd to suppose that such an universal destruction of books so highly esteemed, could ever reach through every part of so extensive an empire, let the tyrant's authority have been ever so great, or his edict ever so severely executed.

That destruction could not be universal.

THE *Shu-king*, and other canonical books, as well as the writings of *Mencius*, *Confucius*, and other great philosophers, were held in too great esteem, to be supposed to have been thus tamely given up to the flames, in every province, and by every owner of them. It is much more reasonable to think, from the short space of time it took up to have the greatest part of them re-published, and dispersed, that a good number of copies were preserved intire, either in some of the remotest provinces, or, at least, in some of those petty kingdoms, which were only tributary to, or independent on, him. Much more unlikely is it, that the many other kingdoms without the limits of the empire, some of which were very considerable, and among whom those venerable writings were held in equal esteem, should all thus basely join in so execrable a design. *Shi-whang-ti*'s whole reign, which lasted thirty-three years, could hardly have sufficed for the discovery of such a vast number of volumes, scattered far and near, without, as well as within, his dominions, much less to have forced them out of their owners hands; how much more so, if we consider that his edict did not come out till the latter end of his reign, as will be seen in the sequel? Let it then be but supposed, that two or three authentic copies were preserved intire, either within or without his empire, and afterwards purchased by *Vu-ti*, would they not have been sufficient not only to have supplied the empire with a speedy and copious set of new ones, but likewise to have prevented their being mutilated or corrupted by the transcribers of them (N)?

All those books recovered soon after.

THUS

[1] See MARTINI, DU HALDE, and An. Hist. vol. xx. p. 155. & seq. & (D).

(N) With respect to the canonical *Shu-king*, and its recovery, their records mention the following remarkable circumstance: that an old man, named *Ouo-seng*, who was still alive when

THUS far then we may fairly conclude, that neither of the two above-mentioned objections, plausible as they may appear at first, can be of weight sufficient to invalidate the authority of those canonical and other valuable books, much less the credit of the antient history, which, abating some few seeming exaggerated encomiums on their founder, and his three or four next successors, contain little else than an account of some preternatural or remarkable events, which are recorded to have happened in the subsequent reigns; and from which we can only infer, that the writers were more diligent in observing, and transmitting, such uncommon things, than curious to enrich their histories with the exploits, whether real or fabulous, of their antient monarchs. *The nature of their records.*

AMONGST that number, we have ventured to rank that remarkable record concerning Christ, and the year, and part of the world, he was born in: for it can hardly be supposed, that *Confucius* had it by immediate inspiration, which he doth not appear ever to have pretended to, but to have repeated it frequently, as a comfortable promise, handed down to, and well understood by, all the learned of his nation, both before and after him, as may be plainly inferred, from what we lately observed of the reigning monarch, at the time of Christ's birth, changing his name; and from what we have formerly mentioned, of the Emperor *Ming-ti*'s fruitless ambassy into *India*, in search of that holy and miraculous person *, about sixty-four years after. If therefore we suppose *Fo-hi* to have *Confucius's remarkable prophecy of Christ.*

* See before, p. 109, & (G). & 345, & seq.

when the search was made after the lost books, did boast of having that one intirely by heart; upon which he was immediately ordered to pen it down, according to the best of his memory. He did so; and, upon its being afterwards compared with the original, newly recovered, they were found to agree in every thing, except in some few words, which, nevertheless, made no difference in the sense (1). We are told by the same author, that the five books called *King* had been recovered, together with the writings of *Confucius* and *Mencius*, so soon as the reign of *Hiao-king*, *Ven-ti*'s successor, and were all published afresh in that of *Hia-ou*, about seventy-five years after the burning of the old ones. We omit some other frivolous objections urged against the authenticity of these new books, by some members of the *French* academy, and which the reader will find fully answered by the author last quoted, in his letter to them on that subject (2).

(1) *See the Collect. of Lettres edifiant. & curieus. vol.* xxi. *p.* 122. (2) *Id. ibid. p.* 123. *& seq.*

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been posterior to *Noah*, it cannot but appear very probable, that he received that noble prophecy from him, as a matter of the highest importance, and worthy to be transmitted, as it really was, with the greatest care, to all his descendants, down even beyond the Christian æra. But, if it be proved, by any authentic fact recorded in the *Chinese* annals, and confirmed by the authority of the Old Testament, and the *Hebrew* chronology, that those two were cotemporary, and consequently, from all that hath hitherto been urged, were most probably one and the same person, under different names, then may we reasonably hope, that all this united evidence will appear to every unbiassed reader, not only to amount to something more than a bare probability of *Noah*'s being the founder of the *Chinese* monarchy, but likewise to afford us a much firmer footing for settling the beginning of it, than any that hath hitherto been offered, or thought upon: and that is what we shall now, God willing, endeavour to do, under the following head, with which we shall conclude this section.

Noah and Fo-hi proved, from an authentic fact, to have been coeval.

XX. The fact on which we design to fix the main basis of the foundation of the *Chinese* monarchy, and antient chronology, is that surprising one recorded in their annals to have happened some time within the reign of *Yau*, their seventh monarch from *Fo-hi*, in words to this effect, that *the sun did not go down during the space of ten days* [m]; and which, compared with that miraculous one mentioned in the book of *Joshua* [n], will, we hope, be made evidently to appear to be, in all respects (excepting the length of its duration, which will be easily accounted for in the sequel), the very same, if it can but be fairly proved from the *Chinese*, as well as the *Hebrew* chronology, that that monarch, and the *Jewish* general above-named, were cotemporary. It is true, indeed, that this supernatural event, as it is related in the *Chinese* annals of that prince, hath been singled out, by some of the opposite side, to ridicule the vanity of their observations, and expose the pretended falshood of their antient records [o]. Nevertheless, since the miraculous phænomenon recorded in the book of *Joshua*, hath been so fully proved, from the express words of the sacred historian, and other corroborating arguments, to have been (not such an uncommon *luor*, mock-sun, lucid cloud, or *aurora borealis*, as *Maimonides*, *Spinosa*, among the Jews, *Grotius*, *Le Clerk*, and others, among the Christians, have endeavoured to represent it, but) a real and

[m] Martini, Hist. Sinic. sub *Yaus*. [n] Josh. x. 12. & seq. See Shuckford Connect. vol. i. p. 29, & seq. [o] See Antient Hist. vol. xx. p. 151.

super-

ſupernatural ſolſtice, obtained by the prayer of the Jewiſh hero [p]; and which muſt of conſequence have been equally obſervable in all thoſe eaſtern parts, where that luminary had only paſſed their meridian ſome few hours. If it can be made to appear, from the joint teſtimony of the two chronologies above-mentioned, to have happened much about the ſame time, or, which is tantamount to it, that the diſtance of time between *Noah* and *Joſhua* is much the ſame with that which the *Chineſe* records put between *Fo-hi* and *Yau*, we may juſtly hope, that the mutual light and evidence which thoſe two hiſtories reflect on each other, will be allowed to carry a much better authority for our producing that extraordinary phænomenon in favour of our hypotheſis, than any thing that hath been hitherto urged by the oppoſite ſide can do, to explode and ridicule it.

The miraculous ſolſtice in Joſhua's *time, the ſame with that recorded in* Yau's *reign. The length of the period between* Noah *and* Joſhua, *and between* Fohi *and* Yau, *near the ſame.*

Now, the remarkable phænomenon recorded by *Joſhua* happened, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, in the year before Chriſt 1451, and of the flood 897; of theſe, *Noah* lived 350 [q]; ſo that there elapſed only 547 years between that patriarch's death and *Joſhua*'s ſolſtice. Within which period, *Moſes* reckons ſeven generations; that is, from *Abraham*, who, according to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, was born two years after *Noah*'s death, and *Joſhua* excluſive; *viz.* in the firſt year of whoſe generalſhip that bleſſing was obtained. Theſe are, 1. *Abraham*; 2. *Iſaac*; 3. *Jacob*; 4. *Levi*; 5. *Kohath*; 6. *Amram*; and 7. *Moſes*, *Joſhua*'s immediate predeceſſor. Juſt in the ſame manner the *Chineſe* annals reckon ſeven reigns between *Fo-hi* and *Yau*, incluſive; *viz.* about the latter end of whoſe reign, the ſame phænomenon was obſerved in *China*. Theſe, with the length of their reſpective reigns, are ſet down as follows:

	Reigned years.
1. *Shin-nong*, alias *Xin-nung* — — — —	140
2. *Whang-ti*, alias *Hoang-ti* — — — —	100
3. *Shau-hau*, alias *Xao-hau* — — — —	84
4. *Chwen-hyo*, alias *Chuen-hius* — — —	78
5. *Ti-ko*, alias *Cous* — — — — — —	70
6. *Chi* — — — — — — — — —	8
	480

[p] See the Ant. Jewiſh Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 464—474. [q] Gen. ibid. Vid. & SHUCKFORD Connect. ubi ſup.

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And 7. *Yau*, in some year of whose reign, the annalist doth not say which, the same phænomenon was observed in *China*.

Both from the Chinese *and* Hebrew *chronology.*

ALL these reigns added together, amount to 480 years; which period falling short of the 597 years, which elapsed from *Noah* to *Joshua*, by seventy years, doth naturally lead us to conclude, that the solstice happened in the 67th year of that monarch's reign; which being but the first of the administration of *Joshua*, brings the number of these reigns, and of the *Mosaic* generations above-mentioned, much upon an equality as to number and duration. So that, by this time, the reader may easily perceive the motives which have induced the sticklers for the *Septuagint*, and such of the *Chinese* writers as were ambitious to raise the antiquity of their nation beyond its true bounds, to complain of the uncertainty and brevity of this period, and to cry down the annals of it, as of no authority: and all that needs to surprise us is, that they have not taken the same pains to stretch it, as they have done that from *Yau* to the birth of Christ, to the exact standard of that chronology. But, it is likely, they never took notice how exactly it coincided with that of the *Hebrew*, and therefore contented themselves with condemning it, in the whole, as dark, uncertain, and not to be depended upon, if it was not rather some judicial infatuation, that made them overlook so material a point. For nothing can more clearly shew the imposture of this new-invented chronology, than the singular agreement above-observed of the antient *Chinese* chronology, and our *Hebrew* one, with respect to the number and length of those generations and reigns, and its vast disagreement from thence downwards to the birth of Christ.

The unquestionable authority of the former.

BE that as it will, it is still well for us, that we have the length of those reigns conveyed by one of those partisans, and who cannot therefore be suspected of having altered any thing in them, but must be reasonably supposed to have faithfully copied them, as he found them in the *Chinese* records, and as he himself assures us he did. Neither can it, with any reason, be supposed, that either he, or any of his fraternity, would have transmitted to us such a supernatural event, as that we have been insisting upon under this head, unless it had been thus circumstantially mentioned in some of those authentic records they were allowed to consult, since such an imposture could not serve any other visible end, except, perhaps, that of corroborating the evidence of *Joshua*'s miracle; and that could not be done, but at the expence and overthrow of their chronology.

FOR,

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FOR, if the ſolſtice mentioned in *Joſhua*, and in the *Chineſe* annals, be allowed to be the ſame, it muſt follow, from the liſt of thoſe reigns we have given above, as well as from the authority of the *Hebrew* chronology, that the Emperor *Yau*, in whoſe reign it happened, muſt have aſcended the throne in the year of the flood 830, or 1519 years before the birth of Chriſt; whereas the *Chineſe* and *Septuagint* chronology place the commencement of his reign in the year 2357, or, according to *Du Halde*, 2327, before Chriſt; making it thereby, the one 896, and the other 906, years older than the *Hebrew*, or indeed than it ever can be proved to be by any other evidence, than the precarious authority of the two chronologies above-mentioned, and the pretended calculation of a few eclipſes to corroborate them; all which have been ſo fully exploded by this time, and by much better pens, that it were needleſs to ſay any more on that ſubject.

The reign of Yau *proved much later than is pretended.*

HOWEVER, the fixing the baſis of the *Chineſe* chronology on the year of this miraculous ſolſtice, and the authority of our *Hebrew*, will (beſides the evidence it bears againſt that of the Septuagint) prove of twofold benefit; *viz.* Firſt, As it will bring down the reign of *Yau* much nearer to the times in which *Fouquet*, *Maigrot*, *Fourmond*, and other learned moderns, have endeavoured to fix it, and upon a much more unqueſtionable authority than hath been hitherto offered by any of them. And ſecondly, It will, by the help of the table of the ſeven firſt emperors above-mentioned, enable us to trace that monarchy back to its very foundation, and ſettle the begining of it upon a ſurer footing than any hitherto attempted. For if *Noah* or *Fo-hi* reigned there 115 years, and his ſix immediate ſucceſſors 480, and if the ſolſtice happened in the ſixty-ſeventh year of *Yau*'s reign, all which make up 662 years, it will bring back the firſt year of that founder's reign to that of the flood 235, and 2114 years before the birth of Chriſt; to all which may be added, that as he is recorded to have lived 350 years after the flood, if he ſeparated himſelf, as it is probable he did, from his rebellious offſpring, about the time of their defection and conſpiracy in the plain of *Shinaar*, which happened, as near as can be conjectured, about the ſeventieth or eightieth year after, or a few years before the building of the tower of *Babel*, it will follow, that he ſpent very near 200 years in his migration from that place to the *Chineſe* territories, and ſettling his colony there, before he became their monarch, and laid the foundation of that empire. So that the whole chronology of *Noah*, and his deſcendants, from the flood to the year of the ſolſtice, or ſixty-ſeventh of *Yau*'s reign, may be clearly ſtated; as follows:

1. *Noah*,

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	Year of the flood.	Before Christ.
1. *Noah*, called by the *Chinese*, *Fo-hi*, justly offended at the impiety of his rebel-offspring, separated himself from them a little before the building of the tower of *Babel*; and, steering his course eastwards, at the head of a select number of adherents, after 200 years peregrination, settled himself, and them, in one of the northern provinces of *China* [a] — — — — —	235	2114
Here, having settled his colony, and established among them the religion, laws, and government, and imparted to them all the branches of learning which he had received from his antediluvian ancestors [b], he died, in the 115th year of his reign, and 950th of his life [c], and was succeeded by — —	350	1999
2. *Shin-nong*, alias *Xin-nung*, who greatly improved those arts and sciences left behind by *Noah*; and, after a reign of 140 years, left the crown to [d] — — —	490	1859
3. *Whang-ti*, alias *Hoang-ti*, the inventor of the *Chinese* arithmetic, and other arts. He reigned 100 years, and was succeeded by	590	1759
4. *Shau-hau*, alias *Xao-hau*, who reigned eighty-four years, and left the crown to —	674	1675
5. *Chwen-hyo*, alias *Chuen-hiou*, who reigned seventy-eight years, and was succeeded by — — — — — —	752	1597
6. *Ti-ko*, alias *Cous*, who reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by — — —	822	1527
7. *Chi*, who, after a reign of eight years, was deposed, and the crown given to his brother — — — — — — —	830	1519
8. *Yau*, in the sixty-seventh year of whose reign, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, happened the miraculous solstice, mentioned in the book of *Joshua* [e], and in the *Chinese* annals, though without any year specified [f]	897	1452

[a] Compare GENES. xi. 3. & seq. and art. IV. p. 323, & seq. [b] Ibid. art. VIII. p. 337, & seq. [c] CONF. GEN. ix. 38. & MARTINI, ubi sup. l. 1. sub *Fo-hi*, DU HALDE, & al. [d] Id. ibid. sub *Shin-nong*. [e] JOSH. x. 12. [f] MARTINI, & al. sub *Yau*. Vid. & SHUCKFORD, ubi sup. & vol. iii. p. 63, & seq.

THUS

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THUS far, then, we hope, we have made it ſufficiently appear, both from the teſtimony of the antient *Chineſe* records, and from the more unqueſtionable authority of the Old Teſtament, and *Hebrew* chronology, that *Noah* and *Fo-hi*, as well as *Yau* and *Joſhua*, were cotemporary; ſo that, if the length of the reigns preceding that of *Yau*, as taken by *Martini* out of the *Chineſe* annals, may be depended upon, which we have no reaſon to doubt of, ſeeing they ſo exactly coincide with the length and number of the generations which flouriſhed within the ſame period, according to the *Moſaic* account, we ſhall then have the firſt year of *Yau*'s reign, and the firſt year of the foundation of the *Chineſe* monarchy, fixed upon a ſurer, and more authentic baſis than hath been hitherto offered, or perhaps thought upon, if the joint evidence of the *Chineſe* records, and the authority of the ſacred hiſtorians, and *Hebrew* chronology, may be allowed to be ſuch. By this means the period of *Chineſe* hiſtory, from *Yau* to the birth of Chriſt, as handed over to us by the advocates for the chronology of the ſeptuagint will be cut off ſhorter by almoſt, if not above, 900 years of its pretended antiquity, and brought down to an æra not only more conformable to Scripture and reaſon, but to all the collateral teſtimonies which can be drawn from the hiſtory of other antient nations.

Some further proofs of both phænomena being the ſame.

HOWEVER, as the whole evidence of what hath been urged under this laſt head chiefly depends on the probability of the miraculous phænomenon, obſerved in *China* and *Paleſtine*, being one and the ſame, we ſhall to the chronological, and other proofs already urged, add a corroborative remark or two, not unworthy our readers notice. The firſt is drawn from the very expreſſion uſed by the *Chineſe* annaliſt, that *the ſun did not go down for ten days*, or, as *Martini* tranſlates it, *ſol decem diebus non occidit*[g]; which plainly implies, that that luminary was then in his declenſion with reſpect to *China*, as it muſt certainly have been, conſidering the weſtern ſituation of the land of *Canaan*, where it ſtood ſtill in its full meridian[h]. The ſecond is taken from the dread which the *Chineſe* hiſtorian tells us the whole nation was in of a general conflagration; and ſundry ſuch dreadful diſaſters which he really affirms to have happened in ſome of thoſe countries which were more expoſed to the vertical rays, and of a nature eaſily inflammable, ſuch as heaths, foreſts, *&c.*; or by reaſon of their concave figure, as vallies, whoſe cavities formed ſo many kinds of focuſes, eaſily ſet on fire by the continuance of thoſe perpendicular rays. That the celebrated fable of *Phaeton*'s ſetting the

[g] Ubi ſupra, ſub Yau. [h] Joſh. x. 13.

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Some conflagrations probably cauſed by it.

world on fire had its origin from ſome ſuch extraordinary conflagration, is hardly to be queſtioned; and how many of that ſort might have been occaſioned by this ſupernatural ſolſtice, and cauſed thoſe many barren and ſandy deſarts which lie ſcattered in *Aſia* and *Afric*, by conſuming all that was combuſtible by its intenſe heat, and leaving nothing behind but calcined ſand and aſhes? And might not that long and dreadful one which happened on the *Pyrenees*, and from which they took that name[i], be owing to the ſame cauſe? It is indeed ſaid by the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians to have happened about the year of the flood 729[k], that is, about 168 years before the epocha we are upon: but that is not ſo extraordinary an anachroniſm for a *Spaniſh* chronologer, at ſo remote an epocha, as to make us doubt of the probability of that dreadful fire being cauſed by *Joſhua*'s ſolſtice; eſpecially if we conſider how nearly that vaſt ridge of mountains lay expoſed to the vertical rays of the ſun, and how both the tops and vallies were covered with pines, and other inflammable timber and combuſtible matter; and accordingly the hiſtorians above-named tell us, that they continued burning during ſome weeks; and that the heat was ſo intenſe, that the very metals and minerals boiled out of the bowels of the earth[l]. If it be aſked how the land of *Canaan*, ſtill more expoſed to the vertical ſun, and almoſt as mountainous and woody, could eſcape the like diſaſter? it hath been already anſwered, in the antient *Jewiſh* hiſtory, that it might eaſily do ſo by the friendly interpoſition of thick heavy clouds, loaded with rain and hail, brought thither by the ſame Divine Providence which conducted the whole miraculous tranſaction[m]; and accordingly we read, that ſuch vaſt ſhowers of the latter fell upon the *Canaanitiſh* army, as annoyed them more than the weapons of their enemies[n].

The famed one of the Pyrenees.

The difference between the ſacred and the Chineſe *hiſtorian, as to its duration, accounted for.*

THERE remains now only that we endeavour, according to our promiſe, to account for the difference between the ſacred and *Chineſe* hiſtorian with reſpect to the duration of the ſolſtice in queſtion; the former affirming it to have laſted no longer than one natural day, or 24 hours, over and above the time that had elapſed from ſun-riſing to the mid-day, where it began; and the latter having lengthened it to 10 whole days. But, firſt, it will be here readily granted, that the

[i] Vid. ARISTOT. de Mirabil. Auſcult. DIOD. SICUL. lib. vi. [k] VASEUS Chronic. GARIBAI, & al. Vid. & Antient Hiſtory, vol. xviii. p. 511. [l] ARIST. & SICUL. & al. ſupra citat. [m] See Jewiſh Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 468, (I). 473, & ſeq. & (M). [n] Ib. Vid. & Joſh. x. 11.

great

great conſternation which the *Chineſe* were in might make the time appear much longer than it really was, eſpecially as they had then no other way of meaſuring the day than by the courſe of that luminary. They might likewiſe compute its duration from the growth of ſome favourite plants or flowers, without conſidering that an extraordinary 24 hour's ſun might eaſily accelerate it into a tenfold proportion of a natural day. But, not to inſiſt on that, it is well known, that all nations in thoſe remote times were wont to divide the day into equal portions, which they commonly called watches, or by equivalent names, conſiſting, with ſome, of two; with others, of three, or more hours. It is therefore very probable that the original records mentioned only ten watches; and that, in proceſs of time (either through the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers, or the accidental eraſure of a ſtroke or dot in the character or hieroglyphic which diſtinguiſhed a watch from a day; or, which may be as likely as the other two, thro' a natural affectation, no leſs common to the *Chineſe* than to the reſt of the world, of magnifying the wonder), theſe 10 watches came to be changed into ſo many days. Thus far, then, any of thoſe three ways will naturally enough account for the difference above-mentioned; but nothing can do ſo for ſuch a ſupernatural phænomenon being thus circumſtantially recorded in the *Chineſe* annals, and under a reign ſo exactly coinciding with that of *Joſhua*, according to the moſt authentic *Hebrew* chronology, unleſs we will allow it to be the ſame ſolſtice that is mentioned in both records.

By this time we may flatter ourſelves that the notion of *Noah*'s ſettling in *China*, and founding a monarchy there, will appear to every candid reader ſo far from *abſurd, monſtrous, and contrary to the reaſon and nature of things*, as ſome writers have thought fit to ſtyle it, that it may be fairly allowed to be conſiſtent both with that and our Scripture account and chronology, how much ſoever it may claſh againſt the ſeptuagint, and ſome pretended calculations of eclipſes of the *Chineſe* miſſionaries, both which have been juſtly rejected by the moſt judicious writers of this century [o].

One objection, however, we muſt endeavour to clear up, before we cloſe this ſection, as it has been ſo ſtrenuouſly urged againſt our hypotheſis; it is taken from the following words of *Moſes*: *Theſe* (that is, the deſcendants of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and their deſcendants) *are the families of the ſons of* Noah, *after their generations, in their nations; and by theſe* *Another objection anſwered.*

[o] See Maigrot. Couplet, Fourm. Fouquet Costard, & al. ſup. citat. & Ant. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 110, & ſeq. 150, & ſeq.

were

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were the nations divided in the earth after the flood[p]. From which it is concluded, that if the earth, certainly *China*, must have been peopled by some of those descendants, and not by *Noah* himself, much less by any new offspring he may have had since the deluge, of which *Moses* doth not make the least mention. The misfortune is, that those critics make no scruple to take the words *the earth*, or *the whole earth*, either in their most extensive, or in a more restrained signification, as best suits with their purpose. *Noah* might beget a new offspring after the flood, and with it people the empire of *China*; and that in no-ways clash with the words of *Moses* above-quoted, who, by *the earth*, might intend no more than those families of whose various settlements he was then giving an account, without concerning himself farther about those who migrated towards *China*, the peopling of which, if he knew any thing of it, was quite foreign to his design. However, the reader may call to mind, by what hath been formerly said on that head, that this objection doth not at all concern our hypothesis, which only supposes *Noah* to have separated himself from the rest of his descendants at the land of *Shinaar*, the place of their conspiracy, and to have led with him as many as he could dissuade from joining with them in it. Children he probably had after the flood, as hath been already observed, but those might be but few in comparison of those who followed him into the east; so that *Moses*'s words, *the earth*, may be still taken here in the largest sense, without glancing the least contradiction on our hypothesis, seeing *China* will be found to have been as effectually peopled by the descendants of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, as any other part of the globe.

How Moses could know the length of Noah's life.

If it should be asked how *Moses* came in this case to know so exactly how long *Noah* lived after the flood, the most obvious answer is, That he might do so, as he did many other particulars relating to the creation, the antediluvian world, the deluge, &c. by immediate inspiration; it not being at all beneath the dignity of that sacred historian to take notice, that, the Divine Providence having determined to shorten the life of man, the patriarch *Noah* was the only one of all the postdiluvians who attained to the longevity of his antediluvian ancestors.

However, setting aside inspiration, it is not at all improbable that he might learn that remarkable particular from the *Midianites*, among whom he had lived forty years, and the daughter of one of whose princes, or priests, he had mar-

[p] Genes. x. ult.

ried.

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ried [q]. Some of thoſe ſons of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who were ſent by him into the eaſt [r], might by this time have advanced far enough towards *China* to have ſettled ſome commerce with it by the help of thoſe great caravans that were then much in vogue in all thoſe eaſtern parts; and by that means have been informed of many curious things relating to that empire, among which none could better deſerve their notice and obſervation than the name and extraordinary long life of its celebrated founder.

WE have now quite gone through all the topics we had to offer in favour of the hypotheſis of *Noah* being the ſame with the *Chineſe Fo-hi*, and the founder of that noble empire; and hope that by this time we have at leaſt raiſed it to a greater degree of probability than it hath hitherto attained, as well as fixed its chronology upon a firmer baſis than any yet attempted; by which means a way may be farther opened for greater improvements, and more curious diſcoveries. It were to be wiſhed that the fixing the beginning of their monarchy, and of the reign of *Yau*, upon ſo authentic and unqueſtionable a fact as the miraculous ſolſtice above-mentioned, and backing it with the authority of the *Hebrew* and antient *Chineſe* chronology, could prove of ſtill farther ſervice to us in rectifying the remainder of that long period, from the reign of *Yau* to the birth of Chriſt. But that, we fear, will hardly ever be found practicable, till we can have recourſe to more authentic records, if any ſuch be ſtill extant, than thoſe which have been as yet tranſmitted to us by the *Chineſe* miſſionaries, and on which the length of the dynaſties and reigns manifeſtly appears to have been deſignedly ſtretched out beyond all due bounds in favour of the ſeptuagint, and in order to fill up the extravagant exceſs of 900 years, which that chronology allows to this period above our *Hebrew* one; ſo that, upon the whole, our readers muſt be content to receive the liſt of the ſubſequent reigns from *Yau* to Chriſt on the ſame foot, in point of length, as thoſe miſſionaries have been pleaſed to tranſmit it to us, and with the difference and diſagreement which are ſtill found between their ſeveral accounts of them.

The impoſſibility of rectifying the Chineſe *chronology from* Yau *to Chriſt.*

THE *Chineſe* reckon not their long periods by centuries, as we and other nations do, but by *Kya-ſees*, or cycles of ſixty years; the invention of which is attributed to one of their great mathematicians named *Ta-nau*, who was one of the chief miniſters to the celebrated emperor *Whang-ti*. They ſtyle theſe cycles *Lo-ſhe-wha-kya*, that is, the conſtruction of

Chineſe *cycles, how computed, and when invented.*

[q] Vide Exod. ii. 23, & ſeq. Acts vii. 30. [r] Geneſ. xxv. 2, & ſeq.

ſixty

sixty conversions †, or years (O). Nevertheless several learned moderns are of opinion, that this method of computing by cycles is of much more recent date, though they own it to be next to impossible to ascertain the time of its invention: be that as it will, one of them rightly observes [s], that there is some difference among the *Chinese* annalists about the commencement of that computation; some beginning it from the first year of *Whang-ti*'s reign [t], agreeably to a *Chinese* treatise written on that subject; and others at the eighth year of it [u]. *Du Halde* differs still more from them, who begins his first cycle at the first year of the reign of *Yau*, by which he hath retrenched no less than five cycles and forty years from the *Chinese* chronology, and introduced thereby a double confusion into it; *viz.* first, by lessening the number of cycles; and, secondly, by dating his first from the first year of that monarch's reign, which falls on the 41st of the sixth cycle of the other chronologers; but as he plainly owns that he hath taken all that trouble merely to reconcile his own chronology to that of the septuagint [w], we shall leave him to go on alone in his new track, in order to avoid leading our readers into the like perplexity; and follow that more plain and beaten one which *Martini*, and his predecessors, have trodden before; and in the subsequent chronology, and list of monarchs, begin the *Chinese* cycle at the first year of the emperor *Whang-ti*. In the like manner we shall set down in the margin the respective years of the cycle, in which any remarkable transaction happened, and in the same order as they have done.

The first cycle differently fixed in theirs and other annals.

† See Couplet Præfat. in Hist. Sinic. Du Halde sub Whang-ti, & al. sup. citat. [s] Fourmont, ubi supra, p. 405, & seq. [t] Martini sub Hoang-ti. Couplet, & al. ubi sup. [u] Missions Etrangeres ap. Du Halde Engl. edit. p. 134, (F). [w] Du Halde, ibid. sub Yau, p. 143.

(O) These cycles consist, on one side, of ten, and, on the other, of twelve characters, importing the names of certain animals, and serve both for numbers and signs. The first ten are styled roots, and the others branches; so that every year is marked with one of each sort; and the whole is so contrived, that the same two signs never come together again till the sexagenary is out (4).

Ta-nau, the author of it, was one of the chief ministers of *Whang-ti*, and was appointed by that monarch to find out this sexagenary cycle, whilst the rest had likewise their respective provinces allotted to them, of which a fuller account will be given under that prince's reign (5).

(4) *De hoc, vid. Noel's Observ. Mathem. & Physic. p. 59. Martini, ubi sup. sub Hoang-ti, Du Halde, & al.* (5) *Martini, Du Halde, &c. ibid.*

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We shall, however, think ourselves obliged to dispense with adding to them the years of the flood; since their being calculated according to the septuagint, and not our *Hebrew* chronology, and consequently of no authority to us, would rather introduce a new confusion, without any possible use or benefit. As for those which follow the Christian æra, down to the end of their history, they being more consistent with it, and to be depended upon, we think they ought by no means to be omitted, and shall take care to set them down regularly as they come.

SECT. IX.

The Reigns of the Chinese *Monarchs, from the Foundation of their First Dynasty, down to the Birth of Christ.*

HAVING endeavoured, in the foregoing section, to fix the foundation of the *Chinese* monarchy upon a better and surer foundation than any hitherto extant[a]; and given an account, in our antient history, of the reigns of *Fo-hi*, and his eight immediate successors[b], down to the beginning of their first dynasty, we shall readily excuse ourselves from repeating any thing that hath been said on that subject, except only what will be of farther use towards the fixing of that so much controverted epocha upon the same basis; and, for this, we need only remind our readers, that, as we endeavoured to trace the foregoing period upwards, from the preternatural solstice which is recorded in the *Chinese* annals to have happened some time in the reign of *Yau*; but which we endeavoured to fix, on the authority of the *Hebrew* chronology, to the 67th of that monarch's; so we may, with the same ease and clearness, fix the latter by the years that elapsed between the phænomenon above-mentioned, which was before Christ 1451[c], as follows:

Yau reigned in all 90 years (A), and therefore lived 23 years after the solstice, and died *Anno* — 1408

[a] See p. 362. [b] Vol. xx. p. 137, & seq. [c] See the chronology of our Bibles on Josh. x.

(A), This is according to *Martini* (1), whom, for the reasons above-mentioned, we have chosen to follow, and who places his death on the 20th year of the 8th cycle (2, that is, according to the *Chinese* chronology, in the year before Christ 2258. *Du Halde*, who hath introduced a new, or rather confused the old, order of the *Chinese* chronology, gives *Yau* 100 years reign (3), which, if right, will only bring the foundation of this first dynasty ten years later, that is, in the year before Christ 1357.

(1) *Hist. Sin. sub Yau.* (2) *Id. ib. sub Xun.* (3) *Engl. edit. vol.* i. *p.* 143, *& seq.*

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His successor *Shun* reigned 50 years after *Yau* (B), and died *Anno* — — — — — 1358

The first dynasty, called *Hya*, was founded in the year immediately following the death of *Shun*, or 1357

ACCORDING to this computation, the beginning of this dynasty will be found to come short of the *Chinese* by no less than 850 years, according to *Du Halde*, who places it *Anno* 2207 before Christ, and to carry it earlier by 936 years than Mons. *Fourmont*, who brings it down to the year 441, and consequently to be a kind of medium between those two extremes, and, as such, to be likewise more agreeable to the general opinion of the learned, who think the latter place his as much too low as the former do theirs too high. It will likewise have this farther advantage over them both, or indeed any other hitherto attempted, that it is founded on a more certain basis, the authority of the *Hebrew* chronology; whereas that of the *Chinese* is stretched beyond its due bounds, either out of affectation of a superior antiquity, or to bring it up to the standard of the septuagint; and the other is as unreasonably curtailed upon no better ground than some uncertain conjectures, and a few vague and precarious parallels drawn from profane history; and all this not improbably from mere opposition to the Jesuitical writers, against whom some late *French* authors have been sanguine enough to say, that those six dynasties which preceded the Christian æra might be reduced to a much smaller number of years [d], that is, that six dynasties, containing the reigns of 111 monarchs, might be comprehended within a shorter space than 441 years; for so many the *Chinese* records affirm to have belonged to those six dynasties, as the reader may see by the table we shall subjoin of them.

IN the mean time, leaving these opponents to dispute that point among themselves, we may, we hope, safely appeal to every impartial reader, whether our calculations do not, by this time, appear the most rational, as well as the best founded. All we shall farther observe in its favour, from what hath been urged in the last section, is, that the period between *Fo-hi* and *Yau*, which, we are told, is given up by the *Chinese* historians, as well as by the Jesuits, as fabulous, or, at the best, as uncertain and indefensible, doth, by his surprising

[d] De his, vid. vol. xx. p. 152, & seq.

(B) Both *Martini* and *Du Halde* allow him a reign of 50 years, that is, 33 by himself, and 17 with his worthy colleague *Yu*, whom he also appointed his successor (4).

(4) *Martin. ubi sup. Suk Xun. Du Halde, ibid. p.* 145. *See also Ant. Hist. vol.* xx. *p.* 147, *& seq.*

con-

conformity to the length of the lives of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs mentioned by *Moſes*, and coetaneous with it, bid faireſt for being the moſt genuine and uncorrupt, and the moſt to be depended upon, of any that follow it, down to the birth of Chriſt: ſo that whatever alterations were afterwards made in the *Chineſe* chronology, or, in other words, whatever number of years have been ſince added to the duration of the firſt ſix dynaſties, in order to ſtretch them out to 2207 years, they muſt of courſe have been foiſted into that period; whilſt that which preceded it, from *Yau* upwards to *Fo-hi*, being given up as uncertain, if not fabulous, had the good fortune to eſcape their amendments. But as it is impoſſible to know or gueſs, until ſome more authentic annals can be produced, what addition of years hath been made to each of thoſe ſix firſt dynaſties, in order to ſtretch them to the length we find them in; ſo neither will it be expected that we ſhould attempt any other emendation to the following tables according to *Du Halde*, than the fixing the year of the firſt dynaſty according to the calculation we have given above: neither ſhall we attempt to alter the length of any of their reigns, which would be no leſs preſumptuous than impoſſible, whatever other learned perſons may venture to do; and large ſcope they may give to themſelves in ſo dark and remote a province, of which thoſe of Monſ. *Fourmont* may ſerve for a taſte to our readers; and whoſe tables we ſhall ſubjoin, oppoſite to thoſe of the *Chineſe* and Jeſuits, out of *Du Halde*. As to the dynaſties which follow the Chriſtian æra, the reader will find leſs diſſonance about them; and both joined together are as follows (C):

(C) As we have had occaſion to mention, in a former volume, ſome modern, and, for the moſt part, ſhort-lived dynaſties of the ſame name with thoſe antient ones, as *Hya*, *Han*, and which we are going to give in the following liſt, tho' not founded till ſome thouſand years after them, that is, till the total diſſolution of that of *Yuen*, or *Mungl*, in the year of Chriſt 1280; it will not be improper, in order to prevent all miſapprehenſions from the likeneſs of their names, to appriſe our readers, that the founders of theſe modern ones meant no more by it than to dignify theſe their reſpective new dynaſties by the name or title of ſome of the moſt conſiderable among the antient ones: and accordingly one ſtiled his own the dynaſty of *Han* (5); another his by that of *Hya* (6), &c. and got them inrolled under thoſe names in the *Chineſe* annals, tho' they were all obliged to give place to that of *Ming*; ſo that, in fact, there have been no more dynaſties, properly ſo called, than the 22 which follow:

(5) *Vol.* v. *p.* 68. (6) *Ibid. p.* 69, *&c ſeq.*

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A Table of the Twenty-two Chinese *Dynasties, or Imperial Families, that have possessed the Throne successively.*

Dynasties.	Emperors.	Beginning of each Dynasty. Years bef. Christ.	Duration, according to Du Halde.	Duration, according to Fourmont.	Began, according to our hypothesis.
I. *Hya* - -	17	2207	458	441	1357
II. *Shang*, or *Ing*	28	1766	644	664	
III. *Chew* - -	35	1122	873	874	
IV. *Tsin* - -	4	248	48	42	
V. *Han* - -	25	206	426	425	
		Aft. Chr.			
VI. *Hew-han* -	2	220	44	45	
VII. *Tsin* - -	15	265	155	155	
VIII. *Song* - -	8	420	59	59	
IX. *Tsi* - - -	5	479	23	23	
X. *Lyang* - -	4	502	55	55	
XI. *Chin* - -	5	557	33	---	
XII. *Swi* - -	3	---	29	37	
XIII. *Tang* - -	20	618	289	289	
XIV. *Hew-lyang* -	2	907	16	16	
XV. *Hew-tang* -	4	923	13	13	
XVI. *Hew-tsin* -	2	936	11	11	
XVII. *Hew-han* -	2	947	4	4	
XVIII. *Hew-chew* -	3	951	9	9	
XIX. *Song* - -	18	960	319	320	
XX. *Yuen* - -	9	1280	89	88	
XXI. *Ming* - -	16	1268	276	277	
XXII. *Tsing* - -	3	1645	92	---	

The First Dynasty (D), *called* Hya, *consisting of* 17 *Emperors, and* 458 *Years.*

I. *Dynasty* Hya. *Cycle* 9. *Year bef. Chr.* 2207. Yu-ta I. *emperor.*

THIS dynasty begins, according to the *Chinese* annalists, on the 11th year of the 9th cycle, and with the reign of the emperor *Yu*, surnamed *Ta*, or *the Great*, who, as we have

(D) The *Chinese* word *Chau*, which our writers translate *dynasty*, doth not properly signify either that, or a race, family, or succession, according to Mr. *Fourmont*, but rather a certain number of years; the whole time which any race possessed the dominion being called the *Chau* of such a race as *Hya Chau*, or the *Chau* of the *Hya*, that is, the whole space during which the *Hya*

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have seen in their antient history, was preferred to the throne by *Shun*, their ninth monarch from *Fo-hi*, on account of his great merit, before any of his own family [k]; on which account one of his sons attempted to raise a revolt against him, but without success, he being abandoned by the grandees and the common people. His singular merit not only kept him firm on the throne, but made that, as well as the high-priesthood, which had been before united to the crown, to become both hereditary in his family; since which time it was made death by the law for any but the emperor to offer sacrifice. *The crown made hereditary in his family.*

YU-TA was a very just and mild prince, always open to the advice of his ministers; and devised a most extraordinary way of giving all his subjects a free access to his person, whether to obtain justice or favour from him, or prefer a complaint against any of his officers (E); and is reported to have risen *His noble character.*

[k] Vid. Univers. Hist. vol. xx. p. 149.

Hya reigned; and so of the rest (18).

We beg leave likewise to remind the reader, that what the *Chinese* annalists style the ninth, is by *Du Halde* styled only the third, he having struck out the six preceding ones, from the third emperor *Whang-ti*, or, as *Martini* and others write him, *Hoangtius*, down to that of *Yau*, or *Yuus*, where he begins his own, contrary to all his brothers (19).

(E) We are told, that he caused a bell, a drum, and three tables, one of iron, a second of lead, and the third of stone, to be fastened to the gates of his palace, on which was an order fixed, that all those who wanted to speak to him, should strike on the instruments, or tables, according to the nature of their business. The bell was for civil affairs; the drum for matters relating to the laws, or religion; the leaden table for those that concerned the government, or ministry; the stone one was to denote a complaint against the injustice of any magistrate; and the iron one was to express some very severe treatment; and he is accordingly reported to have left his dinner twice, and his bath three times, in one day, to go and redress the people's grievances, at the first sound of those instruments (20).

However, with relation to his ministers who came to advise him, *Martini* adds a story which is more to the glory of his empress, than his own: for, being once so far exasperated at the boldness of one of them, as to resolve to cut him off, that amiable princess, having timely notice of it, came immediately to him, in a more sumptuous dress, and greater chearfulness in her

(18) *Fourmont Reflect. critiq. sur l'hist. des anc. peupl. tom.* ii. *p.* 397. *Du Halde Engl. vol.* i. *p.* 136, (C). (19) *Conf. Du Halde sub Yau & Yu, cum Martini sub Yuus, p.* 47. *Couplet, Noel, & al. sub. eod.* (20) *Martini, Couplet, Du Halde, & al. in Yu.*

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risen often from his table, or left his bath, or other amusements, to hear the grievances of his people. The book *Shuking* mentions several of his noble instructions to princes, and other wise sayings. It was under his reign that *I-tye* invented the *Chinese* wine made of rice, elsewhere described [l]; which the emperor no sooner had tasted, than he foretold the mischiefs which that pernicious liquor would cause not only to the empire, but likewise to his family; in both which he proved but too true a prophet: though, to prevent either as much as possible, he caused a law to be enacted, expressly forbidding the making and drinking of that liquor, under the severest penalties. But, as the art of making it could not be banished with its author, it was not long before the liquor became in vogue, and is still one of the greatest delicacies at the tables of the *Chinese*, as we have elsewhere shewn [m].

Rice Wine invented and forbid.

YU-TA was a great master of astronomy, astrology, and agriculture; and wrote an excellent treatise on the latter, in which he taught his subjects how to improve their own lands, by manuring, raising, and levelling them, and particularly by opening a course to the waters, to make them flow from the grounds which had too much, or lay under them, into those that wanted them. He reigned seventeen years with *Shun*, who had raised him to the throne, and ten by himself, and died greatly regretted by all his subjects [n].

His treatise on agriculture.

Death.

II. *TI-KI*, his worthy son, and inheritor of his virtues, succeeded him, to the great joy of all his subjects; but found

II. Ti-ki.

[l] See before, p. 279, & 350. [m] See before, p. 379. & seq. & (W). [n] Martini, Couplet, Noel, Du Halde, & al.

looks, than usual; and, being asked the occasion of it, gave him this noble answer: "You "and I have great reason to "congratulate each other on "your having such wise and "faithful ministers, who, in"stead of misguiding you by "their flattery, dare speak the "truth without fear. It is the "greatest happiness of a prince, "to have those about him from "whom he may learn the truth, "which is but too often sup"pressed by the very fear of "offending." This speech had the desired effect; the emperor's resentment was so effectually disarmed, that his ear from that time was equally opened either to advice or reproof. The reader may see, in the authors above-quoted, many other instances of his wisdom and prudence, but especially of his extraordinary tenderness and compassion, particularly whenever he saw any of his subjects dragged to any severe punishment, which we have no room to relate (21).

(21) *Martini, sub Yu, p.* 52.

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the beginning of his reign unhappily disturbed by one of his tributary princes, who raised a war against him, with a design of making himself independent. *Ti-ki* put himself at the head of his army; and, by the assistance of six other tributary princes, soon quelled the revolt. But his subjects did not long enjoy the happiness they had begun to taste under his wise and mild government, before he was snatched from them in the ninth year of his reign; and was succeeded by his son. He left five worthy brothers, on whom he had bestowed as many governments in some of the provinces of the empire, which his son raised afterwards into principalities, that they might live in a manner suitable to their birth [o].

Year of the 9th cycle, 21. Bef. Chr. 2197.

III. *TAY-KANG*, on his mounting the throne, instead of following the steps of his predecessors, left the care of the state to some of his favourites, whilst he gave himself up to hunting, to wine and women, and other unworthy pleasures. He spent whole days in pursuing of wild beasts, and let his numerous train of men, dogs, and horses, destroy the plains and harvest of his subjects, for which they made loud and heavy complaints; but, finding them all ineffectual, they were driven into such resentment and despair, that they revolted against him, whilst he was ranging the woods after his sport. The person to whom they applied was a nobleman named *I*, or *Ys*, who had then the command and the love of the whole army; and who, being moved by their cries and misery, resolved to dethrone and banish him, which he easily compassed by the help of the rest of the nobility, who all unanimously joined with him, and set his youngest brother *Chung-kang* upon the throne, after he had reigned twenty-nine years [p] (F).

III. Tay-kang. *Year of the 9th cycle, 30. Bef. Chr. 2188.*

IV. *CHUNG-KANG*, though raised to the empire by universal consent of the nobles and people, refused to take the

IV. Chung-kang.

[o] Martini, Couplet, Noel, Du Halde, & al. [p] Id. ibid.

(F) *Tay-kang* did but too truly verify his grandfather *Yu-ta*'s prediction of the dreadful mischiefs which rice-wine would bring on his empire and family; for it was now become so much in vogue, that it had let in an inundation of other vices. His mother and five brethren were obliged to accompany him in his exile; and *Martini* adds, that the *Xu-king*, or *Shu-king*, hath recorded in deep elegiac verses the doleful complaints, and severe reproaches, which these five made to that unhappy prince, a sketch of which he hath given us at the end of his reign (22).

(22) *Martini, in Yu, p.* 56, *& seq.*

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Year of the 9th cycle. 59. *Bef. Chr.* 2159.

title of emperor during his brother's life; so that the years which elapsed between the deposition and death of the latter are not reckoned to the reign of the former. This conduct was universally admired, though that prince was not without some fear that *I*, or *Ys*, whose power and credit had so easily dethroned his brother, might one day make use of it against himself. To secure himself, therefore, against his intrigues, without appearing guilty of ingratitude, he not only seemed to place the greatest confidence in him, but protested that he could not be without the counsel of so wise and faithful a minister, and having him constantly near his own person. *I*, who made no doubt of shortly getting an absolute ascendant over him, and ingrossing the whole government into his hands, easily gave into the snare; and resigned the command of the army, as incompatible with his new post; and *Chung-kang* gave it to *Chew*, a faithful and experienced officer,

I, FINDING himself over-reached, and rather suspected than beloved by that prince, resolved to revenge himself by the total destruction of the imperial family; but, as that could not be done whilst so faithful and able a man as *Chew* was at the head of the army, he tried in vain all means either of rendering him suspected, or of destroying him by some other way. At length he had recourse to a new stratagem; which was, to gain the grandees over to him by his profuse generosity, whilst he artfully strove to secure himself of the favour and confidence of his son and successor, till he could effect his ruin without hazard. In the mean time the exiled *Tay-kang* died, and *Chung-kang* took upon him the title of emperor; but was soon after taken off by a sudden death, and left the throne to his son *Ti-fyang*, after he had held it twenty-nine years [q]. It was in some part of his reign, tho' authors are not agreed about the year, that the so much famed eclipse happened, of which we have had occasion to speak more than once [r], and concerning which the *Chinese* records affirm, that *Hi* and *Ho*, who presided over the tribunal of the mathematics, were put to death for having neglected to foretel and insert it in the ephemeris of that year (G), which was then a capital crime.

A famous eclipse.

V. *Ti-*

[q] MARTINI, COUPLET, NOEL, DU HALDE, & al. [r] See Un. Hist. vol. xx. p. 109. & 151. See also before, p. 183, (B).

(G) This eclipse (which is said by the *Chinese* astronomers to have happened in conjunction with the constellation *Fang*, a bright star on the south side of the lucid one at the head of *Scorpio*) is affirmed by the missionaries to have been verified by

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V. *TI-SYANG*, alias *Syangus*, succeeded his father; but, instead of following his wife measures, and guarding himself against the intrigues of the traitor *I*, made him his chief confident, and soon after transferred the command of the army from the faithful *Chew* to him; and, by that fatal step, put it again in his power to execute his long-projected design against the imperial family. His new post gained him a vast number of creatures, and his liberality the love of the army; insomuch that the infatuated emperor, who could now no longer be blind to his treacherous designs, was forced to flee for refuge to the courts of two of his tributary princes and relations. *I* tried all the means he could invent to disculpate himself; complained to him, by the most submissive letters, of his being falsely traduced by his enemies; and begged of him to return to his own metropolis, and he would soon convince him that he had not a more faithful or zealous subject in his empire. He went so far as to accuse several of the emperor's most faithful friends of sundry crimes, and to have them either banished, or put to death, and filled their posts with his own creatures,

V. Ti-syang. *Year of the* 10*th cycle*, 12. *Bef. Chr.* 2146. *I's treason discover'd.*

He succeeded so well, that he looked upon himself as already on the throne, when his base treachery was punished in kind by one of his own creatures and confidents, whom he had raised from one post to another, and at length to the command of the army. *Han-tse*, that was the villain's name, an artful and ambitious man, saw plainly enough that it would be easy for him to mount the throne himself, by cutting off both his benefactor and sovereign; and, as the soldiery were intirely devoted to him, he made no scruple to order a number of them to assassinate *I* as he was hunting; which was done accordingly; and afterwards gave out, that it was done by the emperor's orders, and as a just punishment for his treason. His next step was, to send for *Kyau*, the eldest son of *I*, an active and violent youth, and to persuade

Punished by one of his creatures.

by fresh astronomical calculations, and is much insisted on to prove the early skill of the *Chinese* in that branch of astronomy. We shall not repeat what we have said in a former section against that vain pretence (1); but only observe farther, that some of the *Chinese* historians suspect them to have suffered death not for neglect of foretelling it, but for being carousing with some of the friends of the traitor *I* when it happened, and probably for raising some sort of predictions from it in his favour (2).

(1) *See before*, p. 182, & *seq.*. (2) *Conf. Martini, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.*

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him to revenge his father's death; to accomplish which, he furnished him with a body of troops, and advised him to march immediately at the head of them against the emperor; who, not having time to raise a sufficient army, was easily defeated by him. *Kyan* killed the emperor, and the two tributary princes, with his own hands; and *Han-tso*, to make sure of the crown, destroyed soon after the whole imperial family, excepting the empress, who, being then pregnant, escaped with much difficulty into the mountainous parts. Thus fell the unfortunate *Ti-fyang*, after a reign of twenty-seven years; and the usurper, being now in possession of the empire, rewarded the son of *I* with a considerable territory, which he created into a principality [a].

The emperor murdered.

HAN-TSO, alias *Kao-tsung*, mounted the throne, and held it forty years, but was at length deprived of it and his life by the true heir of the imperial family; for the queen, who, as we hinted above, fled to the mountains, took refuge among the shepherds, and was there delivered of a son, whom she named *Shau-kang*, and brought him up unknown to any one; so that he was grown up to years of maturity, before *Han-tso* heard of it: but being afterwards informed, that the usurper was making a strict search after him, he retired from thence, and went and hired himself as a domestic at the court of one of the tributary princes, where he passed for a shepherd's son. It was not long, however, before his extraordinary air and behaviour gave that prince reason to think him much higher born than he pretended; and, having questioned him about it one day in the kindest manner, was by him informed of the whole mystery of his birth, family, and concealment; upon which he tenderly embraced him, and promised him his protection and best services; and, as an earnest of it, gave him his daughter in marriage, with part of his principality for a portion. *Shau-kang*, having now a better opportunity of displaying his parts and merit, easily convinced him that he was worthy of the throne; and he, on the other hand, lost no time to acquaint all the nobles and ministers, who were in the interest of the late emperor, with the discovery, and with the excellent character of the young prince. By that time the tyrant was become so hateful to all the people, that they joyfully sided with their lawful prince; who, having raised an army, attacked, and took him prisoner, and put him to a shameful death.

Han-tso *usurps the throne* 40 *years.*

Shau-kang's *birth and retreat.*

Discovers himself.

Defeats the usurper.

VI. Shau-kang

VI. *SHAU-KANG* ascended the throne of his ancestors with universal acclamations; and, immediately after his co-

[a] Vide MARTIN. DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat. sub Ti-fyang.

ronation,

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ronation, ordered his forces to purſue the accomplices of the late treaſon. *Kiau* ſtood in his own defence, but, his little army being eaſily cut off, he was taken priſoner, and beheaded, and as many of the rebels as could be caught were likewiſe put to death; by which means the tranquillity of the empire was again happily reſtored, and the laws reſumed their antient vigour. *Shau-kang* took all proper meaſures to reform all the abuſes which had crept in during the late uſurpation; and had the pleaſure to ſee his orders readily obeyed, and his people happy and eaſy under his wiſe government. His reputation drew ſeveral ambaſſies from foreign princes, and his reign proved as glorious as peaceable. He died in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, and was ſucceeded on the next year by his ſon, *mounts the throne. Year of the 11th cycle, 19. Bef. Chr. 2058.*

VII. *TI-SHU*, alias *Chus*; in whoſe reign nothing extraordinary happened, except ſome few revolts on the ſea-coaſts, which were almoſt as ſoon quelled as raiſed. The empire in every other reſpect enjoyed a profound peace during his reign, which laſted ſeventeen years. VII. Ti-ſhu. *Year of the 11th cycle, 41. Bef. Chr. 2057.*

VIII. *TI-WHAY*, alias *Hoay* or *Hoajus*, ſucceeded his father; and was in ſuch high eſteem, and his empire in ſuch a flouriſhing condition, that foreign princes ſought his friendſhip far and near (H), and ſeveral of them put themſelves under his protection. But the long peace he enjoyed made him become effeminate; and ſuch a ſlave to his pleaſures, that he ſpent the remainder of his reign cloſe ſhut up in his palace among his women and eunuchs, without ever ſhewing himſelf to the people. All that time his favourites governed with ſuch an arbitrary ſway, that the ſubjects had no poſſible means to prefer, as uſual, either requeſt or complaint to him; and this oppreſſion continued till the end of his reign, which had laſted twenty-ſix years, when he died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, VIII. Ti-whay. *Year of the 11th cycle, 58. Bef. Chr. 2040.*

IX. *TI-MANG*, alias *Mangus*; whoſe reign proved much the ſame as the former, except that he was not quite ſo immerſed in pleaſure, though equally indolent. He is recorded for no one remarkable thing, except his removing his court towards the *Yellow River*, and viſiting ſome maritime places. He reigned eighteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, IX. Ti-mang. *Year of the 12th cycle, 24. Bef. Chr. 2014.*

(H) Some of thoſe ambaſſadors are ſaid to have come to *China* by ſea, and from ſeveral of the adjacent iſlands, tho' they do not name them; from which it appears, at leaſt, that the art of navigation was then known. But that the *Japaneſe* iſlanders were of that number, as ſome *Europeans* have ſuppoſed, is by no means probable, on ſeveral accounts, which we ſhall have a more proper occaſion to mention in their hiſtory.

X. *TI-*

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X. Ti-sye. *Year of the 12th cycle, 42. Bef. Chr. 1996.*

X. *TI-SYE*, alias *Is*; who was so famed for his love of justice, and singular care to preserve his subjects in peace and wealth, that several of the petty sovereigns of the neighbouring nations became his tributaries, and came in person to pay their homage to him. *Ti-sye* not only granted these his protection, but rewarded their fidelity with titles and dignities, which they were not a little ambitious of; and sometimes with presents, much more than equivalent to the tribute they paid him[t]. He reigned sixteen years, and left his crown to his son.

XI. Ti pu-kyang. *Year of the 12th cycle, 58. Bef. Chr. 1980.*

XI. *TI-PU-KYANG* reigned fifty-nine years; during which long space it is surprising the *Chinese* annals have not found something worth recording, except some factions which reigned among the princes of the blood about the succession, which he however obtained after his father's death. This silence is attributed to the great tranquillity which his subjects enjoyed during his reign; but he did not take the same care to secure the crown to his son *Kong-kia*, whom he had nominated his successor; so that he was obliged to give way to the superior power of his uncle,

XII. Ti-kyong.

XII. *TI-KYONG*, or *Kung*, who wrested it from him; and, after an usurpation of twenty-one years, left it to his son,

XIII. Ti-kin.

XIII. *TI-KIN*, who held it likewise from the right heir twenty-one years more; but became so contemptible to the people by his debaucheries, that he could not secure it to his son; so that, after his death, it was restored to *Kong-kia*, whom his father had deprived of it.

XIV. Kong-kia. *Year of the 14th cycle, 39. Bef. Chr. 1769.* *His vices and death.*

XIV. *KONG-KIA*, alias *Cung-kia*, instead of learning wisdom by his forty-two years of adversity and misfortunes, no sooner saw himself on the throne, than he abandoned himself to his pleasures, and became one of the lewdest and most effeminate princes that ever reigned. None but the worst sycophants and flatterers could get access to him, or have any share in the government; by which means he became so odious to the people, and so contemptible to his vassal princes, that they refused to pay him either tribute or homage, whilst his debaucheries and extravagancies had put it out of his power to oblige them to it. Neither did he take one step towards it, or rousing himself from his effeminate indolence; but, after a shameful reign of thirty-one years, left the crown to a son who inherited all his vices, as well as his throne[u]. About four years before his death was born the

[t] Martini, Couplet, Noel, Du Halde, & al. [u] Id. ibid.

famed

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famed *Ching-tang*, who afterwards became the founder of the second dynasty [w].

XV. *TI-KAU*, or *Cau*, copied after his father, tho' the throne had begun for some time to totter in his family; and, making his palace the scene of his most infamous pleasures, shortened his days, and left the crown to *Ti-fa* his son, after a short reign of eleven years.

XV. Ti-kau. *Year of the 15th cycle*, 10. *Bef. Chr.* 1848.

XVI. *TI-FA*, or *Faw*, is not recorded either for any virtues or vices during the nineteen years of his reign, nor for any thing but the homage which was paid to him by the tributary princes on his accession to the throne; and his being the unhappy parent of *Kya*, the most wicked of men, and the last of the dynasty of *Hya*.

XVI. Ti-fa. *Year of the 15th cycle*, 21. *Bef. Chr.* 1838.

XVII. *KYA*, alias *Kieu*, though said to have had some good qualities, yet proved such a monster of wickedness and cruelty, that his memory is as much hated to this day as that of *Nero* was among the *Romans*. His empress, still more wicked and barbarous than he, had such an absolute ascendant over him, that she made him commit the most enormous excesses of cruelty and debauchery to please her (I). He became

XVII. Kya. *Year of the 15th cycle*, 40. *Bef. Chr.* 1818. *His wicked reign.*

[w] Du Halde, ubi sup. sub Kong kia.

(I) This monster of a woman, whom the *Chinese* annalists call *Vi-hia* (3), not only put that infatuated monarch upon committing the greatest extortions on the subjects, to supply her unmeasurable extravagance in building, furniture, &c. but prevailed on him to have a large spot of ground digged up in the form of a lake, and to be filled with wine; 3000 men were sent thither every day, who were obliged to kneel upon all fours round the borders of it, and to lap the wine like so many dogs, till they were drunk, after which they were ordered to reel to a neighbouring wood, where they found oxen, deer, hogs, and other beasts, ready dressed, and hanging on the trees, and there assuaged their hunger, as they had done their thirst before; and this used to be one of her mildest diversions.

Another, and more scandalous by far, with which she used to delight herself with him, was in a private apartment of the palace, where they kept a number of the finest young persons of both sexes, fetched far and near, and bought at a vast price, to shew all manner of naked and lewd postures, and play the most shameful tricks with each other. But the most inhuman of all was the butcheries she caused to be made of those brave ministers who dared to prefer a complaint or remonstrance, or even shew a dislike,

(3) *Vid. Martini sub Kieu.*

against

came at length so odious to his subjects of all ranks, that they were on the point of dethroning him, when one of his chief ministers, who had still some remains of tenderness for his person, undertook to represent to him, in the most serious and respectful manner, the imminent danger which his licentiousness and tyranny exposed him to; and was executed for it in his presence. His fury did not abate the zeal of the rest; some of them ventured even to present a severe memorial to him, in which they scrupled not to upbraid him with his murders, cruelty, and other scandalous vices; which so exasperated him, that he resolved to put the authors of it to death.

Ching-tang rais'd to the throne.

AMONG them, the great *Ching-tang*, lately mentioned, a tributary prince, of the race of *Whang-ti*, a wise and worthy person, having ventured to join his remonstrance to theirs, was for it cast into prison; where he had not lain long, before he was unanimously chosen by all the states to succeed him, and obliged to declare war against the tyrant; in doing which, he however took care to disclaim all title to the crown, and to declare that he only took up arms to bring him to reason, and a sense of his duty. His army was soon completed, every prince assisting him with troops; whilst *Kya* found such a general defection among his subjects, that he could raise but a handful of men. Neither succeeded he better in his application to the *Tartars*, whom he endeavoured to gain by the fairest promises; so greatly was he abhorred by them, that they plainly told him they would never take up arms in favour of so wicked a prince. *Kya*, seeing himself thus abandoned on all sides, had recourse to dissimulation and intreaties; and only begged of *Chang-tang*, that he would spare his life: which had so great an effect on that noble prince, that he not only granted it to him, but restored him the crown; and, quitting the command of the army, retired to his own little state. For this unexampled moderation he was greatly admired by all but the ungrateful *Kya*, who no sooner saw himself resettled on the throne, than he returned to his former vices; and, to complete all, raised an army, and marched against him as a rebel and a traitor. *Ching-tang* had by that

Restores him, and retires.

Kya's ingratitude.

against any of their detestable practices (4); so that, upon the whole, it may be justly said, that this first dynasty owed its extinction to a woman; the emperor being confessed to have had several good qualities, which might have made him a good prince, if he had not been so unhappily yoked to, and governed by, that monster of lewdness and cruelty.

(4) *Martini sub Kieuo, & al. ubi sup.*

time

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time, put himself in a good posture of defence; but, when both armies came to engage, he saw, with pleasure, all the imperial forces come over to him, and lay their arms at his feet, proclaiming him their emperor, and deliverer. *Kya* had now no other resource but flight; but was pursued, till he got quite out of the boundaries of the *Chinese* empire; and there ended his days, after an ignominious exile of three, and a reign of fifty-two, years [x]; and with him ended the first dynasty.

defeat, exile, and death.

The Second Dynasty, called Shang (K); *comprehending Twenty-eight Emperors, in the Space of* 644 *Years.*

II. *Dynasty.* I. Ching-tang. *Year of the 16th cycle* 32. *Bef. Chr.* 1766.

I. *CHING-TANG* was proclaimed emperor, with the loudest acclamations of the whole empire, as soon as *Kya* was got beyond the boundaries of it. The great proofs he had already given of his wisdom, moderation, and singular merit, made him be received, through every place he passed, as a deliverer and saviour sent from heaven; and he was almost the only person who thought himself unfit for so important a trust; insomuch, that he assembled his ministers and grandees no less than three times, in order to resign the crown, which, he told them, any other would more worthily wear than himself; adding, that he thought himself sufficiently rewarded, in having so happily delivered his country from tyranny; and that he preferred the small state which heaven had allotted to him, to an empire, of which he was not the lawful heir, and did not think himself able to govern. The sequel proved how sincere he was, and above all artifice, in what he thus freely declared to them: for, when his grandees came to represent to him, that *he was raised to it by the particular direction, which, being touched with the miseries of the people, had made choice of him for their deliverer* (*which*, they told him, *was manifest from the unanimous concurrence of all the states, and the universal joy of all the subjects, which plainly shewed, that they would have no other sovereign but him*); *Ching-tang*, overcome by their pressing instances to accept of the government, made no delay

[x] Martini, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.

(K) This was the name he gave to the imperial family, from which the whole dynasty took it, it being that by which the little state was called, in which he formerly had governed, in quality of a king, or tributary prince (5).

(5) *Vide Martini, ubi sup. Vide Du Halde, sub* Ching-tang.

to apply himself to the business of it, in such manner as should fully answer, if not exceed, the high expectations they had conceived of him.

He began, accordingly, with the choice of some faithful and able ministers; among whom was *I-jin*, or *I-yn*, a person of known virtue and wisdom, whom he placed at the head both of the council and army, by whose help and advice, he soon wrought a reformation through the empire. He repealed all the cruel laws of his predecessor, and enacted others, in lieu of them, full of wisdom and equity. The army, which had been formerly used to plunder, was brought under the strictest discipline; so that order and tranquility were again restored through every province. In his reign were found some rich gold mines in the mountains that divide the provinces of *Xan-si* and *Pe-chili*; the benefit of which he freely granted to the inhabitants, without any tax or profit to himself. He caused to be engraven on all the vessels which were for the use of the palace, the most excellent maxims of morality, that both himself and his officers might have continually before their eyes those principles by which they ought to square their conduct. In a word, he was so highly esteemed by all the neighbouring princes, that many of them readily became tributaries, and submitted themselves to his empire; and as for the people, they filled the air every-where with their praises of him, and prayers for him, and justly looked upon him as their greatest benefactor, as a tender father, and the author of all their happiness (L). And when he died, which was in the

(L) This excellent prince gave a signal proof of his fatherly tenderness, in the time of an universal drought, which lasted seven years, without one drop of rain, and had caused a grievous famine among his subjects; when attributing that calamity to his own faults, he devoted himself a victim for the welfare of the people. He first observed a rigorous fast; then laying aside the imperial ornaments, cut off his hair and nails, both which were then worn very long, he marched out barefoot, in the guise of a criminal, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, entreated the Supreme Being to spare his subjects, and let the whole weight of his wrath fall on him alone. This prayer he repeated six times, with the same fervency; and, at the end of it, the sky became covered with clouds, which poured down a plentiful and general rain, and restored the earth to its usual fruitfulness and plenty thro' the whole empire (6).

This famine is supposed, by some of the missionaries, to be the same which is mentioned

(6) *Martini, Couplet, Du Halde, & al. supra citat. sub* Ching-tang.

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the thirteenth year of his reign, the whole empire went into mourning, and every one lamented for him, as for the loss of a parent. His eldest son *Tay-ting* dying before him, he left the crown to his grandson, named

II. *TAY-KYA*, or *Tai-kiaw*, who, instead of treading in his grandfather's steps, began his reign in such a manner, as gave reason to fear he would soon become despised and odious to his subjects. To prevent which, *I-in*, the wise and faithful minister of the late emperor, after several fruitless admonitions, thought fit to make use of his authority, which was still very great; and having in vain represented to the young monarch the abuse he made of the power, which heaven had intrusted him with, chiefly for the good of his people, made use of a stratagem, to reclaim him, as needed all his great reputation and credit to support and justify him in it.

II. Tay-kya. *Year of the 16th cycle, 45. Bef. Chr. 1753. Unpromising beginning.*

He caused a house to be built near the tomb of the late emperor, and shut up the young monarch in it, that he might have time to reflect on his former ill conduct, and form his future one by the example, and near the ashes, of his excellent grandfather; and, at the same time, he declared himself guardian, both of the prince and empire. He kept him there three whole years, closely confined; by which time, the young monarch, now no longer blinded by the splendor of his fortune, had made such serious reflections on his past ill conduct, and on his want of those virtues that were requisite for the well-governing of so great an empire, as quite convinced those who were about him, that he was now a new man, and would steer a quite opposite course. Whereupon

I-in's *noble stratagem to reclaim him proves successful.*

in *Genesis* (7); but, besides the improbability that such calamity should spread itself so far over the earth, as to have reached from *Egypt* to *China*, the *Chinese* famine, according to them, falls about the year before Christ 1760, and that of *Egypt* in 1708, according to the *Hebrew* chronology; and the same will appear still more antedated, if the reign of *Yau*, their eighth monarch, be brought down so low as the time of *Joshua*, as we have lately hinted (8), and will appear to be more synchronical with that which happened in *David*'s time (9); for though this last continued but three years in *Palestine*, yet the *Jewish* doctors affirm, that it lasted seven years in other parts, which they infer from the words of the Prophet *Gad* to *David* (10); but we see no reason to suppose, that a drought or famine must be felt through so vast a tract of land, as lieth between the *Mediterranean* and the eastern or *Chinese* sea.

(7) *Chap.* xli. *pass.* (8) *See before, p.* 362. (9) 1 *Sam.* xxi. *pass.* (10) *Confer. chap.* xxiv. 13. & 1 *Chron.* xxi. 12.

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I-in went himself to him, and conducted him out of his confinement; and having placed him on the throne, proclaimed him emperor a second time. The people, charmed with his behaviour, especially to that great minister, whom, instead of signs of resentment, he loaded with commendations, and tokens of the highest gratitude and confidence, did joyfully acknowlege their emperor, and bestowed the highest encomiums on him, and his now greatest favourite and confident. From that time *Tay-kya* followed his advice in every thing, and governed with such singular prudence, that the tributary princes, who had begun to revolt, gladly returned to their duty; and all the orders of the state were perfectly submissive to him, whilst he lived. He reigned thirty-three years, and was succeeded by *Wo-ting*, another grandson of *Ching-tang*.

Tay-kya's death.

III. Wo-ting. Year of the 17th cycle, 18. Bef. Chr. 1720.

III. *WO-TING*, the worthy grandson of the founder of this dynasty, was, like his predecessor, intirely governed by the wise counsels of the faithful *I-in*; and being deprived of him by death, on the eighth year of his reign, honoured his memory with a sumptuous funeral, worthy of the imperial majesty, and the vast esteem he had for so valuable a minister. His loss was, however, recompensed by his son *I-pu*, who inherited all his father's virtues and great qualities, for which he was deservedly advanced to the same honours, and merited the favour and confidence of several of his successors. *Wo-ting* reigned twenty-nine years, and was succeeded by his brother *Tay-keng*; concerning whom, history hath left us nothing, but the years of their reigns.

IV. Tay-keng.

IV. *TAY-KENG* began his reign in the forty-seventh year cycle, and reigned very peaceably twenty-five years.

V. Syau-kya.

V. *SYAU-KYA*, or *Sia-kiaw*, his brother, succeeded him; and, after a peaceable reign of seventeen years, was succeeded by his brother,

VI. Yong-ki.

VI. *YONG-KI*, or *Jun-giew*, a third son of *Vo-ting*, but not by the same mother. In his reign some of the tributary princes, refusing to assist, according to custom, at the assembly which the emperors held from time to time, gave him some uneasiness. He reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his brother *Tay-vu*.

VII. Tay-vu. Year of the 18th cycle, 41. Bef. Chr. 1641.

VII. *TAY-VU*, upon his accession to the crown, is reported to have been terrified by some accident which happened in the palace; *viz.* a mulberry-tree was covered with leaves and fruit in seven days, and in three more withered and died; and some wheat, sown in the ground, grew up into full ears in about the same time; which that prince looked upon as the forerunner of some revolution. But upon his consulting *I-pu*, the wise son of *I-in*, about it, was answered, that virtue

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tue was out of the reach of omens; and that, if he governed his people well, nothing could endanger his peace and happineſs. *Tay-vu* made the beſt uſe of this wiſe leſſon, and applied himſelf ſo cloſely to the adminiſtration of juſtice, that he began to give audience early in the morning, and never ſtirred till he had heard all the parties who applied to him. His aſſiduity, and love of juſtice, made him adored by the people, and be looked upon as equal to any of his predeceſſors; ſo that his orders were all punctually obeyed, and the tributary princes never abſented themſelves from the great aſſemblies convoked by him. Among others of his wiſe laws, there is one ſtill in force to this day, that in every town a certain number of old people ſhould be maintained out of the public treaſury. He reigned ſeventy-five years in peace, and died in the province of *Ho-nan*, whither he had removed his court.

VIII. *CHONG-TING*, or *Chung-ting*, the ſon of *Tay-vu*, ſucceeded him; but was obliged to remove his court from the province of *Xan-ſi* into that of *Ho-nan*, and afterwards into that of *Pe-che-li*, on account of the frequent inundations of the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow River*. His reign at firſt was peaceable; but was ſince diſturbed by ſome of the inhabitants on the ſouth ſide of the river *Yang-tſe-kyang*, who went in bands, and plundered the neighbouring provinces; againſt whom he ſent a powerful army, which cut thoſe banditti in pieces, and put an effectual ſtop to their inroads for the future. By that means peace was again reſtored in his empire; but he did not long enjoy it, before he was ſnatched away by ſudden death, after having reigned thirteen years: and was ſucceeded by his brother,

VIII. Chong-ting. *Year of the 19th cycle*, 55. *Bef. Chr.* 1562.

IX. *VAY-JIN*, or *Vaigni*, who reigned fifteen years, and was highly beloved by his ſubjects. In his reign are ſaid to have begun the wars between the brother and children of the deceaſed emperor, which laſted near 200 years, but hiſtory mentions no particulars about them. He was ſucceeded by his brother,

IX. Vay-jin. *Year of the 20th cycle*, 9.

X. *HO-TAN-KYA*, who was again obliged to remove his court to ſome higher grounds in the province of *Ho-nan*, on account of the frequent inundations of the *Yellow River*. There is nothing recorded of him, except that he reigned nine years, and left the crown to his worthy ſon and ſucceſſor.

X. Ho-tan-kya. *Year of the 20th cycle*, 24.

XI. *TSU-YE* enjoyed a happy and peaceful reign, thro' the wiſe counſels of one of his *Ko-laus*, or miniſters, called *Yen*, whom, in gratitude, he raiſed to a principality; an honour till then never beſtowed, except on the ſons or nephews of emperors However, he ſtill retained him near his perſon, that he might conſult him on all emergencies; nor was he ſuffered

XI. Tſu-ye. *Year of the 20th cycle*, 33. *Bef. Chr.* 1520.

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suffered to govern his little state in person till after that monarch's death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his reign, when he was succeeded by his son,

XII. Tsu-sin. *Year of the 20th cycle,* 52. *Before Christ* 1506.

XII. *TSU-SIN*, or *Zu-zin*, against whom the brethren of the late emperor raised such powerful cabals among the grandees, that they well-nigh excluded him from the succession, on pretence that they were of fitter age for government than he. Happily for him, the authority of the *Ko-lau Yen* was still great enough to put an end to the contest; but it did not destroy the seeds of ambition which then reigned among those princes, but only suppressed them for a time. We shall see them ripen in some of the subsequent reigns, when several of those princes frequently usurped the crown from their nephews. *Tsu-sin* reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his brother,

XIII. Vo-kya. *Year of the 21st cycle,* 8.

XIII. *VO-KYA*, who wrested the crown from his nephew *Tsu-ting*, who was not in a condition to resist him, and enjoyed it more quietly than he deserved. His design was, to have left it to his son; but his measures were disconcerted by the lawful heir, who ascended the throne immediately after the death of the usurper, twenty-five years after he had taken it from him.

XIV. Tsu-ting. *Year of the 21st cycle,* 33. *Before Christ* 1464.

XIV. *TSU-TING*, or *Zu-ting*, so well concealed his resentment against his uncle all the time he held the crown from him, that he even insinuated himself into his favour and confidence; and so wisely concerted his measures, that, upon his death, he ascended the throne without doing the least violence to his son, except excluding him. He governed with the same moderation and prudence the whole time of his reign; and, at his death, gave a signal instance of his impartial love for his subjects, in leaving the choice of a successor to his ministers, in case they judged that his son had not virtue and merit to govern them. He died in the thirty-second year of his reign; and was succeeded by his nephew *Nan-keng*, the son of *Vo-kya*, who had, for some jealousy or misdemeanour, been sent into exile.

XV. Nan-keng. *Year of the 22d cycle,* 5.

XV. *NAN-KENG*, though chosen by the majority of the court-ministers, yet there was still a number of those of the provinces who preferred the son of the late emperor, and made a powerful party in his favour. The contest was hot and bloody on both sides; but *Nan-keng*, proving too strong for his rival, kept possession of the crown whilst he lived, but was succeeded by his nephew, the son of *Tsu-ting*, after he had reigned twenty-five years.

XVI. Yang kya.

XVI. *YANG-KYA* had but a short and troublesome reign, the feuds still reigning between the two parties, and many

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of the tributary princes having withdrawn their obedience, and being upon the point of making themselves independent, which would have endangered the ruin of the monarchy. But the emperor died in the seventh year of his reign, and his brother *Pwang-keng* seized on the crown, in prejudice of his son. *Year of the 22d cycle, 30.*

XVII. *PWANG-KENG*, though an usurper, soon altered, by his wisdom and valour, the whole face of affairs, and restored the empire from its tottering condition. His application herein was indefatigable; he made the great *Ching-tang* the model of his conduct, and revived sundry of his wise and salutary laws, which had been in some measure abolished by the negligence of his predecessors; and made it a constant rule not to intrust any of the important posts, either of the court or empire, to any but men of the greatest merit for wisdom and virtue: for though he did not disown, that his ambition of reigning had made him seize on the crown in wrong of his nephew, yet he took such care that his example should not influence others to the like treason, that he severely punished every action that had the least tendency to it in others. This soon brought all the tributary princes again to their allegiance, and established a perfect tranquillity thro' all the empire. To prevent its being again disturbed by the ambition of the brothers, in prejudice to their nephews, which had for so many reigns been the cause of such fatal contests and bloodshed, he enacted a law to secure the crown to the latter, though himself had no issue, but was succeeded by a brother. He commonly resided in the province of *Shan-si*, and died in the twenty-eighth year of his reign. XVII. Pwang-keng. *Year of the 22d cycle, 37. Bef. Chr. 1401.*

XVIII. *SYAU-SIN*, alias *Siao-sin*, a stranger to his brother's application and merit, had like to have endangered the empire again by his indolence and love of pleasure, which made him leave the care of the government to his vilest flatterers; and his excesses and effeminate life had well-nigh destroyed the peace and good order which his predecessor had taken so much care to establish in the empire, had not his death put an end to them. He reigned twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his son, XVIII. Syau-sin. *Year of the 23d cycle, 5.*

XIX. *SYAU-YE*, or *Siao-ye*. This prince had had such a noble education, that the grandees, under whom he was brought up, did not doubt but that he would have proved an excellent emperor: but, as soon as he saw himself at the head of so great an empire, he easily forgot all the wise instructions he had imbibed, and followed the pernicious steps of his father; and, though he reigned twenty-one years, would have been recorded for nothing but his vices, had not XIX. Syau-ye. *Year of the 23d cycle, 26. Bef. Chr. 1373.*

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he given birth to a son who became, and is still esteemed, one of the greatest monarchs that *China* ever had.

XX. Vu-ting. *Year of the 23d cycle, 54. Bef. Chr. 1324.*

XX. *VU-TING* was yet young when he ascended the throne, and committed the care of the government to his prime minister, whilst he paid the triennial mourning to his father, which he did in a house near his monument, in which he shut himself up closely, and all that time was imploring heaven to bless him with such virtues as were suitable to his station. That time being expired, he returned to his palace; and saw soon after, in a dream, a man presented to him by heaven to be his prime minister; whose features, shape, *&c.* were so strongly impressed on his mind, that he drew an exact portrait of him, and caused the man to be sought for accordingly. Upon a proper search, they found a man who exactly answered the picture; an obscure mason, named *Fu-ywe*, who was then at work at a village; and brought him to court. Here they asked him a great variety of questions concerning government, the virtues proper for a sovereign, the reciprocal duties of princes and their subjects, the different charges of the empire, *&c.*; to all which he gave such just, wise, and excellent answers, as charmed the whole court. At length the emperor addressed himself to him in words to this effect: I now plainly see, *Fu-ywe*, that you are the person whom heaven hath appointed to assist me with your wise instructions, and I wholly commit myself to your direction; henceforth I look upon you as my father and guide; do you consider me as your pupil and disciple, and such a one as earnestly aspires after the highest degrees of wisdom and virtue, and will be ever ready to follow your wise counsels. Look upon me as an unpolished glass, to which you are still to give a greater lustre; as a man in a storm at sea, whose pilot you are to be; and as a barren soil, on whom you are to bestow the best manure: let me never want your salutary admonitions and reproofs; neither flatter me, nor spare my faults; that so, by your assistance, and that of my ministers, I may acquire the virtues of my grandfather *Ching-tang*, and restore, in these unhappy times, the peace, order, and happiness, of his government.

Fu-ywe, an obscure mason, made prime minister.

The emperor's speech to him.

His answer to the emperor.

HERE *Fu-ywe*, prostrating himself, as is usual, before the emperor, freely represented to him how much easier it was to know what was right, than to pursue it; and to procure good advice, than to be governed by it; but added, that where those two go hand in hand, a prince needed not to doubt of his being well beloved and obeyed by his subjects.

Wise instructions to him.

He gave him accordingly a noble sett of instructions, the best part of which are still extant in the *Shu-king*; and *Vu-ting* proved

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proved ſuch a ſtrict obſerver of them, that he became an excellent pattern for good princes; and his reputation, which ſpread itſelf among the moſt diſtant nations, induced ſeveral to ſubmit themſelves to him. He reigned quietly and happily fifty-nine years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

XXI. *TSU-KENG* had a peaceable but ſhort reign of ſeven years, and was ſucceeded by his brother. XXI. Tſu-keng.

XXII. *TSU-KYA*, a ſtranger to his father's virtues, became ſo odious to the people by his pride and debauchery, that he cauſed very dangerous commotions in ſeveral parts of the empire, and ſuch as ſeemed to threaten no leſs than the extinction of this dynaſty. He reigned thirty-three or thirty-four years; and was ſucceeded by his ſon, XXII. Tſu-kya. *Year of the 24th cycle*, 6.

XXIII. *LIN-SIN*, who proved no leſs a ſlave to his luſts; and, to prevent all interruption of them, forbad his miniſters to trouble him with any affairs of the empire, by which he ſhortened his days; and, after a reign of ſix years, left the crown to his brother, XXIII. Lin-ſin.

XXIV. *KING-TING*, of whom nothing is recorded, but that he reigned twenty-one years, and died about nine years after the birth of *Vu-wang*, who became the founder of the third dynaſty. XXIV. King-ting.

XXV. *VU-YE*, his ſon, ſucceeded him; and proved worſe, and more impious, than any of his predeceſſors; and, having caſt from him all fear of heaven, to deal in magical experiments, in which he found himſelf likewiſe diſappointed, is ſuppoſed to have brought down the dreadful vengeance which fell on him, by his impieties and blaſphemies againſt it; and was killed by thunder, as he was hunting, in the fourth year of his reign. About this time ſome of the eaſtern iſlands began to be inhabited by colonies ſent thither from *China*, among which are reckoned thoſe of *Japan*, of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſequel. XXV. Vu-ye. *Year of the 25th cycle*, 60. *Bef. Chr.* 1198. *Eaſtern iſlands peopled.*

XXVI. *TAY-TING*, the ſon of *Vu-ye*, began his reign by declaring war againſt a tributary prince, whoſe little ſtate, called *Yen*, is in the province of *Pe-che-li*; and *Pe-king*, the now metropolis of the empire, was one of the cities belonging to it. He reigned but three years, and left the war to be finiſhed by his ſon and ſucceſſor. XXVI. Tay-ting.

XXVII. *TI-YE*, upon his acceſſion, ſent one of his generals, named *Ki-lie*, againſt that revolted prince; whom he ſubdued, together with his whole ſtate, and reduced to the condition of a private man. The emperor was ſo well pleaſed with that conqueſt, that he erected that province into a principality, and gave it to his general, and made it hereditary to his family. *Ty-ye* reigned thirty-ſeven years; and had XXVII. Ti-ye. *Year of the 26th cycle*, 7. *Bef. Chr.* 1191.

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sons at his death, two by a wife of the second order, and the youngest by his empress; but as this was then young, and of no promising talents, his father was inclined to nominate the elder of the other two for his successor; but was opposed by the grandees, as being against their laws. They found afterwards cause enough to repent of their choice; the youngest, named *Chew*, proving a cruel tyrant, whereas the eldest had all the good qualities requisite for a sovereign.

XXVIII. Chew. *His cruel reign. Year of the 26th cycle, 44. Horrid executions.*

XXVIII. *CHEW.* justly infamous for his pride, luxury, debauchery, cruelty, and tyranny, had married a lady named *Tay-kya*, the most beautiful, but at the same time the most wicked and barbarous, woman in all the empire; by whom he was so intirely governed, that any minister, who dared oppose, or refuse to conform to, her capricious and tyrannic humour, was immediately driven out of the palace, or perhaps condemned to death. She had moreover persuaded that infatuated monarch, that he must never expect to keep his subjects in a due subjection, unless he made himself dreaded by them; pursuant to which notion, she invented a new kind of torture, of which we have given an account in a former section †, and took an inhuman delight in seeing the unhappy objects of her dislike put to that terrible and excruciating death. Her husband was no less given to cruelty and revenge, whenever any thing opposed his brutish will (M): and these executions were so frequent and terrible, that none of his ministers dared to advise or controul him. The noble *Ven-wang* was the only one who had courage enough to oppose his inhumanities; but though he was still respected by the tyrant, as well as by the people, for his extraordinary merit, and on that account met with a milder treatment, yet was he sent to prison by him, as a punishment for his rashness, as it was called, but in effect to put a stop to all future

† See before, p. 176, not. (L).

(M) One instance of this he shewed towards a young lady of singular beauty, who had been presented to him by her father, in order to insinuate himself into that vicious monarch's favour; but she, being no less virtuous than beautiful, resisted his passion with such an heroic courage, that, in a fit of rage, he slew her with his own hands; and, cutting her body into small pieces, caused it to be served at her father's table. At the same time another minister, justly shocked at that unheard of barbarity, could not forbear expressing his abhorrence of it to the tyrant, who caused him to be put to death (11).

(11) *Martini, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.*

remonstrances

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remonſtrances from him. Upon the news of his impriſonment, the principal ſubjects of his little ſtate aſſembled themſelves; and found means to regain his liberty, by preſenting *Chew* with a moſt beautiful damſel; whoſe charms ſo captivated him, that ſhe eaſily obtained his releaſe. *Ven-wang* had all the virtues, learning, and good qualities, that could recommend him to the *Chineſe* nation; and the admirable way with which he governed his own little territory had gained him ſuch reputation, that forty tributary princes choſe him for their ſovereign, as the only perſon who could put an effectual end to the evils that then reigned through the empire. But he died ſoon after, leaving his little principality and riches to his ſecond ſon, whom he preferred to his eldeſt, becauſe he refuſed to enter into his views of dethroning the emperor. This prince diſcovered, on this occaſion, a peculiar greatneſs of ſoul; and, without either complaining, or ſaying any thing that might caſt a diſhonour on his father's memory, retired beyond the river *Yang-tſe-kyang*, near the borders of *Se-chwen*, and there founded the two kingdoms of *Ywe* and *Hu*.

Ven-wang's high character.

His retirement.

In the mean time *Chew* and his wife becoming daily more odious and intolerable by their tyranny and horrid butcheries, the princes and grandees intreated *Vu-vang* to put himſelf at the head of an army, and give the tyrant battle, promiſing to aſſiſt him with what forces he wanted. Both he and *Chew* made all poſſible haſte to raiſe a powerful army, and the former met the latter with a much more numerous one; but, as ſoon as the ſignal was given, the greateſt part of them went over to *Vu-wang*. *Chew*, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned, fled in deſpair to his capital; and, entering into his apartment, ſet fire to it; and, though all the pains were taken to prevent its ſpreading, it burnt with ſuch fury, that half of the palace was reduced to aſhes before it could be extinguiſhed. This was the dreadful fate of the unhappy *Chew*, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and with him the ſecond dynaſty. The ſucceſsful *Vu-wang* entered the palace like a conqueror; where the firſt object that preſented itſelf to him was the empreſs *Ta-kya*, whom he ſlew at one blow with his own ſword. He was immediately after acknowleged and proclaimed emperor by the princes and grandees, to the great joy of all the people, and became the founder of the third dynaſty †.

Invited to the crown.

Founds a new dynaſty.

† See the liſts of them, p. 7. and 372.

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The Third Dynaſty, called Chew, *or* Cheva, *containing the Reigns of Thirty-five Emperors, within the Space of Eight hundred and Seventy-five Years.*

Third dynaſty.
Vu-vang.
Year of the 27th cycle, 16.
Bef. Chr. 1122.

VU-VANG, or *Fau*, began his reign in the 16th year of the twenty-ſeventh ſexagenary, or twenty-firſt, according to *Du Halde*'s new computation, and before Chriſt 1122; and, after the uſual ſacrifices offered to heaven, upon his inauguration, at the metropolis of the province of *Shen-ſi*, where he had removed the imperial ſeat, applied himſelf in the re-eſtabliſhment of the antient laws and cuſtoms which had been in a great meaſure aboliſhed, and reſtoring the *Chineſe* government to its priſtine order and tranquillity, by the wiſeſt and moſt ſalutary regulations (N). Theſe gained him ſuch great repu-

(N) He began, 1ſt, with an inquiry into, and redreſſing, all the acts of injuſtice which had been committed in the preceding reign.

2. He ſet many perſons of merit at liberty, who had been impriſoned.

3. He ſent for *Kit-ſu*, the uncle of the tyrant (who had narrowly eſcaped death, by feigning himſelf mad, for having dared to reprove him) and conſulted him upon all emergencies, as he was a great aſtronomer, politician, and noble patriot; and the inſtructions he gave him are ſtill extant in the *Shu-king*. He afterwards rewarded him with the kingdom of *Korea*, which he beſtowed upon him and his poſterity, without obliging them to any other homage than their coming to court at every new reign, to deſire the new monarch's conſent and protection.

4. He reſtored ſeveral illuſtrious families, which had been in ſome meaſure degraded from their nobility, and gave the deſcendants of the old emperor little ſovereignties, to enable them to ſupport their rank. One prince, of the family of *Shin-nong*, was ſettled in the province of *Shen-ſi*; another, of the family of *Whang-ti*, was ſettled in a territory in that of *Ho-nan*, called the kingdom of *Tſu*; to a third, of the family of *Yau*, he aſſigned a diſtrict in the neighbourhood of *Pe-king*, named the kingdom of *Su*; and to a fourth, who was of the race of *Shun*, he gave ſome lands in the province of *Ho-nan*, under the title of the principality of *Chin*.

To theſe he added fifteen other principalities, which he gave to as many of his own relations; not foreſeeing that ſo many ſovereignties, though dependent on the crown, would prove in time the ſource of unhappy wars. He was no leſs generous to his miniſters, ſome of whom he raiſed to eſtates not much inferior to the foregoing, and others he raiſed to the higheſt dignities in the empire (12).

(12) *Martini, Du Halde, & al. ſup. citat. in Vu-wang.*

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tation both at home and abroad, that many foreign princes, who had withdrawn their homage from *Chew*, readily came to pay their homage and tribute to him, and put themselves under his protection; and as to his subjects, they had such an affection for him, that, upon his being attacked with a dangerous distemper in the second year of his reign, they expressed every-where the deepest concern for him. Among the rest, *Chew-kong*, his prime minister, having caused sacrifices to be offered in the palace for his recovery, lifted up his hands on a sudden towards heaven, and prayed with a loud voice, that his own life might be accepted in lieu of the emperor's; and that so dear a blessing might be preserved to his realm, till he had fixed it upon a firm foundation, freely offering his own life at the same time to save that of his prince. His prayer, the history informs us, went not unheard; the emperor found himself much better by the very next day, and in a little time was quite recovered. The whole court and kingdom greatly applauded the action of the prime minister; and *Vu-wang* was so affected with it, that he inserted it with his own hands in the secret records which are kept in the palace in coffers of gold; and the memory of it proved, in process of time, of singular benefit to the empire, as we shall see in the sequel. He reigned only seven years; but with such fatherly tenderness, and with such indefatigable application to the public welfare, that he had quite restored the empire to its pristine tranquillity and grandeur; and was succeeded by his son *Ching-wang*.

Chew-keng *offers his life for the emperor's recovery.*

His gratitude and death.

II. *CHING-VANG* being too young to take upon him the reins of government, his uncle *Chew-kong*, then prime minister, and a prince of known probity and wisdom, took upon him the care of the realm, and of his education; the latter of which he intrusted to the most proper persons, whilst he administered the public affairs with such prudence and disinterestedness, that all the tribunary princes readily acknowleged his merit, and paid him the tribute and homage as to the faithful guardian of the young monarch.

II. Ching-vang. *Year of the 27th cycle, 23. Bef. Chr. 1115.*

His singular uprightness did not however free him from suspicion, and from being misrepresented to him as having some view of seizing on the crown, by the number of creatures he promoted; which obliged him to retire from court, to the great regret of all who knew his merit and integrity. The young monarch betrayed at first a kind of pleasure on his being freed from his uncle's tuition; but soon found, by his experience and ill success, that he was no-way equal to the burden; so that, to extricate himself from these difficulties, he sent for the secret records mentioned under the last reign,

His excellent guardian retires.

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and there found it recorded how *Chew-kong* had freely offered his own life to heaven, to save that of his father; upon which, quite ashamed at his unjust suspicion of him, he went in person to his retreat, and, with tears, intreated him to resume his former post, and assist him with his salutary counsels. *Chew-kang*, softened by his behaviour, consented to his request; and, from that time, gave him daily fresh proofs of his fidelity to him, and zeal for the public welfare. The young monarch's reputation spread to such a degree, by his adhering to the instructions of his uncle, that the king of *Cochin-China* sent him ambassadors, with rich presents, to congratulate him on his having a subject of so extraordinary merit as *Chew-kang*; who were received with the greatest marks of esteem and friendship, and sent home loaden with tokens of his generosity (O). That great minister died, highly admired both at home and abroad, in the 100th year of his age, and the 20th of *Ching-vang*'s reign; and that prince, to shew his gratitude to him, caused him to be buried near his own father's tomb, and with the same funeral pomp as was usually performed to emperors. He outlived him seventeen years, and governed with great moderation and applause; and, some time before his death, forbad the use of wine, at a solemn assembly of the states; alleging, that *that liquor, being the gift of heaven, ought only to be used at those sacrifices which are offered up to it; otherwise it proves the cause of almost all the evils which happen upon the earth.* He reigned thirty-seven years, and left the crown to his son.

Is recalled.

Ambassies sent from foreign nations.

Wine forbid.

III. *Kang-vang.* *Year of the 27th cycle, 60. Bef. Chr. 1078.*

III. *KANG-VANG*, finding the empire in a profound tranquillity, made it his chief study to govern his people with mildness, and to make them happy. It was one of his favourite maxims, that *the joy of a prince depended on that which reigned among his subjects; and that he ought not to take any pleasure when they were in distress.* He took especial

(O) We are told, that, at their audience of leave, *Chew-kong* presented them with an instrument, which on one side pointed to the north, and on the other to the south, that they might better steer in their way home, than they had done in coming to *China*. This instrument was called *Chi-nan*, which name the *Chinese* give to the sea-compass, whence some conclude that the prime minister was the inventer of it. We have already shewn in their antient history (13), that that invention is ascribed to their third monarch *Whang-ti*; but with as little probability, there being great reason to think that it is of much later date †.

(13) *See Univ. Hist. vol.* xx. *p.* 190, *&c seq.* † *Vid. sup. p.* 100, (E).

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delight in promoting agriculture, the care of which he committed to one of his ministers, named *Chau-kong*; whilst himself would sit under a willow-tree, to decide the disputes that arose among the husbandmen. In his reign, so great a regard is said to have been had to promises, that prisoners were let out every morning to till the land, and regularly came back to their prison at night, according to their parole. He reigned twenty-six years, and was succeeded by his son,

IV. *CHAU-VANG*, alias *Chaus*, who was so excessively fond of hunting, that he neglected every thing else; insomuch that the damage which the subjects suffered, by his horses and dogs, and the vast train of huntsmen that always attended him, and often destroyed their whole crop, was become insupportable. No kind of remonstrances had been wanting to obtain a redress; but all proved ineffectual; and he, at length, became so odious to them, that, in a kind of despair, they resolved to put an end, at once, both to his sports and to his life, by such a stratagem as should not easily be discovered. They had often observed, that he used, on his return from hunting, to cross a large river which runs through the province of *Xen-si*, and to have his barges waiting to waft him over to the city of *Hang-chew*; upon which, they prepared one that was so built, as to fall into pieces as soon as it was got about half way over. The emperor entered it, according to custom, with some of his grandees; and had scarce reached the middle of the river, when the planks fell asunder at once, and the vessel and passengers went down to the bottom. Thus perished that unhappy prince, in the fifty-first year of his reign (P), and was succeeded by his son. IV. Chau-vang. *Year of the 28th cycle, 26. Bef. Chr. 1302.* *Drowned by a stratagem.*

V. *MO-VANG*, or *Mous*, was a prince of such excellent qualities, as soon gained him the love of his subjects, and made them wink at one remarkable failing he had, *viz.* an V. Mo-vang. *Year of the 29th cycle, 17. Bef. Chr. 1001.*

(P) The *Chinese* annals mention several portents which seemed to foretel that monarch's fatal end; such as, an extraordinary overflow of a deep well belonging to the palace; and a much brighter and longer appearance of the moon above the horizon, and its darting a long fiery ray like the tail of a comet, as far as the sign *Leo* (but the moon's place is not mentioned); and some other such strange phænomena.

However, we are told, that in this monarch's reign was born the *Indian* philosopher *Fo*, mentioned in a former section (14), the founder of the Bonzaic and idolatrous sect which was afterwards introduced into *China*, together with his doctrine of the soul's transmigration, about 65 years after Christ (15).

(14) *See before, p.* 108, *& seq.*

(15) *Vid. Noel, Couplet, Martini, Du Halde, & al. sub Chau.*

extravagant

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extravagant fondness for horses (Q). His success against some of his barbarian subjects on the southern part, who had revolted, and who were defeated by his troops under the command of his general *Kau-fu*, encouraged him to turn his victorious arms against the *Tartars*. This project was in vain opposed by his son-in-law, who represented to him the unreasonable injustice and ill consequences of it; for that prince went on with it, and advanced with a powerful army against them, as far as the borders of *Tartary*; whilst the *Tartars*, who were apprised of his march, retired as far back as the heart of their country, with their tents and cattle; so that *Mo-vang*, finding no enemies to fight with, was forced to come back, after having fatigued and impaired his army with long and difficult marches; which made him take up a full resolution never to undertake any thing of that kind without his approbation. He reigned fifty-five years, and was succeeded by his son.

VI. Kong-vang. *Year of the 30th cycle, 12. Bef. Chr. 946.* *His cruelty and remorse.*

VI. *KONG-VANG* began his reign with such an unheard of cruelty, as would have eternally blasted his fame, if repentance had not made such a change in his mind, that he became one of the mildest and justest princes. It had been his custom frequently to walk by the side of a lake in the country of *Mye*, where at these times multitudes of beautiful maidens used to make their appearance. He singled out three of the most agreeable to his taste, and fell in love with them; but they, apprehending the danger, no longer appeared on that walk among the rest. Upon which, the enraged monarch, imagining that the country-people had conveyed them away, to prevent their falling a sacrifice to his passion, ordered them all to be massacred. However, the remorse he felt for his excess of passion, and the justice and mildness of the remainder of his reign, easily obliterated his crime, and he has been ranked among some of their best monarchs ever since. He reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son.

(Q) His great foible was, to make a magnificent appearance before his subjects, and to ramble from one part of the empire to the other with a vast retinue of men on horseback, and spared no pains nor cost to have the finest horses brought to him far and near. However, he took care to cover these frequent and pompous excursions with the specious pretence of fatherly tenderness for his subjects, and under the name of visiting his most distant provinces (16).

(16) *Vid. Noel, Couplet, Martini, Du Halde, & al. sub Mou & Ne-vang.*

VII. *YE-*

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VII. *TE-VANG*, alias *Is*, did nothing, during a reign of twenty-five years, worth being recorded; and his name had long ago been buried in oblivion, had not his follies afforded matter of ridicule to some of the satyrists of that age, and rendered him despicable to posterity. His want of merit gave his brother an opportunity of seizing the crown from his children, and placing it on his own head. VII. Ye-wang. *Year of the* 30*th cycle*, 24.

VIII. *HYAU-VANG*, *Ygau-wang*, or *Hiaus*, though an usurper, had address enough to keep himself on the throne, and gain the affections of the people. He was, however, so extremely fond of fine horses, that he raised an obscure fellow, named *Fi-shu*, to the dignity of master of the horse, merely for his superior skill in breeding, breaking, and managing, them; and, being one day highly delighted with his dexterity in riding, he bestowed on him a principality in the province of *Shen-si*; which is the more worth observing, because one of his descendants became afterwards the founder of the next dynasty, and destroyed the whole family to which he owed his advancement. He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son (R). VIII. Hyau-wang. *Year of the* 30*th cycle*, 49. *Bef. Chr.* 921.

IX. *I-WANG*, alias *Is*, was a prince of so little sense, address, or capacity, that he hardly knew how to speak to his ministers, or give an answer to their questions; and could not be prevailed upon either to give audience to foreign ambassadors, or receive the usual homage of his tributary princes. He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son. IX. I-wang. *Year of the* 31*st cycle*, 4.

X. *LI-VANG*, or *Liew*, proved such a proud, cruel, and extravagant prince, that he soon reduced his subjects to the lowest misery by his continual exactions, which he as lavishly spent; insomuch that nothing was heard but complaints and lamentations among the people, and threatening manifestoes among the grandees. These only increasing his rage and jealousy, he caused strict search to be made after the authors of them; and at the same time forbad the people, under pain of death, to converse, or even whisper, to each other; so that nothing was seen in his metropolis but men shunning each other, and walking in mournful silence with their eyes fixed to the ground. At length one of his most faithful ministers, named *Chau-kong*, took the liberty to tell him, that he was not placed on the X. Li-vang. *Year of the* 31*st cycle*, 20. *His cruelties and extortions.* *Edict against speaking.*

(R) In his reign there fell such prodigious large hailstones, that they killed both men and beasts, and did considerable damage; it was likewise accompanied with such unusual and violent cold, that the rivers were frozen by it (17).

(17) *Neel, Couplet, Martini, Du Halde, & al. sub Hiaus.*

throne

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throne to make his ſubjects miſerable; that it was much eaſier to ſtop an impetuous torrent, than to reſtrain their tongues, which only increaſed the violence of their reſentment; and that the ſilence he had impoſed upon them ſeemed to forebode ſomething more dreadful and dangerous than the liberty they had of complaining.

His family maſſacred. THIS tyrannic edict laſted three full years, when the people, driven at length into deſpair, ruſhed like a ſudden torrent into his palace, and murdered all the imperial family, except the tyrant, who had but juſt time to eſcape their fury by flight; and his youngeſt ſon, whom the faithful *Chau-kong* had ſecretly conveyed to his own houſe. It was not long, however, before the enraged multitude were appriſed of it, who on a ſudden beſieged the houſe, and with ſtern menaces demanded the prince of him. *Chau-kong*, ſeeing them ſo reſolute that his authority could not reſtrain them from forcing their way in, after a ſevere conflict between nature and loyalty, delivered up his ſon to them inſtead of him, whom they inhumanly butchered before his face. He tried afterwards all poſſible means to reconcile them to their fugitive prince, and to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne; but never could perſuade them to it, ſo that it continued vacant for ſome years, whilſt *Li-wang* was forced to live an obſcure and miſerable life, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and wandered in exile about thirteen more.

Chau-kong's ſurpriſing loyalty.

Li-vang's baniſhment and death.

XI. Swen-wang. *Year of the 32d cycle, 11. Bef. Chr. 827.*

XI. *SWEN-WANG*, or *Si-ven*, at length ſucceeded his father by the intereſt of his generous preſerver, who was then at the head of affairs; and took care to inform the people by what means the right heir to the crown had been ſaved from the common ſlaughter, and how worthy he was of the crown for which heaven ſeemed to have miraculouſly preſerved him, ſo they at length conſented to it; and, as he was ſtill too young to govern, *Chau-kang*, and another equally worthy miniſter, were appointed his governors; and theſe two ſo faithfully acquitted themſelves of their important truſt, that the young prince, who was no leſs obſervant of their inſtructions, gave them ſufficient proofs of his being every way worthy of holding the reins of the empire by that time he came of age; inſomuch that he is celebrated in hiſtory as the reſtorer of the happy times when the great *Yu* and *Ching-tang* filled the *Chineſe* throne.

Recalls the philoſophers. ONE of his firſt cares was, to recall all the wiſe and good men and philoſophers, who had, during the late reign, retired into the mountainous and deſart parts, to be more at leiſure for ſtudy, and, by his mildneſs and generoſity, to fix them near his perſon. By theſe means he became ſo highly admired

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admired for his virtues and mild government, that the tributary princes took a ſingular delight to pay him their homage, and to learn from him how to rule their reſpective little ſtates, and all the members of the ſtate were by degrees brought to their antient order and ſubordination. He likewiſe quelled ſome of the ſouthern nations who are divided from *China* by the river *Yang-tſe-kyang*, and had taken the advantage of the late troubles to plunder ſeveral of the *Chineſe* provinces, and forced them to ſubmit to the laws and cuſtoms of the empire. He reigned forty-ſix years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon. *Reſtores the empire to its grandeur.*

XII. *YEW-WANG*, alias *Jew*, *Jeus*, inſtead of thoſe good qualities for which his father was ſo juſtly admired, indulged himſelf in ſeveral vices, which not only rendered him contemptible, but odious to his ſubjects, and brought on a ſeries of great troubles, which ended in his ruin. A ſplenetic concubine named *Pau-tſe*, or *Pao-ſua*, with whom he was moſt paſſionately in love, ſeems to have laid the foundation of all his misfortunes, for whoſe worthleſs ſake he put away his empreſs, and diſinherited his lawful heir, who both went and took refuge at the court of his uncle, who had a ſmall principality in the province of *Shen-ſi*. Many other things that infatuated monarch condeſcended to do, to divert her ſpleen, which, though not equally unjuſt, were no leſs ridiculous and unworthy of him; but one, in particular, which coſt him his life and crown. XII. Yew-wang. *Year of the 32d cycle, 57.* *His fatal love for a concubine.*

He was then at war with the weſtern *Tartars*; and had given expreſs orders, that whenever the ſoldiers ſaw the fires lighted, they ſhould immediately arm themſelves, and attend his perſon; and, to divert his miſtreſs, ordered that ſignal, which ought never to be uſed but in caſe of neceſſity, to be frequently uſed without any other occaſion than to ſet her a laughing at the hurry ſhe ſaw the ſoldiers in, and the ſurpriſe and diſlike they ſhewed at being ſo often falſely alarmed. Whilſt he entertained her with this odd and dangerous diverſion, he had ſent poſitive orders to his brother to bring him back his ſon, who had taken ſanctuary with him; and that prince refuſing to obey, unleſs the young prince was declared lawful heir to the empire, *Yew-wang* declared war againſt him; and he, not being in a condition to oppoſe his forces, went and joined the *Tartars*, and in the night-time attacked the imperial camp. The fires were immediately lighted, to give the ſignal to the ſoldiers; but they had been ſo often deceived by it, that they looked upon it as the old game begun afreſh, to give new diverſion to his concubine; ſo that *Method of diverting her.* *Coſts him his life and empire.*

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the *Tartars* easily forced the camp, and made themselves masters of the field. The emperor lost his life, after he had reigned eleven years; and was succeeded by his son,

XIII. Ping-wang. *Year of the 33d cycle,* 8.

XIII. *PING-WANG*, though heir to the crown, was not in a condition to put a stop to the confusion that then reigned, nor to the ravages which the *Tartars* committed where-ever they came; but, instead of defending his own dominions, removed his residence farther off from the province of *Shen-si* to that of *Ho-nan*; which plainly appeared to be done more to secure his own person, than his empire, against his victorious enemy; and this laid the foundation for new troubles: for, though the tributary princes joined their forces against the enemy, and actually drove them back, and recovered the territories they had made themselves masters of, yet the kings of *Tsin* and *Wey*, who were in the confederacy, and had signalized themselves against those invaders, made no scruple to claim an absolute possession of those territories, by way of conquest; and refused to pay homage to the emperor, under pretence that he had lent them no assistance. Their example was followed by several other tributary princes, particularly by the kings of *Tsi*, *Tsu*, and *Tsin*, who became the founders of three considerable kingdoms; the first in the southern part of the province of *Shang-tong*, the second in those of *Huquang* and *Kyang-si*, and the third in that of *Shen-si*. These three, looking upon themselves as independent, followed only the dictates of their ambition; and, by mutual wars, fought only to enlarge their territories, and plunder those of their neighbours. The emperor tried in vain to interpose his authority, and to oblige them to live at peace. They despised his orders; and still went on with their wars, which were not at an end in the time of the great *Confucius*, whose history begins here.

China *invaded by the* Tartars.

Several independent kingdoms founded, and a lasting war among them.

PING-WANG reigned fifty-one years, and was succeeded by his brother's son.

XIV. Whan-wang. *Year of the 33d cycle,* 59.

XIV. *WHAN-WANG*, alias *Von*, ascending the throne at this difficult juncture, tried in vain, at first by gentle means, and afterwards by force of arms, to reduce the tributary princes to their obedience. His army having been defeated, and himself wounded, he was forced to content himself with preserving those provinces which were still subject to him. He reigned twenty-three years, and was succeeded by his son.

XV. Chwang-wang,

XV. *CHWANG-WANG*, alias *Chuang*, was raised to the throne, contrary not only to the will of his father, who had named *Kew*, the son of one of his concubines, for his successor,

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ceſſor, but to the good liking of ſeveral of his miniſters (S). *Kew* had ſtill a ſtrong party on his ſide, and with them formed a plot of aſſaſſinating him; which, though not diſcovered till three years after, was, nevertheleſs, diſcomfited, by the vigilance of the grandee mentioned in the laſt note; who having ſent for the chief conſpirator, under pretence of conſulting him, cauſed him to be privately ſtabbed. However, though his death, and *Kew*'s flight, which immediately followed, ſecured the crown to *Chang-wang*, yet the revolted princes continued ſtill independent from him; and that of *Tſi*, being chiefly governed by his prime miniſter, had intereſt enough at the imperial court to engage the majority of the miniſters to alter the ſucceſſion in favour of *Li-vang*, his near relation, after the emperor's death, which happened ſome years after. *Chang-wang* reigned fifteen years, and was accordingly ſucceeded by him, in prejudice to that emperor's nephew, to whom the right belonged. *Year of the* 34*th cycle*, 22.

XVI. *LI-VANG*, from a tributary prince, being raiſed to the imperial crown, by the intereſt of *Wong-kung*, the king of *Tſi*, above-mentioned, did eaſily exclude all the relations of the late emperor from it: for that tributary prince was, by that time, become ſo powerful, that he had enlarged his territories, at the coſt of his neighbours on both ſides, and to the no ſmall prejudice of the royal authority, which was, in ſome meaſure, eclipſed by his overgrown power. He at length grew to ſuch a height, as to aſſume to himſelf the title of *Pa*, that is, chief of all the other princes, and was acknowleged as ſuch by the greater part of them. This title, however, which others likewiſe aſſumed, was at length aboliſhed, after it had laſted about 100 years. As to *Li-vang*, he was forced to be paſſive, not daring to diſoblige the king XVI. Li-vang. *Year of the* 34*th cycle*, 37.

(S) This was done at the repreſentation of one of the grandees, of great authority at court; who juſtly obſerved to them the ill conſequences which ſuch an injuſtice to the lawful heir might bring on the empire at that juncture, and which muſt of neceſſity end in a civil war: to which he added further, that ſuch a preference of the ſon of a concubine to the lawful ſon and heir, could not fail of giving a fatal blow to the imperial authority, which was in too tottering a condition, and rather wanted to be more ſtrongly propped, than to be endangered by ſuch a deadly ſhock. The reſt of the grandees, and miniſters, readily agreed to his wholſome advice; and that faithful miniſter kept ſuch a watchful eye over the rebel *Kew*, that he diſcovered and defeated his plot againſt the emperor, before it could be put in execution (18).

(18) *Vide Noel, Couplet, Martini, Du Halde, & al. ſ. h Chuang.*

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of *Tsi*, to whom he owed the crown; and, after a short reign of five years, left it to his son.

XVII. Whey-wang. *Year of the 34th cycle, 42.*

XVII. *WHEY-WANG*, alias *Hoey*, reigned very peaceably the first six years; but was, at length, attacked by the *Tartars*, who inhabit the north part of *Shan-si*; against whom he sent an army, under the command of the king of *Tsi*. This prince came upon them while they were besieging the city of *Tay-tong-fu*, forced their camp, and put them to the rout, rather by a superstitious panic, which had seized them, than any superiority, either of strength or ground. However, this victory, and the trust which the emperor reposed in him, gave him such an ascendant, that he wanted nothing but the imperial title; and his ambition was such, that he would have made no scruple to have dethroned him, had he not had cause to apprehend, that the other princes, who were his equals, would have opposed his design. *Whey-wang* reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son.

XVIII. Syang-wang. *Year of the 35th cycle, 7.*

XVIII. *SYANG-WANG*, even from his younger years, had entertained no small jealousy of the overgrown power, and unmeasurable ambition, of the king of *Tsi*, but as he knew him to be too strong for him, resolved to suppress him by craftiness, rather than by open force. *Won-kung* gave him soon after a fair opportunity for it; for having convoked, by the assistance of the prime minister, all the little sovereigns that were dependent on the imperial crown, which none but the emperor had a right to do, and designing, by that means, to make them acknowlege him as such, *Syang-wang* sent immediately his imperial letter to the assembly, by the hands of a skilful ambassador; who came accordingly, and laid it, as is usual on those occasions, on a table magnificently adorned; upon which, all the other princes paid their homage to it, which is the same as if the emperor had been there in person. *Won-kung* was the only one that hesitated about, and was on the point of refusing, had not his prime minister reminded him of the danger, and of the jealousy which his refusal would create among the other princes. He was therefore obliged to comply, and to put off his design to a better opportunity; but his public, though forced, submission, had such an influence over the rest, that it confirmed them in their submission to the emperor, and helped to restore the government to its antient form.

SYANG-WANG had not long enjoyed the fruit of his stratagem, when his peace was disturbed by his son *Sho-tay*, who, upon some disgust, left the court, and went to that of the king of *Tsi*. About the same time, one of his tributaries openly revolted, in the province of *Shen-si*. But

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the emperor was soon rid of both fears, by the defeat of the latter, and by the death of the ambitious *Won-kung*, who died of old-age, and left his kingdom, in a distracted condition, between his five contending sons. Soon after that, having dismissed his *Tartarian* empress, whom he had married for political views, brought on a fresh war from that quarter; in which the *Tartar* invited his fugitive son *Sho-tay* to join, promising to get him declared emperor; which he readily consented to. The emperor was thereupon forced to fly, and wander about, begging the assistance of his tributaries, whilst his rebellious son had entered his capital, and taken the imperial title upon him. *Syang-wang* having obtained a sufficient succour, divided his army, and, with one part, recovered his metropolis, and caused *Sho-tay* to be put to death, and, with the other, drove the *Tartars* out of his dominions, and restored the peace of his empire, which lasted twenty-two years. He died in the thirty-third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son.

War with the Tartars.

His son rebels.

Put to death.

XIX. *KING-WANG*, alias *Hiang*, was a prince endowed with all the good qualities that could make his subjects happy, who thought they never could say enough in praise of his moderation and fatherly tenderness. But a sudden death snatched him from them, after a short reign of six years, to the great grief of the whole empire. He was succeeded by his son,

XIX. King-wang. *Year of the 35th cycle*, 40.

XX. *QUANG-WANG*, whose reign was equally short, mild, and undisturbed, the son and successor of *Won-kung*, in the kingdom of *Tsi*, being become so odious to his subjects, that he was not in a condition to attempt any thing against him (T). *Quang-wang*, after a six years reign, left the crown to his brother.

XX. Quang-wang. *Year of the 35th cycle*, 46.

XXI. *TING-*

(T) This tyrant, whose name was *Lyn-chung*, was become so hateful, for his cruelties, and want of application to government, that another prince, his kinsman, took the liberty to reprove him for it; at which he was so enraged, that he sent soon after a desperate ruffian to assassinate him in his own palace. The fellow came accordingly, early in the morning, pretending to have some business of importance with him from the king of *Tsi*; and being admitted into his presence, found him seated on his throne, receiving petitions from his subjects, and dispensing justice among them, with such affable greatness, as struck him at once with horror at the thoughts of staining his hands with the blood of so excellent a prince, and not daring to return to *Lyn-chung*, without performing his errand, slew himself at the door of the palace (19).

(19) *Vide Noel, Couplet, Martini, Du Halde, & al. sub Quang.*

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XXI. Ting-wang. *Year of the 35th cycle, 52.*

XXI. *TING-WANG*, upon his mounting the throne, made it his chief care to keep war at a distance, and to cause the laws to be put in execution. In his reign was born *Laukyun*, founder of the *Epicurian* sect, falsely called the sect of the immortals, and of which we have spoken, in a former section *. *Ting-wang* reigned twenty-one years; and is recorded chiefly for the great tranquility he preserved the empire in during his reign. He was succeeded by his son.

XXII. Kyen-vang. *Year of the 36th cycle, 13.*

XXII. *KYEN-VANG*, alias *Kien*, as heir of his virtues, preserved the empire in its grandeur and tranquility. In his reign started up two other odd sects, which made a great noise at first, but were soon after confuted, and quelled (U). He reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

XXIII. Ling-vang. *Year of the 36th cycle, 27.* *A strange contest between two brothers.*

XXIII. *LING-VANG* is recorded to have been born with hair on his head, and a beard on his chin; but is much more famed for the wisdom and prudence with which he governed his people; insomuch, that he still preserved the imperial authority in its full lustre, though most of the tributary princes were warring against one another. In the eleventh year of his reign, the death of *Xeun-Cung*, king of *U*, occasioned one of the most remarkable contests, between his two sons, that is to be met with in history. The eldest, to whom the crown belonged, was very pressing to have his brother

* See before, p. 102, & (E).

It will not be amiss to observe further, that when we distinguish between the empire and the tributary princes depending on it, the former must not be understood in that vast extent, as it has been since; for, even at this time, it is neither all yet inhabited, nor much less all subject to one prince. It is likely that it contained, at most, only two or three provinces, besides that of *Shen-si*, which was the first inhabited, whilst the remainder was still either uncultivated, or, at most, governed by princes of their own, who paid neither homage nor tribute to the emperors, till several centuries after.

(U) The two philosophers who broached them were called *Yang* and *Me*; the former of whom taught, That all men were to be loved alike, strangers as well as kindred; the other maintained, That every man ought to mind himself, and his own affairs, without concerning himself about any body else, or even the emperor himself.

In this reign we likewise find the first mention of the kingdom of *U*, and of a smart war waged by the king of it, and some neighbouring princes, on account of a beautiful young damsel; which war, being foreign to our present subject, the reader may read in *Martini* (20).

(20) *Sub Kien p.* 135, *& seq.*

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accept of it, and the younger as ſtrenuouſly refuſed it. At length, the elder conſtrained him to it, by force, placing him on the throne, putting the royal ornaments on him, and ſaluting him king of *U*. But the ceremony was ſcarce over, before the new king privately abandoned the palace, went and hid himſelf in a deſart; ſo that the elder was obliged to reſume it, whilſt his brother kept himſelf concealed, in the habit and occupation of a ruſtic, or plough-boy. About ten years after, or in the twenty-firſt year of the ſame reign, was born the ſo much celebrated *Chineſe* philoſopher *Kong-fû-tſe*, or *Confucius*, of whom we have given an account, in a former ſection †. As for *Ling-vang*, he reigned peaceably twenty-ſeven years, and left the crown to his ſon.

Confucius *born.*

XXIV. *KENG-VANG*, alias *King*, is juſtly blamed for his indolence and inattention to the affairs of the empire, at a time when the king of *U*, charmed with the government of his predeceſſors, was on the point of having ſubmitted to him and his laws. So that, inſtead of ſending his intended ambaſſy to him, he diſpatched it to the king of *Lu*, a prince of the family of *Chew*, and a ſtrict obſerver of the laws of this dynaſty. Several other princes thought it alſo high time to reſtore that peace and order in their reſpective ſtates, which the civil wars among them had almoſt deſtroyed. The king of *Ching*, in particular, who reigned in the province of *Shen-ſi*, ſhewed them a noble example, who, by the help and advice of his prime miniſter, reformed the abuſes which had crept into his court, revived the antient laws, and made ſuch a wiſe diſtribution of the lands, as pleaſed both rich and poor (X).

XXIV. Keng-vang. *Year of the 37th cycle, 54.*

New regulations among the little princes.

KENG-VANG reigned twenty-five years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Meng-vang*, who reigned but a few months. During which, he had a ſon born, on whoſe account a deadly conteſt aroſe between two powerful parties; that of the court

Meng-vang *reigns but few months.*

† See before, p. 104, & (F).

(X) His regulations were chiefly contained under the four following heads; *viz.* 1. That the lands ſhould be divided into nine equal parts, whereof one ſhould be his domain, and cultivated at the public charge. 2. That all people indifferently ſhould be permitted to fiſh in lakes, ponds, and rivers. 3. That the magiſtrates ſhould have a particular care of all widows, orphans, and old men and women who had no children, and aſſiſt them in their neceſſities. 4. That the ſon or wife ſhould not be puniſhed for the crime of a parent or huſband; and ſome others of equal wiſdom, though of leſs moment (21).

(21) *Martini, ſub King, Du Halde, Keng-vang, & al. ſup. cit.*

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A contest about the succession. and ministers declaring for the infant prince; whilst the governors of the provinces, objecting against his tender years, and the uncertainty of his life, had proclaimed *King-vang*, his father's brother. Both parties proceeded to arms; but the last proving the stronger, and having made themselves masters of the capital, set him upon the throne, and confirmed him emperor.

XXV. King-vang. *Year of the 38th cycle, 19.*

XXV. *KING-VANG*'s reign is not recorded for any particular action of his; whence it is supposed to have been a peaceable one. *Confucius*, who flourished at this time, in the kingdom of *Lu*, ends that long 200 years war of the tributary princes much about the same time. During the same reign, two very illustrious royal families received their finishing stroke, and total extinction; *viz.* that of *Tsau*, which had had no less than twenty-five kings, within the space 636 years; and, about eight or ten years after, that of *Chin*, together with its kingdom, after it had continued 645 years, under twenty-four princes: the former was destroyed by the king of *Song*; and the latter by that of *Tsu*. *King-vang* died in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son.

XXVI. Ywen-vang. *Year of the 38th cycle, 3.*

XXVI. *YWEN-VANG* proved so wise and mild a prince, that, had he lived long enough, he would probably have raised the imperial authority to its pristine glory. Of all the tributary princes, the king of *Su* was the only one who still refused to him the usual homage of coming to the grand assembly, for which he was proscribed, and declared a rebel; which is the first instance we meet with of that kind of punishment. *Ywen-vang* was likewise very successful in war, gained several battles, and subdued almost the whole province of *Lu*. About the same time, the kingdom of *U*, which had subsisted 650 years, under twenty petty kings, was subverted by the king of *Ywe*. *Ywen-vang* reigned but seven years, and was succeeded by his son.

XXVII. Ching-ting-vang. *Year of the 38th cycle, 10.*

XXVII. *CHING-TING-VANG* was surnamed the *Chaste*, on account of his living in celibacy after the death of his empress, and shewing an eminent example of continency to his subjects. He maintained the empire in the same peace and grandeur in which he found it. And in his reign the king of *Tsu* put a final end to the principality of *Tsay*, which had stood 676 years, under twenty-five princes. *Ching-ting* reigned twenty-eight years, and left three sons at his death, all of age, the eldest of whom, named *Nyau*, succeeded him; but was murdered by his brother *Su*, in the third month of his reign. *Su* reigned only five months, and was likewise assassinated by the youngest, who mounted the throne, without any opposition.

XXVIII. *KAU-*

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XXVIII. *KAU-VANG*, though he pretended to have only punished one parricide by another, was yet greatly hated for that action; insomuch, that several tributary princes withdrew their allegiance from him. He was, however, a mild and good prince, and gave some eminent proofs of his paternal love for his subjects (Y). He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son. XXVIII. Kau-vang. *Year of the 38th cycle*, 38.

XXIX. *GHEY-LYE-VANG*, alias *Ghei-hew*, began his reign about the beginning of the civil wars between the tributary princes, which lasted near 300 years, which epocha is from thence styled, by the *Chinese*, the *years of war*, or *warlike ages*, when every petty sovereign strove to make himself independent, and lord it over his rivals, and the imperial dignity brought so low, that these monarchs saw their authority trampled under foot, the provinces taken from them by degrees, whilst they hardly retained the bare name of sovereigns. The kingdom of *Tsin* was divided between four princes, who had conquered it, one of whom, famed for his battles, had formed the design of swallowing up the other three. He was prevented indeed by death; but his son, equally ambitious and unquiet, picked a quarrel with the kings of *Han* and *Gay*, and forced them to yield some territories to him. He next tried to do the same by the king of *Chan*, another neighbour; but was defeated, and slain by him, together with his whole family, and his head cut off, and made a drinking-cup of. The king of *Lu* made likewise war against that of *Tsi*, took some considerable places from him, and obliged him to sue for a peace. As for *Ghey-lye-vang*, we hear nothing of him, but that he reigned twenty-four years, and left the crown to his son. XXIX. Ghey-lye-vang. *Year of the 38th cycle*, 53.

XXX. *NGAN-VANG*'s reign is recorded for nothing but for the wars which reigned between the petty kings, particularly those of *Tsin* and *Ghey*, in which the latter was the most successful; but *U-ki*, the general, who had gained him several victories, being envied by his courtiers, withdrew himself privately to the former, and turned the scales against his old master, and became very great at this second court. Being here likewise envied by the grandees, he resolved to reform the government by limiting their authority, and lodging the XXX. Ngan-vang. *Year of the 39th cycle*, 17.

(Y) It will not be amiss to observe to our readers, that *Martini*, and some other *Chinese* annalists, reckon the reigns of the two slain princes among the rest, and so make this of *Kau-vang* to be the thirtieth of this dynasty, which, in due course, is but the twenty-eighth, since both reigns not exceeding eight months, ought rather to be included with the first of the following one.

power

power solely in the king. He had already, by his valour and merit, rendered him so powerful, and brought his kingdom into such a flourishing condition, that he was become formidable to all his neighbours; but his ministers so highly resented the blow which his brave general had given to their overgrown sway, that they caused him to be privately murdered in his own house. *Ngan-vang* reigned twenty-six years, and was succeeded by his son.

XXXI. Lye-vang. *Year of the 39th cycle,* 43.

XXXI. *LYE-VANG*'s reign was not more remarkable than his father's, except for the birth of the great philosopher *Meng-tse*, commonly called *Mencius*, the most celebrated one, next to *Confucius*, that ever *China* produced. In other respects, the imperial authority still went on to its decline, insomuch that the king of *Tsi* was the only one who paid him homage. The year in which he came to the crown was likewise remarkable for the extinction of the *Ching* dynasty, after it had lasted 432 years, under 23 princes, the last of whom was subdued and slain by the king of *Han*. *Lye-vang* reigned seven years, and died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother,

XXXII. Hyen-vang. *Year of the 40th cycle,* 50.

XXXII. *HYEN-VANG*, though he enjoyed a long reign, yet had little more than the title of emperor, the princes not only refusing him the usual homage, but threatening him with war if he opposed their designs. The *Chinese* records take notice of the nine celebrated brasen vessels which *Yu*, the founder of the first dynasty, caused to be made, representing the nine provinces of the empire; and which whoever was in possession of, was sure of the empire †. These vessels are affirmed to have shaken of themselves in the reign of *Ghey Lye-vang*, the 29th monarch of this dynasty, which was then looked upon as a presage of the evils which ensued. And now in this reign the contending kings began to strive who should get the possession of them; but the emperor, to defeat their design, caused them to be thrown into a deep lake, from which it was impossible to get them out. In his reign we first hear of chariots of war being used by the *Chinese*. He reigned forty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son.

XXXIII. Shin-tsin-vang. *Year of the 40th cycle,* 38.

XXXIII. *SHIN-TSIN-VANG*, alias *Xi-cin*, had a fair opportunity of recovering the lost dignity of the empire, had not his sloth and cowardice hindered him from making the best advantage of the wars which raged among other princes. Not so did the king of *Tsin*, who raised himself by them to such height of power, that he kept the others in subjection to him; and had almost engrossed the whole imperial authority, though he had not the title of emperor. He

† Martini, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat. See before, p. 372, & seq.

defeated

defeated the confederate forces of the kings of *Tsu*, *Chau*, *Han*, *Ghey*, and *Yen*; and would have deprived them of their kingdoms, had not a more important concern called him elsewhere; *viz.* two independent princes in the western part of *Se-chwen*, who were at war, and each imploring his assistance. The hopes of joining two such principalities to his own kingdom easily prevailed upon him to engage in the quarrel; the upshot of which was, that he defeated and killed the one, and seized upon his territory; and obliged the other, whom he had assisted, to pay him homage, and an annual tribute. Soon after this, the king of *Ghey*, one of the five confederates, put himself under his protection, and became tributary to him; by which means that prince could more easily enter into and subdue the territories of the other four. All this while the emperor continued an idle spectator; and, after a short reign of six years, left the crown to his son.

XXXIV. *NGAN-VANG*, alias *Sous*, found the imperial authority reduced to so low an ebb, that though he wanted neither courage nor prudence to act as became his dignity, yet had not power sufficient to undertake any thing which might give the least umbrage to his rival the king of *Tsin*. This last, who aimed at no less than the imperial dignity, promoted underhand the wars between the other princes; and, as they all applied to him for help, he readily assisted them with forces to destroy one another, and lessen their number and strength: by which means the kingdom of *Song*, which had subsisted 381 years, under 32 princes, was destroyed by the kings of *Tsi* and *Tsu*; and the principality of *Lu*, which had been governed by 34 sovereigns, was subdued by the king of *Tsu*. XXXIV. Ngan-vang. *Year of the 40th cycle*, 44.

HAVING thus far opened the way to the imperial diadem, *Chau-syang* began to discover his designs, by offering a public sacrifice to the Lord of heaven, with the same ceremonies as the emperors alone were allowed to use: neither was there any prince powerful or courageous enough to controul him in it, except the king of *Tsi*; but his army was so small, that *Chau-syang* with ease defeated him; immediately after which, he sent part of his forces to dethrone the emperor. The unfortunate monarch, who had but few forces to oppose him, was likewise defeated at the first attack, and forced, in order to save his life, to submit himself to the conqueror's mercy, to own him for his sovereign, and to yield him the few cities which remained in his hands. He retired immediately after into the province of *Shan-si*, and died there a year after, in the 59th year of his reign; upon which, several princes hastened to go and pay their homage to *Chau-syang*. On the other hand, *Dethroned by the king of* Tsi.

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hand, there were not wanting others who ſtill adhered to the family of *Chew*, and raiſed a grandſon of the brother of *Kau-vang* to the throne.

XXXV. Chew-kyun. *Year of the 41ſt cycle,* 44.

XXXV. *CHEW-KYUN*, immediately upon his acceſſion, ſent to demand what aſſiſtance he could get, to make head againſt the uſurper, and particularly from the kings of *Tſi*, *Tſu*, and *Ghey*, but they were too fearful of diſobliging the new emperor to ſend him any; ſo that, ſeeing himſelf abandoned, and without hopes of maintaining himſelf on the throne, he choſe to relinquiſh it, and end his life in a private ſtate, after a troubleſome reign of ſeven, or, according to others, nine years. *Chau-ſyang* did not long enjoy his new dignity, but died even before his rival had abdicated it. His ſon *Hyau-veng-vang* died alſo in the ſame year; but left the crown to his ſon *Chwang-ſyang-vang*, who put an end to the third, and became the founder of the fourth, dynaſty.

End of the 3d dynaſty.

Fourth dynaſty. ***The Fourth Dynaſty, called*** Tſin, ***or*** Cin, ***conſiſting of only Four Emperors within the Space of Forty-three Years.***

I. Chwang-ſyang. *Year of the 41ſt cycle,* 55.

I. *CHWANG-SYANG-VANG* began his reign with making an inroad into the kingdom of *Ghey*; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, and won ſo many battles, that thoſe of *Han*, *Tſu*, *Hyen*, *Chau*, and *Tſin*, being afraid of being ſtripped likewiſe of their dominions, formed a confederacy againſt him; and, with an army of 200,000 men, gave him a total overthrow, and obliged him to quit his new conqueſts. The emperor died ſoon after, in the third year of his reign, and left the crown to his adopted ſon *Shi-whang-ti*, who is affirmed by the *Chineſe* hiſtorians to have been born twelve months after his conception [a].

II. Shi-whang-ti. *Year of the 41ſt cycle,* 55.

II. *SHI-WHANG-TI*, alias *Ching*, owed his good fortune, on his coming to the crown, to the ambition and jealouſy which began to reign among the above-mentioned princes, which made them break off a confederacy which might otherwiſe have defeated all his meaſures; whereas the mutual wars which they waged gave him a fair opportunity of ſubduing them one after another, extirpating all the males of their families and tribes (Z), re-uniting all thoſe principalities

[a] MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. ſup. citat.

(Z) His revenge diſplayed itſelf ſtill more againſt the king of *Tſi*, whom he cauſed to be ſhut up in a park planted with nothing

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ties under him, and reducing them from thenceforth into so many dependent states of his empire. To these he added soon after so many other new conquests, that he divided the whole into 36 provinces (A); and having observed, in visiting his empire, that the northern ones of *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, and *Pe-che-li*, were much exposed to the excursions of the *Tartars*, he first sent a formidable army against these invaders; and, having driven them far enough beyond his frontiers, set about his projected scheme of securing them for the future by the famed wall which we have elsewhere described [b]. But as neither this stupendous work, which of itself would have been sufficient to eternize his fame, nor his great successes and conquests, could satisfy his ambitious mind, unless he could obliterate the glorious deeds of all his predecessors, and stand as it were alone in the *Chinese* annals a fit object of admiration and praise; he published a decree, expressly commanding all his subjects, upon pain of death, to burn all the records of the kings, and all the writings of *Confucius*, *Mencius*, &c. which transmitted the virtues and actions of those illustrious emperors, excepting only such as treated of physic and architecture.

Builds the great wall.

His unmeasurable ambition.

Destroys all the ancient records.

This decree, the baseness of which he endeavoured to conceal under divers specious pretences (B), was executed with

[b] See before, p. 289, & seq. & not. (B).

nothing but pine-trees; and allowed him such a small pittance, as quite drove him into despair; so that he refused it, and starved himself. On the other hand, the king of *Han*, by a timely submission, and surrender of himself, troops, and dominions, not only avoided the fate of the rest, but became a great favourite of that monarch, and ended his days at his court, with all the marks of distinction that belong to his rank (22).

(A) The *Chinese* pretend, that about this time the islands of *Japan* and *Bengal* were discovered and colonied by them. The account they give has too much the air of a fable to be depended upon; we shall therefore postpone the further disquisition about it till we come to speak of those islands in the sequel.

(B) One of his pretences was, that those books, though useful when the empire was divided among various sovereigns, in order to have the subjects all governed by the same laws; yet, as it was now under one monarch, the same spirit ought to govern and animate the whole. Besides, added he, those sciences, to which such vast numbers of men apply themselves, serve rather to encourage sloth and

(22) *Martini & Du Halde sub Ching-xi, & Du Halde sub Shi-tsong-ti.*

idleness,

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with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs by the governors of the provinces; and many perſons of virtue and learning were put to death for concealing thoſe valuable records; though it is not improbable, that, in ſo vaſt an empire, ſome few copies might be ſtill privately preſerved, and come to light after the death of that tyrannic prince, whoſe memory has been odious to all poſterity ever ſince. But what relates to the recovery of thoſe antient records, we ſhall refer our readers to what hath been already ſaid on that head [c]; from which it will eaſily appear, that the regret which the *Chineſe* to this day expreſs for that loſs can only relate to ſome of the inferior, but not at all to thoſe of the claſſic and canonic kind [d].

New regulates the government.

Proviſion for the younger ſons.

SHI-WHANG-TI, after a war which had laſted near 25 years, ſettled ſuch a profound peace in his empire, that he had leiſure enough to new-model that government, by abrogating and mending ſome laws, and enacting others, as he thought fit: and, as he had ſeveral children, ſome of his miniſters adviſed him to erect new principalities for the maintenance of the younger ſort; but he, putting them in mind of the great troubles they had cauſed in former dynaſties, choſe rather to build them palaces in ſeveral cities, where they ſhould be maintained according to their rank at the emperor's charge, but without any authority over the people; which method hath been followed almoſt ever ſince, except that in the latter reigns they have been obliged to reſide in the metropolis, and to follow the court. As he could not endure to be idle, he reſolved upon making a new progreſs through the eaſtern provinces of the empire, and took his ſecond ſon with him; but he fell ſick upon the road, and, finding himſelf near his end, wrote a letter to his eldeſt ſon, whom he

[c] Conf. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 155. (D); and before, p. 355, & ſeq. [d] Du Halde Introd. in Annal.

idleneſs, to the neglect of agriculture, which is the fountain of happineſs to the people. He charged moreover thoſe antient books, with containing in them the ſeeds of rebellion and ſedition, and thoſe who ſtudied them as men ever ready to promote it; inaſmuch as if a wiſe prince's commands were not exactly agreeable to thoſe antient laws, as it muſt frequently happen, ſince they muſt neceſſarily vary according to the ſeveral occaſions and emergencies for which they were given, thoſe learned men took the liberty raſhly to condemn his conduct, and, with their ſeditious reflections, kindled a ſpirit of diſobedience and rebellion (23).

(23) *Martini & Du Halde ſub Ching-xi, Du Halde ſub Shi whang-ti.*

declared

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declared his ſucceſſor. This, together with the ſeals of the empire, he delivered up to his ſecond ſon, charging him to bear them to his brother; and died ſoon after, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign. *Death.*

III. *EUL-SHI*, alias *Ul-xi*, inſtead of obeying his father's command, reſolved to place the crown upon his own head; and having, with ſome difficulty, engaged the prime miniſter *Li-tſe*, then in great authority, to his ſide, eaſily got the ſuffrages of the reſt by his means. The eldeſt ſon raiſed ſome forces againſt him, in order to maintain his right; but, finding that moſt of the provinces had declared for *Eul-ſhi*, was forced to ſubmit; and, the ſtep he had taken being deemed treaſonable, was ordered to kill himſelf. This perfidy and parricide met with the reward they deſerved; and that infatuated prince, taking a *Ko-lau* for his prime miniſter and confident, who was a private enemy to the whole imperial family, was by him perſuaded to diſcard all his beſt friends, under pretence that they preſumed to condemn his too great love of pleaſure, and filling their places with his own creatures. A general diſcontent ſoon followed thro' the empire, occaſioned by the exactions of the governors and miniſters; and one of the generals, who had been ſent to quell ſome provinces, proved the very firſt who cauſed a revolt in favour of the ſon of the elder brother. About this time appeared the famed *Lieu-pang*, who, from a private ſoldier, was become captain of a company of banditti; and was a bold, courageous man, eloquent and active, and an enemy to the emperor's luxury. He had been ſaluted emperor by a great phyſiognomiſt, who, as a pledge of the certainty of his prediction, gave him his daughter, one of the greateſt beauties in the whole empire, in marriage. It was not long before *Lieu-pang* was applied to by one of the governors for aſſiſtance againſt the revolted general, who deſigned to ſeize on the kingdom of *Tſin* for himſelf, and was going to beſiege one of the cities of it. The very name of *Lieu-pang* was by that time become ſo dreaded, that he eaſily made that general retire; but the treacherous governor, ſeeing himſelf rid of him, ſhut up the gates againſt his deliverer. Preſently after there happened a ſedition in the city; of which *Lieu-pang* having got notice by an arrow ſhot into the camp, ſcaled the walls, and took it; and, the governor being killed in the action, the inhabitants declared for him, and he entered the place in triumph; and, from a captain of vagabonds, became general of an army, and maſter of a rich booty, and began now to cheriſh the hopes of his advancement to the empire.

III. Eul-ſhi. *Year of the 42d cycle, 32.* *A revolt.* Lieu-pang *promiſed the empire.* *His ſucceſs.*

ALL

ALL this while the perfidious *Ko-lau* kept the emperor drowned in pleasure, whilst he pursued his own destructive measures, and indulged his creatures in all kind of rapine, which were grown to such a height, that several provinces revolted before he had reigned two years, and chose their own sovereigns, particularly the kingdoms of *Tsi*, *Yen*, *Chau*, *Chey*, and *Tsu*, which had been destroyed by *Shi-whang-ti*, rose up anew; and the king of *Tsu*, having chosen *Lieu-pang* for his general, sent him with two others, and with each a powerful army, against the emperor, with a promise of giving the kingdom of *Tsin* to any of the three that should seize on the metropolis, and drive the tyrant out of it. *Eul-shi* sent a powerful army against them, which was defeated by one of them named *Hyang-hya*; and the rest, not being able to obtain a reinforcement from the *Ko-lau*, went over to the conqueror. The *Ko-lau*, fearing this defection might discover his treachery, found no surer way of avoiding the due punishment of it, than by causing the unfortunate emperor to be assassinated by a ruffian, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and third of his reign; and, to conceal his having a hand in it, placed *Ing-wang*, the grand-nephew of the deceased emperor, on the throne.

Made general.

Sent against the emperor.

The emperor murdered by his prime minister.

IV. *Ing-wang.* *Year of the 42d cycle,* 35.

IV. *ING-WANG*, alias *Ing*, had not enjoyed the crown three days, before he discovered the *Ko-lau* to be the murderer of the emperor; but, as he dared not act openly against such a powerful minister, he feigned himself to be sick, and sent for him, and ordered him to be stabbed as he entered the apartment; soon after which, his whole kindred, to the third generation, underwent the same fate; by which the empire was delivered from a rapacious monster, and his adherents. This did not deter *Lieu-pang* from pursuing his design, and marching against him. *Ing-wang*, on the other hand, raised an army, and strengthened it with a good number of veterans which he drew out of several of his garrisons. But *Lieu-pang* found means to alienate them, by sending a vast number of his troops among them, under the notion of deserters; and, as soon as he found the imperial army ready to revolt in his favour, came suddenly upon, and easily defeated it. The emperor, finding himself thus abandoned, threw himself at his feet, and delivered up to him the seals, and other insignia, of the imperial dignity, after he had reigned only forty-five days; and *Lieu-pang* entered the city in triumph, which he delivered up to be plundered by his troops; but with an express order, that they should not use any of the inhabitants ill. After that, he marched strait to the palace, where he found an immense treasure; and caused himself soon after to be

Dethroned by Lieu-pang.

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be proclaimed emperor, and became the founder of a new dynasty.

The Fifth Dynasty, called Han, *containing* 25 *Emperors within the Space of* 426 *Years.*

Fifth dynasty.

I. *LIEU-PANG* at first took only the title of king of *Tsin*, the capital of which he had lately taken, and exchanged his own name for that of *Kau-tsu*. But he had a rival who caused him much trouble, *viz.* the general *Hyang-hyu*, lately mentioned, a man of an haughty and brutish nature, who, notwithstanding his pretended reconciliation to him, set the city and imperial palace on fire, committed many dreadful outrages on the tombs and bodies of the deceased kings of *Tsin*; and with his own hand murdered the dethroned emperor, under pretence that *Lieu-pang* had shewn him too much respect. He committed many other bloody murders and outrages, which, as they rendered him odious to all the soldiers, so they served as a foil to set off the justice, moderation, and clemency, of *Lieu-pang*.

I. Lieu-pang; *since*, Kau-tsu. *Year of the 42d cycle*, 35. *Bef. Chr.* 206.

Hyang *opposes him, and commits many outrages.*

HYANG-HYU resolved next to murder the king of *Tsu*, to whom he owed his advancement, and to make a bold push for the empire; and marched towards the city of *Kyew-kyang*, in the province of *Kyang-si*, where that prince then resided; who, suspecting nothing of his treacherous design, came out to meet him, and was assassinated upon the spot. *Lieu-pang*, grieved at the murder of his noble benefactor, ordered the most magnificent obsequies to be performed to him; and, from that time, became a sworn enemy to *Hyang-hyu*. These two had many a bloody contest for the imperial diadem; in one of which *Lieu-pang* having totally defeated him, the traitor slew himself, to avoid falling into his hands. This put an end to the war; and the states of the empire, being convoked, declared *Lieu-pang* emperor under the name of *Kau-tsu*. He kept his court at first in the province of *Shen-si*, but removed it afterwards to that of *Ho-nan*, where it continued the space of ninety-six years, under twelve emperors. He reigned twelve years; and, in his last sickness, nominated his son *Whey-ti* his successor, and appointed him a set of ministers in whom he might confide.

Lieu-pang *declared emperor.*

His death.

II. *WHEY-TI*, alias *Hoey*, was a prince who had many good qualities, but they were all unfortunately swallowed up partly by his excessive love of women, and partly by his too great complaisance to his ambitious mother, whom he intrusted with the sole care of the empire, and who became odious to the whole nation for her cruelties towards those she did

II. Whey-ti. *Year of the 42d cycle*, 47. *Bef. Chr.* 194.

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did not like, and whom she commonly caused to be dispatched by poison. She went so far as to attempt to poison the king of *Tsi*, who was the emperor's elder brother, and was come to visit him in his sickness; but was happily prevented by the emperor, who snatched the cup out of his hand. *Whey-ti* reigned but seven years, and died oppressed with the many infirmities which his loose life had brought upon him. *Lyeu-hew*, his mother, fearing lest one of his brothers should be set on the throne, gave out that she had a child (which was a boy she had bought of a country-woman), and declared him emperor, and herself his guardian; and, to avoid being discovered, caused the mother to be strangled.

Lyu-hew. *Year of the 42d cycle,* 54. *Bef. Chr.* 187.

LYU-HEW, alias *Liu-heva* (C), was no longer suffered to bear the imperial title than it suited with the tyrannic views of his pretended mother, that is, about eight years; at the end of which she caused him to be murdered, and, by that means, discovered the secret artifice which her ambition had prompted her to. She had, by that time, raised a great many of her relations, from the lowest rank, to the highest dignities in the empire, and some of them to the sovereignty of provinces, for which they were to pay her homage; and all of them had behaved so insolently in their high stations, that the nobles had combined together to reduce them to their pristine obscurity, when that wicked princess was taken away by a sudden death, and delivered the nation both from her tyranny, and from that of her creatures, who were all massacred throughout the empire. The states immediately proceeded to the election of a new emperor; and raised *Ven-ti*, the second son of *Kau-tsu*, who was then sovereign of a small state, to that dignity.

Death of the empress.

III. Ven-ti *chosen emperor. Year of the 43d cycle,* 2. *Bef. Chr.* 179.

III, *VEN-TI* proved so wise and virtuous a prince, that he quickly recovered the splendor of the imperial dignity, and restored peace and wealth throughout the realm. His frugality was such, that he forbad all utensils of gold and silver to be used in his palace, and the wearing of silks to his wives. He likewise remitted the duty upon salt, and one half of the other ordinary taxes; and ordered all the old people in every city to be maintained at his own expence. He ordered the copper money, which was no-where coined but in the metropolis, to the great disadvantage of the subjects, especially of those who lived at a distance from it, to be every-

(C) It must be observed here, that the *Chinese* annalists neither place him nor the empress among the monarchs belonging to this dynasty, but account that epoch as an usurpation of eight years.

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where ſtruck; and preſcribed the form of it, as we have elſewhere deſcribed it [e].

His next care was, to reſtore and encourage agriculture, which had been in ſome meaſure ruined during the late wars, and vouchſafed to cultivate the earth with his own hand, by which he alſo in ſome meaſure ennobled that profeſſion. He revived the ſilk manufacture in his own palace, and obliged his empreſs and wives to ſet an example to other ladies of his his realm. He was no leſs an encourager of learning; and permitted the books, which had been ſaved from the common deſtruction, to be ſought out, and made public. In his reign the making of paper with grounded bamboes, and *Chineſe* ink and pencils, ſuch as have been in uſe ever ſince, and have been formerly deſcribed †, were found out; and the *Tartars*, who had taken the advantage of the late diſtractions to make ſeveral inroads into the empire, were ſtoutly repulſed, and driven at a great diſtance from his frontiers. He became at length ſo famed for his wiſdom, virtue, and good government, that the moſt diſtant nations ſought his friendſhip; and ſeveral provinces, particularly thoſe of *Quang-tong* and *Quang-ſi*, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to his laws, and paid him homage and tribute. He died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon (D). *His excellent reign.* *Death.*

IV. *KING-TI*, alias *Hiao-king*, was no leſs remarkable for the mildneſs of his reign than his father; and one of his firſt acts was, to mollify the ſeverity of the puniſhments which were then inflicted on certain criminals. However, as agriculture was ſo well reſtored by this time, he revived the taxes which his father had reduced to one half; alleging, IV. King-ti. *Year of the 43d cycle.* 25. 1 *Bef. Chr.* 156.

[e] See before, p. 217, & (R). † Ibid. p. 210, & ſeq.

(D) The only fault this excellent prince is accuſed of, is, his having been weak enough to give credit to an impoſtor, who preſented him with a coſtly liquor, the drinking of which he affirmed would render him immortal. However, when he found himſelf dying, he is recorded to have expreſſed himſelf thus to his ſon: "Should "my death be followed by any "war, as there is but too much "reaſon to fear, be ſure you "take the general *A-fu* into "your council, and commit "every thing to his care: make "no doubt of his long-tried fi-"delity; and, as for his martial "ſkill, I can only aſſure you, "that he has not his equal in "the whole *Chineſe* empire." This advice proved of excellent uſe to the young prince, who might otherwiſe have loſt his life and crown, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

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that the treasury ought to be put in a condition to support the expences of the state. An unhappy accident, which happened soon after, had like to have been attended with fatal consequences to him: His eldest son having, as was then usual, given a feast to a number of young princes, amongst whom was one who was his great favourite, they carried their debauch so high, that it came to a quarrel, in which the emperor's son stabbed his favourite to death; upon which the father of the deceased swore he would be revenged on the imperial family; and engaged six tributary princes in his quarrel, who actually joined forces with him. It was on this occasion that the emperor sent the general *A-fû*, mentioned in the last note, with a powerful army against them, who had the address to draw them into a province where they could scarcely get any provision; whilst himself was well fortified in his camp, and had plenty of all things. When the confederates found that they must either fight or be famished, they agreed to attack his camp on all sides at once. They were, however, stoutly repulsed, and fell into a disorderly flight; but were pursued with such terrible slaughter, that the six princes were either slain by the imperial soldiers, or killed themselves, to avoid falling into their hands. *King-ti* reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son.

V. Vu-ti. *Year of the 43d cycle.* 42. *Bef. Chr.* 146.

V. *VU-TI*, alias *Hi-a-ow*, was endowed with most excellent qualities, but naturally warlike, as his last name expresses it; and, to indulge that inclination, sent for all the wise philosophers, to consult with them about the conquest of some neighbouring country; but was greatly surprised to find them all against it, and to prefer peace before the most just war, which sooner or later proves fatal to a state. He did however yield to their advice; and gave himself wholly to the cares of his government, which he only relieved at proper times by hunting; but even here, considering that his parks took up too much ground, and were a loss to the people, he contracted them into a narrower compass. He made several wholsome laws and regulations; and ordained, among other things, that, when a prince died, his estate should be equally divided among his children; and that, when any died without lawful heirs, their sovereignties should revert to the crown.

His great moderation.

He was a great encourager of learning, and of the republishing those books that had escaped the public ruin, which he caused to be taught in the schools, together with the morals of *Confucius* and *Mencius*. His greatest foible was, his fondness for some impostors, who promised him immortality by the drinking of a certain liquor of their own making; and by whom he had been persuaded to build a palace all of the most

Foible for impostors.

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most fragrant woods; and in the midst of it a brasen tower, in which he and they spent much time and pains in preparing that precious panacea. He was likewise inclined to listen too much to some pretended magicians, who promised to perform wonders before him (E), and for which he was justly raillied by the wiser sort. The *Tartars* having roused his martial genius by some fresh inroads, he gained four signal victories over them, and drave them beyond the wall. From thence he carried his successful arms into the kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Camboya*, and *Bengal*, and divided his conquests among his generals, and other officers, who had helped to subdue them *. He built several cities there, and gave two of his generals the title of kings, who, by contracting in time the manners and inclinations of the *Tartars*, became the greatest enemies to their native country. A little before his death he nominated one of his sons by a concubine, then but eight years old, to succeed him; and gave him for a guardian one of his ministers, in whom he placed an intire confidence; *Conquests.* *Death.*

* See before, vol. vii. pass.

(E) With relation to the first sort of those impostors, we are told, that one of them having set some of that liquor before him in a cup, one of his ministers, who had tried in vain to cure him of his credulity, took it up, and drank it; upon which the emperor, in a violent passion, threatened to put him to death; to which he replied, with a smile, *How can you put me to death, if this liquor hath made me immortal; and, if it hath not, how can such a poor theft deserve it?* This answer disarmed his resentment, but did not cure him of his foible.

As to the magicians, of whom he was no less fond, one of them having promised to shew him a favourite concubine, whom he affirmed to have passed, after her death, into the world of the moon, where she enjoyed the effects of the immortalizing liquor, caused a tower to be built, into which he pretended he would cause her to descend by his art as often as the emperor pleased. The experiment was tried, and that monarch assisted at the conjuring ceremony; but, the immortal lady proving deaf to the call, the magician was forced to have recourse to the following stratagem: Having caused a piece of white silk (whereon he had written the reasons why the concubine could not descend to him) to be swallowed up by a cow, he told the emperor, in a pretended surprise, and fearful tone, that that beast was pregnant with some strange wonder, and desired that she might be cut open. It was done accordingly, and the piece of silk found in her maw; but, the hand-writing proving to be that of the conjuror, he was put to death. This story, we are told, hath served for a subject of several comedies (24).

(24) *Martini & al. in Hiaoum. Du Halde in Vu-ti.*

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and, to prevent his empress raising any troubles in favour of her son, condemned her to death on some pretence or other, and only gave her the choice of it. *Vu-ti* reigned fifty-four years, and was succeeded by his son above-mentioned.

VI. Chau-ti. *Year of the 44th cycle, 36. Bef. Chr. 86.*

VI. *CHAU-TI*, alias *Hiao-chan*, though so very young, gave the greatest marks of a most excellent disposition; he was very observing of his wise guardian's instructions, and no less liberal to those who faithfully served the state. A dearth happening in his reign, he not only remitted the usual taxes of grain, but assisted his indigent subjects with corn for their subsistence. He next concluded an honourable peace with the *Tartars*; but died soon after, to the great regret of his people, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and, leaving no issue, was succeeded by his uncle *Hyau-ti*, with the consent of the whole nation. However, he, proving a very debauched prince, without either affection for his subjects, or regard for his most faithful counsellors, was soon after deposed by them, stripped of all ensigns of the imperial dignity, and sent to the little sovereignty whence they had called him to the empire, after a short reign of seven months. The states chose in his stead,

VII. Swen-ti. *Year of the 44th cycle, 48. Bef. Chr. 74.*

VII. *SWEN-TI*, alias *Si-ven*, the grandson of the emperor *Vu-ti*, who had been educated in a prison with the empress his mother, to which she had been confined on an unjust suspicion of destroying the princes and princesses of the blood by witchcraft. Here his misfortunes enabled him to learn many excellent lessons from her, which made him worthy of the empire; and his keeper took such particular care of him, that, upon his accession to the throne, he rewarded him with a principality. He was mild and compassionate, easy of access, and assiduous to the affairs of state. He revived the office of censors, which had been suppressed by his predecessors; caused exact information to be brought to him of the behaviour of his ministers; gave frequent audience to his subjects, especially to the widows and orphans; and encouraged more particularly memorials being presented to him, because they gave him more leisure to examine the case than by an audience. He reduced the multitude of laws to a certain number of articles; and abrogated the rest, as tending only to perplex matters, and perpetuate suits.

His mild government.

Makes some whol-some regu-lations.

In his reign the *Indian* princes, whom his grandfather had subdued, shook off the yoke; and he was preparing to march against them, but was dissuaded from it by his ministers, who reminded him, that the blood of his subjects ought to be dearer to him than any conquests; and that those, who refused the blessing of his wise government, were unworthy of it.

Dissuaded from a war.

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it. There happened in his time some dreadful earthquakes, which rent whole mountains asunder, filled up vallies, and spread an universal terror through that whole superstitious nation, which looked upon them as forerunners of greater evils. Some time after a *Tartarian* king sent an ambassy to *Swen-ti*, which was at first suspected of some sinister views; but upon its appearing, by the rich furs they brought with them, and the homage they came to pay him, that the intent of their coming was only to promote a mutual commerce, they were graciously received, and treated as envoys of an ally. *Swen-ti* reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son.

VIII. *YWEN-TI*, alias *Iuen*, is justly celebrated for his love of learning and learned men; for his tender regard for his subjects; and, above all, for his singular frugality, which made him discard a great number of superfluous domestics, with respect to furniture, diet, stables, equipage, *&c.* according to a favourite maxim he seldom lost sight of, That he, who could be contented with a little, would want nothing. He was however unhappy in the indiscreet choice he made of his ministers, whom he raised chiefly for their politeness and eloquence, without any other regard to their wisdom or experience; by which means his court was filled with factious sycophants, who drew him into all their measures, and got him by degrees to turn all the men of virtue and merit out of his service. He was guilty of another and grosser piece of injustice with regard to the troops which guarded the great wall, who beheaded the *Tartarian* princes whom they took prisoners as they were hunting on the mountains; for, instead of punishing their commander for his treachery (the former peace with that nation still subsisting), he rewarded him for it. This had like to have brought on a new war; the successor of one of those princes being then levying a numerous army, and making a powerful confederacy, against him; to ward off which, he was obliged to give him a princess of the imperial family in marriage, with a very rich dower. This storm was scarcely over, when he perceived that a more dangerous war was ready to break out, within the empire, among the numerous parties formed by the ministers, the apprehension of which is supposed to have hastened his death. He reigned sixteen years, and died in the forty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

VIII. Ywen-ti. *Year of the 45th cycle, 13. Bef. Chr. 48.* *Singular frugality.* *Bad choice of ministers.* *Baseness to the Tartars.* *Death.*

IX. *CHING-TI*, a slave to wine and women, and to all other infamous pleasures, was wholly governed by his mother, who conferred the most important posts in the empire on her own relations. He afterwards fell so passionately in love with an actress, that he turned his lawful wife out of his

IX. Ching-ti. *Year of the 45th cycle, 29.*

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Bef. Chr. 32. palace, to make room for her; and then declared her empress, giving her father a principality, to conceal the meanness of her birth. Several of his ministers, having represented to him the discredit of such a shameful alliance, were all put to death. Many other brutal crimes he was guilty of; and many more he would have committed, had not a sudden death (F) put an end to his odious reign in the twenty-sixth year of it. He left no issue; but was succeeded by his nephew.

X. Hyau-ngay. X. *HYAU-NGAY-TI*, alias *Ngay*, though but eighteen years old, gave great hopes of a mild and happy reign by his early care in reforming the state, displacing all the wicked ministers of his predecessor, and filling their places with men of known virtue and probity. In his reign *Tan-gu*, king of the *Tartars*, came in person to pay homage to him, and to confirm the peace which either he or his predecessor had made with the emperor *Swen-ti*. He was received in a magnificent manner, and a firm peace renewed between the two nations. The emperor died the very year after; which was that, according to the *Chinese* annalists [a], in which the Saviour of the world was born; and was succeeded by a prince descended from *Ywen-ti*, the eighth monarch of this dynasty.

Year of the 45th cycle.

Bef. Chr. 16.

Dies the year in which Christ was born.

XI. Hyau-ping. XI. *HYAU-PING-TI* was but nine years old when he came to the crown; and his grandmother imprudently put him under the guardianship of *Vang-mang*, whom she made a *Ko-lau*; a man of such unbounded ambition and artfulness, that he made no scruple to commit the most enormous cruelties to attain to the imperial dignity. He began with discarding his associates, and other persons of virtue and merit; then erected several principalities, which he bestowed on his own creatures; and at length caused some poison to be mixed with the emperor's food, which in a few days brought him to the last extremity. All this while the traiterous villain pre-

THE FIRST YEAR OF CHRIST

Poisoned by Vang-mang.

[a] Vid. Noel, Couplet, Martini, Du Halde, & al. sub Ngan & Hyau-ngan. See also before, p. 345, & seq.

(F) He is suspected to have been poisoned by the orders of his wicked mother, who had hitherto led him into most of his enormities; for he was in perfect health the night before, and had cut himself out a deal of business to be done early next day; but, on the morning, fell down dead as he was dressing himself; and, what confirmed this suspicion, was, that one of her relations, supposed to have administered the draught to him, being like to be tryed for it, killed himself, to prevent all future discovery (25).

(25) *Martini, & al, sup. citat. sub Ching.*

tended

tended to be under the deepest concern for him; offered sacrifices for his recovery, filled the air with the bittereſt cries, and even devoted his own life for that of his prince, by which means his treaſon went unſuſpected; eſpecially as he did, after his death, place the crown on a young prince deſcended from *Swen-ti*, the ſeventh emperor of this dynaſty.

XII. *ZHU-TSE-ING* was then but two years old when the *Ko-lau* raiſed him to the throne, which he only ſuffered him to enjoy three years, that is, till he had ſufficiently ſtrengthened himſelf; after which, he depoſed him, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. XII. Zhu-tſe-ing. *Aſt. Chr.* 5.

VANG-MANG, having thus ſeized on the crown, gave his family the name of *Sin*, which ſignifies *New*, as well as a new face to the empire, by the innovations he made in it. He divided it into nine provinces; and every province into diſtricts, the government of which he gave to his own creatures: he likewiſe erected ſome principalities, to increaſe the number of his dependents. By theſe, and other ſuch precautions, he thought his authority ſo firmly ſettled, that nothing could wreſt it from him; when on a ſudden he ſaw the empire all in a flame, and ſeveral armies marching againſt him, ſome commanded by the confederate lords, and others by the two brothers *Lyew-ſiew* and *Lyew-ing*, of the family of *Han*. Theſe wars proved long and bloody, and attended length with an almoſt univerſal famine, occaſioned chiefly by the graſhoppers devouring the harveſt; and this brought on freſh inſurrections and robberies, which ended in the death of the uſurper. His army was defeated, his palace forced, plundered, and burnt, his throat cut, his body mangled in pieces, and his head ſtuck on a pitchfork, and expoſed to the view and diverſion of the populace. Thus fell that baſe tyrant, after he had uſurped the crown fourteen years. The victorious army, reſolving to reſtore it to ſome worthy prince of the royal family, elected *Whay-yang-vang* to that dignity, who was a deſcendant of *King-ti*, the fourth monarch of this dynaſty. Vang-mang, *an uſurper. Aſt. Chr.* 8. *A bloody war raiſed againſt him.* *His dreadful end.*

XIII. *WHAY-YANG-VANG*, they ſoon perceived, had deceived their hopes, who proved an effeminate and debauched prince; which made them reſolve to dethrone him, after he had reigned two years, and to elect another in his ſtead. They pitched at firſt upon *Wang-lang*, an impoſtor, who pretended to be the ſon of the late emperor *Ching-ti*, the ninth monarch of this dynaſty; but, he being diſcovered and beheaded, they elected *Lyew-ſyew* emperor, who aſſumed the title of *Quang-vu-ti*, and was deſcended from the tenth ſon of *King-ti*, the fourth monarch of this dynaſty. XIII. Whay-yang-vang. *Aſt. Chr.* 22.

XIV. *QUANG-*

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XIV. Quang-vu-ti. *Aft. Chr.* 24.

XIV. *QUANG-VU-TI*, who had had but an homely education in the country, and had shared in the wants and labours of his fellow rustics, became thereby so sensible of the miseries of his subjects, that he proved a truly mild, affable, and compassionate prince; and, upon his passing through the country where he was born, sent for several of his countrymen, and admitted them to his table. He was no less a patron to learned men, whom he invited to his court, and raised to considerable employments. His reign, however, was disturbed with some powerful and stubborn factions, which took him up near twelve years in reducing, though, in the success he had against them, he used such singular moderation, as made him the more admired and loved by all. He removed his court from *Shen-si* to *Ho-nan*; and the *Chinese* records mention a total eclipse of the sun, in the last day of the seventh moon of the 46th, or, according to *Du Halde*, the fortieth, cycle, which they pretend to have happened sooner than it ought to have done, according to their calculations (G). *Quang-vu* died in the sixty-first year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-three years; and left ten sons behind him, one of whom succeeded him.

A wonderful eclipse.

XV. Ming-ti. *Aft. Chr.* 57.

XV. *MING-TI*, famed for his clemency and wisdom, and for establishing an academy in his own palace, for the education of princes and young noblemen, into which strangers were likewise admitted, and would be often present at their exercises. He made choice of a lady for his empress, who was a pattern of discretion and modesty, and never wore any embroidered cloaths. He caused a bank ten leagues in length to be raised, to prevent the frequent inundations of the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, in which he employed 100,000 men.

(G) If this wonderful eclipse was the same which happened at the crucifixion of Christ (26), the *Chinese* annalists should rather have said contrary to, than before, their calculation; for it happened in the full moon, or when she was in opposition to the sun, and so could not cause that total darkness; and this a *Chinese* astronomer could not but know to be contrary to nature. It is therefore probable, either that some error hath crept into the *Chinese* annals, or that the translator might mistake the word, and render it *before*, instead of *contrary to*. As to the supernatural one at our Saviour's crucifixion, we shall refer our reader to what hath been said of it in a former part of this work (27).

(26) *Matt.* xxvii. 45.

(27) *See Universal History, vol. x. p. 603, (C).*

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It was on the second year of the forty-seventh cycle, and of Christ sixty-four, that he had that dream we have mentioned in a former section [f], which induced him to send his ambassadors in search of the *Holy One that was in the west*, but who, instead of his doctrine, brought home the idol and worship of *Fo*, together with the doctrine of transmigration; and he is much blamed by the *Chinese* historians, for having admitted them into his dominions. He reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

XVI. *SHANG-TI* enjoyed a peaceable reign of thirteen years, which was chiefly owing to his wisdom, virtue, and tender regard for his subjects, whose taxes he lessened, and to his aversion to luxury and superfluous expence. He was often recommending to his nobles the oeconomy of the ancients, and was himself a perfect pattern of it. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son. XVI. Shang-ti. *Ast. Chr.* 75.

XVII. *HO-TI* was then but ten years old, and under the guardianship of his mother; but that did not hinder his fame and power from extending itself to very remote countries. He had a wise and valiant general, named *Pan-chau*, who obliged a great number of sovereigns to pay him homage, and seek his protection; and is affirmed to have advanced as far as *Judea*, which the *Chinese* call *Ta-tsin*, and to have spent much time in such long expeditions. *Ho-ti*, through jealousy, divorced his first empress, who died soon after of grief, and married the grand-daughter of one of his generals, who was a mirror of her sex, for her rare skill in all the *Chinese* learning, and much more still for her singular modesty; insomuch, that when the usual compliments and presents came to be made to her, on her advancement, she would accept of nothing but a few pencils, and a fine sort of paper, newly invented. *Ho-ti* was one of the first who raised the eunuchs of his court to an exorbitant height of power, which hath proved since so fatal to the empire, by advancing them to the highest posts of it. He reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son. XVII. Ho-ti. *Ast. Chr.* 88.

XVIII. *SHANG-TI*, an infant in the cradle when his father died, lived scarcely a year; and was succeeded by a grandson of *Chang-ti*, the sixteenth monarch of this dynasty. XVIII. Shang-ti. *Ast. Chr.* 105.

XIX. *NGAN-TI* being but thirteen years of age, his mother was appointed his guardian, and vested with the imperial dignity, which she preserved beyond the term prescribed XIX. Ngan-ti.

[f] See before, p. 108, & seq.

by

by the laws, that she might do the more good to the people. It was then a time of great scarcity, and many of them must have perished, if she had not timely assisted them. She condescended to visit the poor, even as far as the prisons, to give them relief. Considering, in the next place, that an empire of such vast extent, as it now was, could not easily be preserved, she released a great number of conquered nations, and sovereign princes, from the usual homage and tribute, and reduced the *Chinese* dominions to narrower bounds (H). Her son married a lady, who, finding herself barren, took another woman's son as her own, to succeed to the crown; and, to prevent discovery, secretly poisoned his mother. *Ngan* reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by that son.

His mother's excellent reign.

XX. *Shun-ti.* *Ast. Chr.* 125.

XX. *SHUN-TI*, the son of *Ngan-ti*, by a concubine, signalized the first years of his reign by several victories over the barbarians; and deprived the late empress of the funeral obsequies, for having poisoned his mother. He made a law, in the fourth year of his reign, which excluded men from the magistracy, except they were forty years old, or had some extraordinary merit to supply the want of age. In the ninth year of the cycle, one *Ma-myen* formed a considerable army of vagabonds, who plundered the cities and country, and, flushed with success, made a bold push for the imperial dignity; but was defeated, and slain, before he could accomplish his design. The emperor died in the nineteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son,

XXI. *Chang-ti.*

XXI. *CHANG-TI*, who ascended the throne in the second year of his age, died before it was expired, and was succeeded by

XXII. *Che-ti.* *Ast. Chr.* 144.

XXII. *CHE-TI*, who, though but eight years old, gave some signal marks of an excellent disposition; but the empress, who was his guardian, had a brother named *Lyang-ki*, who, abusing her authority, paid little or no regard to the young emperor; and did one day behave before him with such pride and insolence, at a public assembly, that the prince could not forbear casting a threatening look at him, and whispering, loud enough to be heard, *that is an arrogant person.* This saying cost him his life; and *Lyang-ki*, justly

(H) About this time was taken, and executed, the famed pyrate *Chang-pe-tsu*, who had infested the *Chinese* seas five or six years. In this reign happened likewise some dreadful earthquakes; especially one, in the eighth year of it, which extended over a great part of the country, where the earth opened itself, and made dreadful devastations (28).

(28) *Du Halde, sub Ngan-ti.*

fearing

fearing his resentment, caused him to be poisoned; before he had reigned one whole year. He was succeeded by his brother. *Poisoned.*

XXIII. *WHAN-TI* proved a weak prince, and a patron of the sect of *Lau-kyun*, formerly spoken of [g]. Under him the magistracy became venal, and the eunuchs were his chief favourites; which made all the learned men retire from his palace; nor could all his fresh invitations bring them back. *Lyang-ki*, the murderer of the late emperor, and his wife, were raised to the highest honours, in which he behaved with such pride and insolence, that he even ventured into the palace with his sword by his side, contrary to the laws. He was, however, forgiven, upon his submission; but being become odious to all, and especially to the eunuchs, who now ingrossed the whole power, his house was so closely besieged with a troop of them, that, finding no way to escape them, he killed his wife and himself. In the twenty-eighth year of this cycle, there happened such a dreadful famine in several parts of the empire, that the people were obliged to feed on human flesh. The emperor died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign. He left no issue, though he had a great many concubines, and was succeeded by a prince of the family of *Chang-ti*. XXIII. Whan-ti. *Aft. Chr.* 167.

XXIV. *LING-TI* betrayed a still greater fondness for eunuchs, and raised them to a higher pitch of power, whilst he shewed no less an aversion against those who were able to give him better counsel. He was, moreover, a prince of unsatiable avarice, sarcastical wit, and a sour humorist (I). The only good thing recorded of him, is his causing the wise instructions of the antient emperors, contained in the five classical books, to be engraved on marble tables, and publickly exposed at the entrance of the academy. But the intolerable insolence of the eunuchs had rendered him so odious, great numbers of the nobility being put to death for endeavouring XXIV. Ling-ti. *Aft. Chr.* 189.

[g] See before, p. 117, & seq.

(I) Among other of his humorous whimsies, he is said to have established a fair in his own palace, for selling all sorts of curiosities, and to have taken a singular delight in seeing his concubines out-bid, wrangle, and abuse each other. Another diversion he took delight in, was in taking the air in his gardens, in a chariot drawn by asses; whence those creatures came to be preferred everywhere to horses, in imitation of the court (29).

(29) *Du Halde, sub Ling-ti.*

to suppress it, that, in a little time, several great armies appeared in the field, who styled themselves *yellow caps*, and were commanded by three brothers, who plundered several provinces; but were at length defeated and slain one after another. Some barbarian troops, so they call all strangers, made likewise several attempts on the frontiers; but were likewise defeated, as were also some remains of the *yellow caps*, about the fifth year of the following cycle, by an experienced general, who is reported never to have gone into a bed all the ten years that the wars lasted. *Ling-ti* died the year after, in the thirty-fourth of his age, and twenty-second of his reign, without naming his successor.

XXV. Hyen-ti. *Aft. Chr.* 189.

XXV. *HYEN-TI* had an elder brother, named *Pyen-ti*, who mounted the throne after *Ling-ti*'s death; but, after a few months reign, resigned it to him; and is not therefore numbered among the other emperors. *Hyen-ti* was then but young, and his weakness and indolence, if not rather stupidity, proved the occasion of perpetual wars, both at home and abroad. *China* was divided first into three, and then into four parts, under as many sovereigns. The eastern part rebelled against *Tong-che*, general of the imperial army, who had murdered the emperor and his brother, burned the palace, and opened the imperial sepulchres, where he found an immense treasure, and then removed his court into the province of *Shen-si*. His crimes did not go long unpunished; he was murdered the year after, his body hung on a fork in the public market-place, and all his riches confiscated. The *yellow caps* had likewise taken advantage of the reigning disorders, and were grown very numerous; but these were likewise gradually cut off by *Tsau-tsau*, who usurped the imperial authority. This last was stripped of it the thirty-seventh year of the cycle, by his own son *Tsau-pi*, and banished into a small principality, which he gave him, where he died, fourteen years after, generally despised. *Hyen-ti* reigned thirty-one years; and with him ended the fifth dynasty.

Sixth Dynasty.

The Sixth Dynasty, called Hew-han, *that is, the latter Family of* Han, *which had Two Emperors within the Space of Forty-four Years.*

I. Chau-lye-vang. *Aft. Chr.* 220.

I. *CHAU-LYE-VANG*, the first monarch of this dynasty, was before called *Lyew-pi*, and was descended from *King-ti*, the fourth emperor of the preceding one. He was very tall, and had an air of grandeur, which commanded respect. His valour corresponded to his aspect, and preserved still an even temper, let things go well or ill. How he came

to

to the imperial dignity we are not told. His reign lasted but three years, and he died in the sixty-third year of his age, after he had named his son *Hew-ti* his successor, and given him and his prime minister some wholsome directions concerning their future conduct (K).

II. *HEW-TI*'s reign proved a troublesome one, through the wars that raged among the other sovereigns, in which himself lost two famed generals, *Chang-fi* and *Kuang-yu*, the latter of whom is idolized as the *Chinese Mars*. *Ko-lyang* received likewise several defeats from the king of *Ghey*, tho' he always made a good retreat, at which he was most expert. That prince marched next with a prodigious army against the confederate kings of *Han* and *U*, with an intent to strip them of their territories; but, being come to the borders of the river *Yang-tse-kyang*, whose waves were then very rough and boisterous, he cried out, *Doubtless these are the bounds which heaven hath put to the ambition of mortals*; and immediately marched back. He was soon after defeated, by his own rebellious general *Song-chau*, who, flushed with his many successes, as well as the great sway he had over the army, resolved to make his way to the imperial dignity. Upon which *Hew-ti*'s son, seeing things in that desperate condition, went to his father: "There is, said he, "now no room to deliberate; and this moment must decide "your fate, either to vanquish, or die with this sword in "your hand, and your crown on your head." But the emperor wanting courage to give *Song-chau* battle, the young prince did so take it to heart, that, retiring into the hall of his ancestors, he first killed his wife, and then himself. Soon after this, the imperial army was cut in pieces, the palace plundered,

II. *Hew-ti.*

The imperial army cut off.

(K) He sent for them a little before his death, and addressing himself to his prime minister, named *Ko-lyang*, said to him: "If my son refuse to pay a due "regard to your wise counsel, "dethrone him, and reign in "his stead." Then to his son he spake to this purport: "How "light soever a fault may seem "to you, beware of committing it; and how small soever a virtuous action may "appear, neglect not to do it. "Virtue alone deserves our attention and pursuit; I have "had too little of it, to serve "you for an example; but "follow the advice of *Ko-lyang*, "and you will find in him a "second father." Just before he died, he is reported to have expressed himself in words to this effect: "When a man "hath attained to the age of "fifty years, he hath no reason to complain of the shortness of his life; why should "I then, who am so much past "sixty (30)?"

(30) *Du Halde, sub Chang-lye-vang.*

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Hew-ti's cowardice and death. plundered, and the cowardly emperor went and delivered himself into the hands of the conqueror, who gave him a small principality, in which he lived seven years an obscure and contemptible life, and died in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and forty-first of his reign, and with him ended the sixth dynasty.

7th dynasty. ***Seventh Dynasty, called*** T'sin (L), ***which had Fifteen Emperors within the Space of 155 Years.***

I. *Shi tsu-vu-ti.* *Aft. Chr.* 264. I. *SHI-TSU-VU-TI* was the son of the rebel *Song-chau*, which name he took upon his becoming the founder of this new dynasty. He kept his court in the province of *Honan*; and was a magnanimous prince, had a quick apprehension, sound judgment, and was a professed enemy to all dissimulation. His reign was much disturbed by the warlike preparations of many petty princes who aspired to the imperial dignity; but the southern were often defeated by the northern ones, who, besides their being more hardy soldiers, were assisted by the *Tartars* with whom they were in league. *His conquests.* However, he subdued the latter, and then immediately marched into the southern provinces; and, having passed the river *Yang-tse-kyang* without any opposition, he besieged the metropolis of the kingdom of *U*, whose king, not being in a condition to oppose him, surrendered himself to him; and had a little state assigned to him, where he ended his days. *Ill conduct.* He had scarcely reigned seven years before he found himself master of the whole empire, and out of danger of any enemy; and resolved thenceforth to enjoy the repose which his victories had procured him. He not only gave himself up to idleness and pleasure, but was indiscrete enough to disband his army, which roused up afresh the ambition of the petty *Death.* sovereigns. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age, and left a numerous posterity, but was succeeded by his eldest son.

II. *Whey-ti.* *Aft. Chr.* 289. II. *WHEY-TI*'s want of genius and ability was in a great measure made up by the ability of four of his ministers; so that the beginning of his reign proved pretty successful, but the ambition or jealousy of one of his wives, or second

(L) Tho' the name of *Tsin* here seems to be the same with that of the fourth dynasty, yet we are told, they are differently written and pronounced, and have a quite different signification among the *Chinese* (31).

(31) *Du Halde, sub Shi-tsu-vu-ti.*

queens,

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queens, who made him remove his empreſs from the court, poiſoned her only ſon, and cauſed all the nobles that were of her party to be put to death, ſoon threw the court and empire into the utmoſt confuſion. Several battles were fought, and a great deal of blood was ſhed on both ſides, till at length this virago was ſlain in her turn, with all that ſided with her, and the emperor forced to flee for his life. *Ruined by an ambitious queen.*

SEVERAL of the petty kings, taking the advantage of theſe diſorders, took the field; particularly the king of *Tſi*, who had ſuch ſucceſs, that he was in a fair way of having ſeized the imperial crown, but was ſlain in the attempt. The king of *Han* did the ſame in his northern province, and met with the ſame fate. At laſt the emperor was poiſoned in the forty-eighth year of his age, and ſeventeenth of his reign; and, leaving no iſſue behind him, the grandees elected the twenty-fifth ſon of *Shi-tſu-vu-ti*, founder of this ſeventh dynaſty, for his ſucceſſor. *Poiſoned.*

III. *WHAY-TI* was a prince of ſuch endowments as promiſed a happy reign, but the ambition of the petty kings did not ſuffer him to enjoy it long enough. One of thoſe reguli, named *Lyew-ywen*, was upon the point of dethroning him, when he was prevented by a ſudden death; but his ſon *Lyew-tſong*, following his ſteps, got poſſeſſion of the palace, and plundered it, ſlew both the emperor and his ſon, after he had made the former wait on him at table in the guiſe of a ſlave, in the thirtieth year of his age, and ſixth of his reign. The grandees choſe in his ſtead *Min-ti*, the grandſon of the founder of this dynaſty. III. Whay-ti. *After Chr.* 306.

IV. *MIN-TI* was no leſs unfortunate than his predeceſſor, being dethroned in the third year of his reign, and baniſhed into a ſmall principality in the province of *Shen-ſi*, and in the next year being ſlain there by the king of *Han*. IV. Min-ti. *After Chr.* 312.

V. *YWEN-TI*, another grandſon of the founder, was choſen in his ſtead; who proved a prince of ſingular moderation, frugality, and love for learned men. He removed his court from the weſt to the eaſt, and fixed it in the city of *Nan-king*, whence his family hath been ſtyled the eaſtern family of *Tſin*. He reigned ſix years; and then fell into a deep melancholy, which ended his days in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon. V. Ywen-ti. *After Chr.* 316.

VI. *MING-TI* reigned only three years: nothing elſe is recorded of him, except that he left the crown to his ſon. VI. Ming-ti.

VII. *CHING-TI* was then but five years old, and his mother governed in his ſtead; but the imperial authority was too weak to curb the ambition of the petty princes, who warred againſt and deſtroyed each other, in order to make VII. Ching-ti. *After Chr.* 325.

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way to the empire. *Ching-ti* reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his brother.

VIII. King-ti. 342. VIII. *KING-TI* reigned but two years, and died in the forty-second year of his age; he left the crown to his eldest son.

IX. Mo-ti. *After Chr.* 344. IX. *MO-TI*, who was then but two years old, and under the guardianship of the empress, gave great tokens of an excellent prince. When of age to take the reins, he still followed the advice of his best ministers, and recovered several provinces. *Wan-ven*, one of his generals, marched against a northern petty prince of the family of *Han*, who had revolted, whose palace he burnt to the ground. There were several others, in arms, all aiming at the imperial dignity, who, had *Mo-ti* lived longer, might have shared the same fate; but he died in the seventeenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by a son of *Ching-ti*, the seventh emperor of this dynasty.

X. Nga-ti. 361. X. *NGAI-TI* reigned four years, and died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the second of the fifty-second cycle. The nobles chose his younger brother for his successor.

XI. Ti-ye. *After Chr.* 365. XI. *TI-YE*'s reign was not much longer than his brother's, altho' he outlived the loss of it fifteen years; *Wang-ven*, his general and prime minister, having dethroned him, after he had gained a victory in the north, and confined him in a citadel, where he ended his days in the forty-third year of his age. He was succeeded by *Kyen-ven-ti*, the last of the children of *Twen-ti*, fifth emperor of this dynasty.

XII. Kyen-ven-ti. XII. *KYEN-VEN-TI* reigned only two years, and died in the fifty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

XIII. Vu-ti. *After Chr.* 372. *His success against* Fu-kyen. XIII. *VU-TI* was no sooner on the throne, than he saw his territories attacked by *Fu-kyen*, who reigned in the north; and, contrary to the opinion of all his ministers, came against him with a powerful army, and with a full design of stripping him of the imperial dignity. *Vu-ti*, as soon as he was informed of it, marched against him with a small but select body of troops; and, without giving him time to bring in all his forces, attacked his camp with such courage and resolution, that he totally defeated him; and his general, in a kind of despair and rage, seized on him in his flight, and led him to a temple, and there strangled him. *Vu-ti*'s success did not deter several other petty kings in the north from revolting, whom he might have easily quashed, had he made the best of his victory, and marched immediately against them, instead of returning to his court, as he did, and giving himself up to all manner of voluptuous sensualities. He died by the means of

Degenerates.

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of a second queen, whom, by way of raillery, he had called old woman, though but thirty years of age; which so stung her to the quick, that she was soon revenged of him, he being found stifled in his bed in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son. *Murdered.*

XIV. *NGAN-TI* proved still more worthless and indolent, insomuch that we meet with nothing during his reign but revolts and wars among the petty princes. A grandson of the king of *Tay*, the only remaining branch of the family, having stripped the king of *Yen* of his dominions, founded a monarchy which was governed by fourteen successive kings of his family. About the same time a mean fellow, named *Lyew-hu*, who went selling of shoes about the country, turning soldier, became at last a general of a great army, and powerful enough to murder the emperor, and seize on the imperial dignity. *Ngan-ti* was killed in the twenty-second year of his reign, and succeeded by his brother; but his reign proved short; and *Lyew-hu*, having dispatched him, seized on the throne, and became the founder of a new dynasty. XIV. Ngan-ti. *After Chr.* 396.

XV. *KONG-TI* ascended the throne after his brother's death; but was himself stifled or strangled by the same assassin, in the second year of his reign, and was the last monarch of the dynasty of *Tsin*. XV. Kong-ti. *After Chr.* 418.

Eighth Dynasty, called Song (M); *consisting of Eight Emperors, within the Space of Fifty-nine Years.* 8th dynasty.

I. *LYEW-HU*, upon his mounting the throne, took the name *Kau-tsu-vu-ti*; and fixed his court at *Nan-king*, his native place. He had something inexpressibly noble and majestic in his person and deportment; and was a man of no less frugality than valour, which plainly appeared in clothes, retinue, *&c.* He reigned but two years, and died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Shau-ti*. I. Kau-tsu-vu-ti. *After Chr.* 420.

II. *SHAU-TI* was then seventeen years old; but, being a weak trifling prince, *Tau-tau-tsi*, his prime minister, took the crown from him, and, soon after, his life, before he had II. Shau-ti. *Aft. Chr.* 422.

(M) This dynasty and the four following ones, which together go by the name of *U-tay*, are accounted small in comparison of the others, both with respect to the small number of years, and of the emperors. All this time *China* was divided into two empires, the northern and southern, each of which had its proper monarchs.

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reigned a year. *Shau-ti* was succeeded by *Ven-ti*, the third son of the founder of this dynasty.

III. Ven-ti. *After Chr.* 423.

III. *VEN-TI* was a prince much admired for his meekness, justice, and integrity; but too much bigotted to the bonzas, whose chief protector he openly declared himself. After several wholsome regulations, by which he fixed himself on the throne, he declared war against the northern emperor (who was by that time grown so powerful, that he had already sixteen petty kings under his subjection), and gained many signal victories over him, by the valour and conduct of his prime minister *Tau-tau-tsi*; of whom growing afterwards jealous, he caused him to be put to death. The news of the loss of so brave a general soon inspirited the northern princes to renew the war; and *Ven-ti*'s troops, deprived of so brave a leader, were defeated in several battles; one especially was fought in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, with such dreadful slaughter on both sides, that the fields were overflowed with *Chinese* blood. *Tay-vu-ti*, the northern emperor, who still remained superior to his rival, caused a general massacre to be made of all the bonzas throughout his own dominions, burnt all their temples, and destroyed their idols. *Ven-ti* was soon after murdered by his eldest son, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign; and the patricide served in the same kind by his next brother, who immediately revenged his father's death.

Succeſs in the north. *Treachery to his general.* *Dreadful defeats.* *Murdered.*

IV. Vou-tse. *After Chr.* 453.

IV. *VOU-TI* was esteemed a learned prince; but valued himself so much on his skill in managing a horse, and drawing a bow, that he made hunting his chief diversion; and, being naturally more rough than was suitable to his dignity, gave his tongue too great a liberty of breaking out into ill language to those about him. He died in the eleventh year of his reign, and thirty-fifth of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

V. Fo-ti. *After Chr.* 464.

V. *FU-TI* had hardly mounted the throne, before he discovered such a bloody disposition, and put so many innocent persons to death, that he was himself murdered in the first year of his reign, and succeeded by *Ming-ti*, the eleventh son of *Ven-ti*, the third monarch of this dynasty.

VI. Ming-ti. *After Chr.* 465.

VI. *MING-TI*, no less inhuman than his predecessors, began his reign with the murder of thirteen of his nephews of the imperial blood; and, as he had no child, introduced men among his wives, with a design to have a male child by some of them, and, having killed the mother, to make a present of the boy to the empress who was barren. He raised *Syau-tau-ching*, a man of unmeasured ambition, to the highest dignity of the empire, who afterwards murdered two emperors,

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rors, to make his way to the throne. *Ming-ti* died in the eighth year of his reign, and thirty-fourth of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

VII. *TSANG-NGU-VANG* shewed so much of his predecessors bloody temper, that it served to colour the perfidiousness of the traitor *Syang-tau-ching*, who murdered him in the fifteenth year of his age, and fourth of his reign. He was succeeded by his brother, VII. Tsang-ngu-vang. *After Chr.* 473.

VIII. *SHUN-TI*, who fell likewise a sacrifice to the ambition of the prime minister above-mentioned, by whom he was murdered in the second year of his reign, and fourteenth of his age; and with him ended the eighth dynasty of *Song*. VIII. Shun-ti. *Aft. Chr.* 477.

The Ninth Dynasty called Tsi, *which had Five Emperors within the Space of Twenty-three Years.* 9th dynasty.

I. *KAU-TI*, having made his way to the throne by the murder of the two foregoing emperors, removed the court to *Nan-king*, the metropolis of *Kyang-nan*; but did not long enjoy the fruits of his parricides. He was more remarkable for his learning than his military exploits; and used to say, that if he could but reign ten years, he would make gold as cheap as dirt. Being one day dressed in a habit set over with precious stones, he on a sudden ordered them to be beaten into powder, saying, they were only fit to inspire a man with luxury and avarice. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and fourth of his reign, and left the crown to his eldest son. I. Kau-ti. *After Chr.* 479.

II. *VU-TI* began his reign with enacting a law, that the mandarins should not hold their places longer than three years; and reviving an old one, which forbad intermarriages between persons of the same name. In his reign appeared the impious philosopher *Fan-chin*, whose till then unheard-of and impious doctrine is still professed, though privately, by many of the *Chinese* literati; though there then and since appeared some of the most learned pens to confute it (N). About the same time *Syau-ywen* was raised to the dignity of *Ko-lau*, a man of consummate politics and boundless ambition, who soon after made his way to the throne by the murder of the succeeding monarchs. *Vu-ti* died in the eleventh year of his II. Vu-ti. *After Chr.* 483.

(N) He taught, that all the events in the world were the effect of mere chance, that the soul dies with the body, and that the state of men after death is the same with that of brutes.

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reign, and forty-fifth of his age, and was succeeded by the brother of *Kau-ti*, founder of this dynasty.

III. Ming-ti. *After Chr.* 494. III. *MING-TI* had been intrusted by his brother with the education of his two younger sons; whom he accordingly raised to the throne, and cut them off one after another in the short space of four months, and seized the crown. At this time the northern empire enjoyed a profound peace; whose monarch was so addicted to study, that, whether in his chariot, chair, or on horseback, he always had a book in his hand. *Ming-ti* died in the fifth year of his reign, and fortieth of his age, and left the crown to his third son.

IV. Whenlew. *After Chr.* 499. IV. *WHEN-LEW* proved so debauched and cruel a prince, was so averse to all good counsels, and so governed by his eunuchs, that the ambitious *Syang-ywen* could not have wished for a better pretence for his aiming at the crown. He accordingly joined with the king of *Lyang*, and forced into the imperial palace, burnt it to the ground, and built a more magnificent one; dethroned the emperor in the second year of his reign, and nineteenth of his age, and, for form sake, placed his brother *Ho-ti* on the throne.

V. Ho-ti. *After Chr.* 501. V. *HO-TI* was not placed on the throne by the traitor to enjoy it long, but that he might have an opportunity of depriving him of both that and his life at once; which he did by that time he had reigned one year; and, seizing on the crown, became the founder of a new dynasty.

10th dynasty. *Tenth Dynasty called* Lyang, *consisting of Four Emperors within the Space of Fifty-five Years.*

I. Syau-ywen. *After Chr.* 502. I. *SYAU-YWEN*, having obtained the imperial dignity by the blood of the two foregoing emperors, assumed the name of *Kau-tsu-vu-ti*. He was descended from the family of *Syau-ho*, and was endowed with excellent qualities, being active, vigilant, and dispatched all that passed through his hands with surprising readiness. He was learned, martial, austere, and frugal; but became at length so fond of the bonzas, that he neglected the affairs of state, and became one of that order[h]; and strictly forbad killing of oxen and sheep even for sacrifices, and appointed corn to be offered instead of those animals (O). In the fifteenth year of his reign he laid

Turns bonza.

[h] De his, vid. sup. p. 112, & seq.

(O) *Syau-ywen*, tho' a tyrant and usurper, had governed the empire with such success and approbation near 26 years, when this mad fit came upon him of turning monk, had his head shaved,

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laid siege to the city of *Shew-yang*, in the province of *Shen-si*, which lasted ten years, and lost an infinite number of men both by the sword, famine, and pestilence. His prime minister, in a fit of discontent at being obliged to serve a tyrant and usurper, starved himself to death; which when he heard, he cried out, *Do not I hold my crown of heaven? Am I beholden for it to my grandees? What occasion then had that unfortunate man to make away with himself?*

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign *Hew-king*, king of *Ho-nan*, his vassal and tributary, revolted from him; and, having made himself master of *Nan-king*, seized upon him. The emperor appeared before his conqueror with such majestic intrepidity, that he was not able to look him in the face; but, in a kind of dread, cried out, *I could not have believed it so hard to resist a power which heaven has established*; so, not daring to imbrue his hands in his blood, condemned him to a more lingering death, by retrenching part of his sustenance every day. He called for a little honey just before his death, to put a bitter taste out of his mouth; and, being denied it, expired in the forty-eighth year of his reign, and eighty-sixth of his age, and was succeeded by his third son.

Seized by the king of Ho-nan.

His cruel death.

II. *KYEN-VEN-TI* had scarcely reigned two years, when *Hew-king* seized on him, and put him to death, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and assumed the imperial title; which he yet hardly enjoyed one year, when the seventh son of the founder mounted the throne.

II. Kyen-ven-ti. 550. *Death.*

III. *YWEN-TI* had then a *Ko-lau*, or prime minister, named *Chin-pa-sien*, who was also sovereign of a small dominion, and who totally defeated the rebel *Hew-king*'s army, and caused him to be beheaded. But this *Ko-lau* likewise revolted, and besieged *Nan-king*, where the emperor, a prince

III. Ywen ti. *After Chr.* 552.

shaved, and wore a coarse garment, and lived upon herbs and rice, that the grandees of the empire in some measure forced him out of his retirement; but, though he returned to his palace, and resumed the government, yet he obstinately continued to live after the manner of the bonzas; though, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, he dared not condemn any, even the greatest criminal, to death, which opened a door to licentiousness, and occasioned infinite murders and robberies.

At the same time the bonzaic sect was in no less esteem in the northern parts. That empire had been a long time divided between two sovereigns, one of the eastern, the other of the western; but were at length united under the king of *Tsi* and *Chew*, when the empress of it, named *Hu*, built a monastery large enough to lodge a thousand bonzas, and gave it the name of *Yong-ching*, or *perpetual peace*.

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infatuated with the superstitious dreams of the bonzas, kept his residence; but, being roused up by this rebellion, took a turn round the city-walls, and, seeing all was lost, broke his sword, and burnt his library, which consisted of 140,000 volumes, saying, *There was an end of all sciences and military art.* This done, he mounted his horse, and went and surrendered himself to the conqueror, who slew him in the third year of his reign, and forty-seventh of his age. He was succeeded by his ninth son.

Burns his famed library, and put to death.

IV. King-ti. *After Chr.* 555.

IV. *KING-TI* had not reigned two years, before he was likewise slain by the murderer of his father, in the sixteenth year of his age, and, with him, expired the tenth dynasty. In his reign, the emperor of that part of the north, called *Chew*, caused all the temples and idols of the bonzas to be destroyed.

11th dynasty. *Eleventh Dynasty called* Chin, *consisting of Five Emperors in the Space of Thirty-three Years.*

I. Kau-tsu-vu-ti. *After Chr.* 558.

I. THE rebel *Chin-pa-sien*, being thus become the founder of a new dynasty, assumed the name of *Kau-tsu-vu-ti*; he was descended from *Chin-shi*, a famed general under the family of *Han*, and was a lover of the sciences, but over-fond of the bonzas. He reigned but three years, and died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his brother *Ven-ti.*

II. Ven-ti. *After Chr.* 560.

II. *VEN-TI*, though he had lived privately till he came to the crown, yet shewed himself soon to be a prince of excellent qualities, and gained the love of his subjects. It was he who ordered the night-watches to be distinguished by the beat of a drum, which method hath been observed ever since: and, finding that his son had not sufficient capacity to reign after him, appointed his own brother, then king of *Ngan-chin*, to succeed him; but his prime minister, and other grandees, making a strong representation against it, he altered his intention. *Ven-ti* died in the seventh year of his reign, and fortieth of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

III. Lyng-hay-vang. 567.

III. *LYNG-HAY-VANG* had hardly reigned two years, before he was dethroned by his uncle, the king of *Ngan-chin*; and died soon after, in the nineteenth year of his age; upon which *Swen-ti*, nephew to the founder, seized on the crown.

IV. Swen-ti. *After Chr.* 569.

IV. *SWEN-TI* was a sweet and mild prince, a great lover of music, and an admirer of learned men. One of his vassal princes having, out of some selfish view, sent him some presents of great value, he, to check his ambition, ordered them to be burnt in his own presence. In his reign the northern emperor

emperor having raised *Lyang-kyang* to the dignity of *Ko-lau*, and given his daughter in marriage to his son, made him not long after sovereign of the principality of *Swi*, in which he became so powerful in a few years, that he was in a condition to subdue all *China*. *Swen-ti* died in the fourteenth year of his reign, and forty-second of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

V. *CHANG-CHING-KONG* soon gave himself up to all manner of excesses; upon which *Kyen* assumed the title of emperor, and, advancing southward with a numerous army, crossed the *Yang-tse-kyang* without opposition, and entered the metropolis of *Nan-king* in triumph. The emperor, to avoid falling into his hands, threw himself into a well; but was taken out alive, and dethroned in the seventh year of his reign. The conqueror became the founder of a new dynasty, and changed his name of *Yang-kyen* for that of *Kau-tse-vu-ti*. V. Chang-ching-kong. *After Chr.* 583.

Twelfth Dynasty called Swi, *consisting of Three Emperors within the Space of Twenty-nine Years.* 12th dynasty.

I. *KAU-TSU-VEN-TI* seized on the crown in the forty-seventh year of the cycle; and, seven years after, reunited the northern and southern empires, which had been divided near 300 years by *Yang-tse-kyang*, their constant boundary. He was descended from a noble family; his solid penetrating judgment made amends for his want of learning, and his moderation and temperance gained him the love of his subjects. He reformed music and rhetoric of all that was soft and enervating; and caused a certain portion of corn and rice to be levied on the subjects, for the support of the poor in time of famine. He was inexorable to the judges that suffered themselves to be corrupted: he had also made a law that punished the smallest larcenies with death; but was afterwards persuaded to repeal it, as rather too severe; and, by another, excluded merchants and mechanics from public employments. The preference which he gave to his eldest son, a prince of no merit, whom yet he designed for his successor, so exasperated his second son *Yang-ti*, that he murdered them both, and, by a double parricide, mounted the throne. *Kau-tsu-ven-ti* reigned fifteen years, and was slain in the sixty-fourth of his age. I. Kau-tsu-ven-ti. *After Chr.* 590. *Murdered by his son.*

II. *YANG-TI* was much given to luxury; and, having removed his court from the province of *Shen-si* to that of *Honan*, spent much of his time with his wives and concubines, and in the diversions of hunting and music. He was however II. Yang-ti. *After Chr.* 605.

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so much respected, that several petty princes put themselves under his protection, and caused the great *Chinese* wall to be newly repaired. He forbad his subjects to carry arms about them, which policy hath been in force ever since; and commissioned a hundred of the most learned men to revise and reprint, after the manner of those days, all books treating of war, politics, physic, and agriculture. He likewise founded the degree of doctor, to qualify both the military and literary men for their respective employments. He attacked the *Koreans* both by sea and land; and, though his first attempt proved abortive, yet in his next he obliged them, as vassals, to send ambassadors to implore his clemency. He was assassinated in his progress through the southern provinces, in the city of *Kyang-nan*, by a mean fellow, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and thirty-ninth of his age; upon which *Li-ywen*, one of the petty kings, having got together an army of 120,000 men, placed the crown on the head of *Kong-ti*, grandson to the founder of this dynasty.

III. Kong-ti. *After Chr.* 618.

III. *KONG-TI* was crowned and dethroned in the same year by *Li-ywen*; whose son, at the head of his father's army, entered the palace, and, having viewed the magnificence of it, fetched a deep sigh, and said, *No; such a stately edifice must not be suffered to stand any longer, being good for nothing but to soften the spirit of a prince, and cherish his vicious inclinations*; and ordered it to be immediately reduced to ashes. What became of the emperor, we are not told; but *Li-ywen*, by dethroning him, put an end to this dynasty, and became the founder of a new one.

13th dynasty. *The Thirteenth Dynasty called* Tang, *consisting of Twenty Emperors within the Space of* 289 *Years.*

I. Shin-yau-ti. *After Chr.* 619.

I. *LI-YWEN*, upon his mounting the throne, assumed the name of *Shin-yau-ti*, and began his reign with abating the rigour of the penal laws and public taxes; but was too great a zealot for the sect of *Lau-kyun*[i], to whose honour he erected a temple. He had not reigned above two years before he had reduced all the rebels, and was become the peaceful possessor of this vast empire. He was the monarch who ordered the copper coin to be struck which we have elsewhere described[k]; and caused 100,000 idle bonzas to marry, in order to beget a supply of soldiers for his army. He reigned nine years, at the end of which he abdicated the crown in

[i] De hoc, vid. sup. p. 117. [k] Vid. ibid. p. 247, & (R).

favour

favour of his second son; and died nine years after, in the seventieth year of his age.

II. *TAY-TSONG* is by the *Chinese* esteemed one of their greatest monarchs, both for his wisdom, and kindness to those who either gave him good counsel, or told him of his faults. He was no less admired for his frugality, temperance, and love of learning (P). He was a severe enemy to corrupt judges, and all sorts of bribery; and, in a time of drought and scarcity, published an edict, ordering all his faults to be laid before him, that, by amending them, he might avert the anger of heaven. As to soothsayers, he always shewed a singular contempt for them; but when once, in the second year of his reign, he saw the fields covered with devouring locusts, he cried out with a deep sigh, *Alas! I had much rather you would devour my own bowels, than thus destroy the harvest and lives of my poor subjects.* On such times as these he would release the prisoners, and grant them a general pardon; tho' he was very cautious not to offend by too great an indulgence to them, lest, as he used to say, the impunity of the wicked should prove hurtful to the good subjects. II. Tay-tsong. *After Chr.* 628. *His excellent reign.*

In the eighth year of his reign came an ambassy to *China*, consisting of white men with fair hair and blue eyes, and whose dress, air, and manners, were altogether unknown to the *Chinese*, and met with a gracious reception at that court. These are supposed to have been those Christians of whom we have given an account in a former section [1], who left the noble monu- *A Christian ambassy.*

[1] Vide supra, p. 77, & seq. & (L), & 123.

(P) As an instance of that, he caused an academy for all kind of literature to be erected in his own palace, wherein were reckoned 8000 scholars, many of them sons of foreign princes, whom he provided with the best masters, and caused the best books to be brought to it from all parts. He likewise caused another academy to be erected for military exercises, particularly archery, at which he often assisted; and, being reminded by his ministers of the danger it might prove to his person, answered: *I look upon myself in my empire as a father in his family; and I carry my subjects in my bosom as my children; what have I then to fear?*

He was indeed so considerate in regard to them, that, having read in a physic-book written by the emperor *Whang-ti* (32), that a blow or bruise on the shoulders was apt to injure the vital parts, he made a law, still extant, that none should be bastonadoed on the back, but on the buttocks (33).

(32) *De hoc. vid. Univ. Hist. vol.* xx. *p.* 140, *& seq. sub Tay-tsong.*

(33) *Du Halde,*

ment

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ment of Christianity there mentioned, which was afterwards discovered *An.* 1625; and we find accordingly, that that monarch admitted it to be preached in his dominions in the 12th year of his reign, and even allotted a piece of ground in the imperial city for building a Christian church. In the tenth year of his reign he lost his empress, a princess of most excellent qualities (Q), by whose address he was reconciled to his prime minister, whom he had forbidden his presence for too frequently troubling him with his wise admonitions. The emperor grieved immoderately for her loss, and raised a much more magnificent monument for her than he had done for his own father; but, being checked for it by the faithful *Ko-lau* above-mentioned, caused it to be demolished. That wise and excellent minister dying afterwards in the seventeenth year of this prince's reign, he caused a noble encomium of his own penning to be engraved on his tomb; after which, turning to his courtiers, spake to this purport: *We have three sorts of mirrors, one for the ladies to dress themselves by; the second, the antient books treating of the rise, progress, and fall, of empires; and the last, wise men, by whose example we form our own conduct: this last I had in the person of my deceased* Ko-lau, *whom, to my misfortune, I have lost, without hopes of finding another like him.* About the latter end of his reign, the *Koreans* having revolted, he was upon the point of sending a formidable army to reduce them; but was prevented by death, which for a time put a stop to that expedition. He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the fifty-third of his age, leaving a sett of the wisest and most excellent instructions to his son and successor.

Grief for his excellent empress,

and prime minister.

Death.

III. Kau-tsong.

III. *KAU-TSONG* had reigned five years very peaceably, when he unhappily fell in love with *Vu-shi*, the young lady

(Q) It is observed of that excellent lady, that, whilst she lived, not one of that vast number of officers which belong to the court was condemned to any severe punishment; which is a circumstance scarcely to be paralleled in the *Chinese* history. She wrote likewise a book consisting of thirty chapters, on the due behaviour of women in their inner apartments; a piece highly admired, especially by the emperor, who styled it the rule that ought to be observed in all ages, but the sight of which made him the more sensible of his inexpressible loss.

In the eleventh year of his reign he admitted into his palace, probably to supply the place of the deceased empress, a young lady of singular beauty and wit, and about fourteen years of age; who, after his death, retired into a monastery of bonzesses, whence she was fetched out by his son and successor, and placed on the throne, and became a great tyranness.

mentioned

mentioned at the end of the last note; and, for her sake, repudiated his empress, and one of his queens, maugre all the remonstrances and opposition of his faithful ministers, and placed her on the throne. She soon discovered, however, that his love for the discarded princesses was far from being obliterated; and, in a fit of jealous rage, caused their hands and feet, and a few days after their heads, to be cut off. It was not long before the horror of her guilt threw her into a dreadful phrensy, in which she fancied herself pursued night and day by the ghosts of those two princesses, which obliged her to be ever shifting from place to place; the emperor, still more enamoured of her than ever, not only indulging her in it, but committing the care of the whole empire to her, and giving her the title of *Tyen-hew*, or *Queen of heaven*. *After Chr.* 651. *Fatal fondness for* Vu-shi. *Her cruelty and tyranny.*

She was no sooner raised to this height of power, than she poisoned her eldest son, that the crown might thereby fall to her brother's children, and her family be settled on the throne; though she was disappointed of her aim. In the latter end of *Kau-tsong*'s reign the *Koreans* returned to their obedience; and he, after having reigned thirty-four years, during above two thirds of which the Christian religion flourished in several parts of his empire, died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and appointed his eldest son to succeed him; but he was set aside by his tyrannic empress, to make room for a younger, whom she might govern more at her will; for which reason that prince is by the *Chinese* looked upon as an usurper, and struck out of the list of the monarchs of this dynasty. *His death.*

VU-HEW was the third son of that ambitious princess; she had poisoned her eldest in the late reign, as hath been hinted, and sent her second, after his father's death, into a small sovereignty, where he lived rather like an exile, whilst this third, whom she declared emperor, had only the name, without the power. When she had settled all things thus to her mind, her next care was to rid herself of all the nobles and grandees whom she suspected not to be in her interest; and, in one day, put a great number of them to death, who were of the best families in the empire. There was raised likewise, under her, a cruel persecution against the Christians, in the fifteenth year of *Vu-hew*'s reign, which lasted fifteen years. Her *Ko-lau*, a man of virtue and courage, and equally grieved and ashamed of her tyranny and cruelty, did at length present so many noble remonstrances in favour of the lawful heir, who had, by this time, been banished from his throne fourteen years, whilst her other son was only looked upon now, and likely be transmitted to posterity, as an usurper, that she was at length prevailed upon to recal him, and to assign him the eastern Vu-hew. *After Chr.* 585. *A persecution against the Christians.*

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eastern palace for his residence, till the death of *Vu-hew*, which happened about seven years after; upon which he ascended the throne, from which he had been deprived twenty-one years.

The lawful heir restored.

IV. Chung-tsong. *After Chr.* 706.

IV. *CHUNG-TSONG* shewed himself little deserveing of the regard which his father and prime minister had expressed for him, and, giving himself up wholly to pleasure and indolence, left the whole management of the empire to his empress, who had been the faithful companion of his exile. This princess, who, by the advice of the governor of the palace, intended to place her son *Shang* upon the throne, was strenuously opposed by the princes and petty kings, who took up arms against him. However, the emperor being made away by poison, in the fifth year of his reign, she caused *Shang* to be proclaimed his successor; but his uncle, who possessed a small principality, having made himself master of the palace, caused her and her daughter to be put to death; upon which *Shang* found no other way to save his life, than by surrendering the diadem to him.

V. Zhui-tsong.

V. *ZHUI-TSONG* reigned but two years; during which, nothing is recorded of him, except that he died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and was succeeded by his third son.

VI. Yivn-tsong. *After Chr.* 713.

VI. *YIVN-TSONG* proved an excellent prince, and the restorer of his family, then upon the brink of ruin. He was a mortal enemy to the luxury then in vogue; and, to shew a good example to his nobles, caused all his gold and silver vessels, and his embroidered cloaths, to be burnt before his palace. He was no less diligent in the promoting of learning; and was the first who honoured such of his generals as had signalized themselves by their services, with the title of petty kings, which used only to be given to princes of the blood. In one of his progresses through the empire, he divided it into fifteen provinces, and did several other public acts. But one blemish is justly cast upon him; *viz.* his being deaf to the wholsome counsel of his prime minister *Ywen-chau*, who strove to persuade him to suppress the too great power of his eunuchs, and to abolish the idolatrous sects of *Fo* and *Tau*.

A rebellion in the north.

He had reigned almost thirty-years peaceably, when the empire was, all on the sudden, disturbed with some insurrections, his army defeated, with the loss of 70,000 men, whilst all avenues to his throne were so obstructed by his eunuchs, that he knew nothing of it. The author of this rebellion was a foreign prince, named *Ngan-lo-shan*, whom he had raised to the highest employments, even to the command of his army, and who took the advantage of his successes in the north to assume the imperial title. The palace was,

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was, at the same time, in no less a combustion, the emperor having divorced his wife, and put three of her children to death, without any just cause, and married his daughter-in-law. These disasters brought on new ones, and encouraged a band of robbers to attack the imperial army, which they routed, with the loss of 40,000 men, the emperor himself being obliged to flee into the province of *Se-chwen*. He had reigned forty-four years when he made this shameful retreat; and his son *So-tsong* was obliged to mount the throne during his life, to save the empire from ruin.

Disasters in the palace.

The emperor's defeat, and flight.

VII. *SO-TSONG*, being a brave warlike prince, soon destroyed the army of the robbers, and restored the public tranquillity; after which, he brought back his father from *Se-chwen*, and conducted him to his palace with all the honours due to his rank; but the unhappy prince died soon after, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and left the crown to his more worthy son. In the mean time the rebel *Ngan-lo-shan* had plundered the palace of *Chang-ngan* of all its riches, and, among other curiosities, of an hundred elephants and horses which had been taught to dance at the sound of instruments, and to present the emperor with a cup with their mouths. The rebel wanted to see that ceremony performed to himself, but those creatures could not by any means be brought to give him that satisfaction; upon which, in a fit of rage, he ordered them to be killed on the spot. He met, however, soon after with the reward of his treason, being murdered in his bed by his own son, and this by his general. *So-tsong* reigned six years, and was succeeded by his son.

VII. So-tsong. *After Chr.* 757.

VIII. *Tay-tsong* was so successful in the choice of his ministers, that peace was soon restored to the empire, and the rebels reduced: but it was not long before five other tributaries revolted, and made themselves independent. The *Tartars* likewise, to the number of 200,000, made a dreadful irruption into the empire, in the eighth year of his reign, forced him to flee, and carried away an immense treasure into their own country. The emperor returned soon after into his palace, by the help of his celebrated general *Ko-tsu-i*, a great patron of the Christians (R), and died in the seventeenth

VIII. Tay-tsong. *After Chr.* 763.

(R) His elogy, we are told by the missionaries, is still to be seen in the antient monument, formerly mentioned, wherein his liberality to the Christian preachers is highly extolled; and he is thought to have been very instrumental, both by his credit and purse, in building of churches; insomuch, that some believe him to have been a convert to Christianity (34).

(34) *Du Halde, sub Tay tsong, Le Compte, Noel, Couplet, & al.*

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year of his reign, and fifty-third of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

IX. Te-tsong. *After Chr.* 780.

IX. *TE-TSONG* was a timorous and mistrustful prince, who minded only his flatterers; yet so far disinterested, as to refuse some considerable presents offered him from strangers; but he had the misfortune to lose his prime minister and general *Ko-tsu-i*, who died in the third year of his reign, aged eighty-five years, after he had enjoyed that dignity, with the utmost reputation, during the four foregoing reigns. The whole empire mourned for him, as for a father, three whole years; but the power of the eunuchs, which he had artfully suppressed, whilst he lived, became soon after so formidable, that it occasioned insurrections every-where. The emperor, in order to maintain the vast army he was forced to raise, to suppress them, laid such heavy taxes upon the subjects, as reduced them to the lowest ebb of misery, and occasioned an infinite number of robberies. By good fortune his troops proved every-where victorious, suppressed the rebels, and restored peace and plenty to the people. He reigned twenty-five years, and died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

X. Shun-tsong.

X. *SHUN-TSONG* was a promising prince; but, being attacked by an incurable disease, resigned the crown to his son, after he had reigned one year.

XI. Hyen-tsong. *After Chr.* 806.

XI. *HYEN-TSONG* was a prince excellently qualified for the dispatch of the most intricate business of the empire, and of such firmness of mind, that nothing could shake him from a good resolution once taken. He was no less tender of his subjects welfare; and, in times of scarcity, had set open his granaries to their relief, sending his nobles through the afflicted provinces, with orders to see that every one was supplied according to their present distress. But he was, beyond measure, addicted to the superstitious follies of the Bonzaic sect, and had let his resentment fall very heavy on such of his ministers as had endeavoured to dissuade him from them. He was no less intoxicated with another notion, which cost him his life, *viz.* a firm persuasion of his being made immortal by the pretended supernatural liquor which those charlatans pretended to have the true receipt of; and having caused some of it to be brought to him, which is supposed to have been mixed with poison by one of his eunuchs, expired immediately after his taking it, in the 15th year of his reign, and 43d of his age. He left his crown to his son, whom he had appointed his successor.

XII. Mo-tsong.

XII. *MO-TSONG* was at first opposed by some of the grandees, who designed to place another prince on the throne; but

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but their measures being frustrated, and they put to death, he was indiscrete enough to disband his army, part of which being thereby reduced to great straits, went and listed themselves among the banditti, and increased their number, and the distress of the people. In his reign the imperial family of *Tang*, or of this thirteenth dynasty, began to decline apace, and his few successors helped to complete its ruin. He died in the fourth year of his reign, and the thirtieth of his age, after having taken a medicine prepared for him, and was succeeded by his son in the year following. *After Chr.* 821.

XIII. *KING-TSONG* was raised to the throne by the interest of the powerful eunuchs, and, proving a weak prince, was deprived of it by the same interest, after two years reign, to make way for the empress mother. He was but just returned from hunting, and about to shift his cloaths, when, on the sudden, the candles were put out, and he murdered by his eunuchs, who placed his brother in his room. XIII. King-tsong. *After Chr.* 825. *Murdered.*

XIV. *VEN-TSONG*, a wise and good prince, grew so impatient at the exorbitant power of those eunuchs, that he had taken measures secretly to destroy them; but they being aware of it, fell suddenly on the ministers, and guards of the palace, and slew above a thousand of them, and together with them were several considerable families destroyed, in the ninth year of his reign. This misfortune, and others he foresaw, grieved him to such a degree, that, having in vain tried to alleviate his melancholy, by diversions, drinking, *&c.* he died of a deep consumption, in the fourteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother, though he left a son, whom the eunuchs set aside. XIV. Ven-tsong. *After Chr.* 827.

XV. *VU-TSONG* was a prince of a warlike temper, dreading neither danger nor fatigue, and worthy of the preference shewed to him. He drove the *Tartars* out of the province of *Shen-si*, where they had fortified themselves, and cleared others of the banditti that infested them. He had so excellent a judgment, that he never was deceived in the choice of his ministers. He revived a law, still in force, though little practised, which obliged the mandarins of the provinces, once in five, or at most seven, years, to send an account to court of all their miscarriages, and to beg the emperor's pardon for them [m]; and if any thing was found in their confession either disguised, palliated, or excused, they were to expect no favour, but were immediately turned out. He is said to have suppressed the Christians, who had been so much favoured during some of the former reigns, and to have XV. Vu-tsong. *After Chr.* 841. *An excellent regulation.*

[m] See before, p. 148. & seq.

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obliged the bonzas to return to a secular life. He reigned but six years, and died in the thirty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by the grandson of *Hyen-tsong*, the eleventh monarch of this dynasty; the eunuchs having rejected his son from reigning after him.

XVI. Swen-tsong. *After Chr.* 847.

XVI. *SWEN-TSONG* was no sooner upon the throne than he shewed himself a prince excellently qualified to reign, contrary to the expectation of the eunuchs, who had raised him to it with quite other views. His wisdom, equity, application, and love of his people, made him be looked upon and revered as a second *Tay-tsong*, the second emperor of this dynasty. All his merit, however, proved insufficient to suppress the power of the eunuchs, though his prime minister put him upon an effectual way of doing it; *viz.* by shewing himself inexorable to those who were guilty of any fault, and not to supply with new ones the places of those that died: but they, having got intelligence of this design, became such mortal enemies both to the prime minister and prince, that they ceased not to create new troubles against them. That wise monarch is however justly blamed for his fondness for the sect of *Tau*, and his eagerness of being immortalized by their pretended panacea, notwithstanding all the wise dissuasives of his best ministers; for he had no sooner drank the fatal liquor, than he felt himself devoured by worms that swarmed in his body; and died a few days after, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and fiftieth of his age. He was succeeded by his son, and by the interest of the eunuchs.

His dreadful end.

XVII. I-tsong. *After Chr.* 860.

XVII. *I-TSONG* soon became odious to all his subjects for his luxury and debaucheries. He reigned fourteen years; and, about three months before his death, caused one of the fingers of the idol *Fo* to be brought with great solemnity into his palace; and the *Chinese* attribute his death, and the troubles which ensued, to his stupid devotion for that idol. The eunuchs placed his son on the throne, who was but twelve years old, that they might enjoy the greater sway.

XVIII. Hi-tsong. *After Chr.* 874.

XVIII. *HI-TSONG* accordingly left the sole management to them; and, whilst he spent his time in music, riding, shooting, and other such diversions, nothing was seen on all sides but tumults and revolts, especially in the northern parts.

Great revolts, &c.

The people groaned under the heavy load of taxes, and a grievous famine, occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers, and vast swarms of locusts which had destroyed most of the corn; all which still added to the number of the revolters. These had one *Whan-tsyau* at their head, who went and besieged the imperial city; and, having driven their prince out of

of it, proclaimed their leader emperor, and gave to his family the name of *Tsi*.

In the midst of these disasters, the command of the imperial army was given to a young man not above twenty-eight years old, named *Li-ke-yong*, but nicknamed *To-yien-long*, on account of his being blind of one eye. This youth, however, attacked the rebel army with great valour; and, tho' repulsed at the first onset, yet rallied his men, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that he totally defeated them, and brought back the emperor in triumph. For this eminent service, he was raised to the principality of *Tsin*, and his son became soon after the founder of a new dynasty. The emperor died about three months after, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and twenty-seventh of his age; and was succeeded by the sixth son of the last emperor, whom the eunuchs placed upon the throne.

Imperial army victorious.

XIX. *CHAU-TSONG*, a wise and valiant prince, designed, by the help of his prime and other ministers, to have totally abolished the exorbitant power of the eunuchs; when they, on a sudden, having got intelligence of it, came unawares upon him with their soldiers, seized on his person, confining him in a remote apartment under a strong guard, leaving him only a hole in the wall for conveying his food to him.

XIX. Chau-tsong. *After Chr.* 889. *Imprisoned by the eunuchs.*

The prime minister *Tsu-yu*, having discovered the place, sent suddenly a number of resolute fellows, who slew the guards, and rescued the emperor, and brought him back to his palace. After this, he invited *Chu-ven*, then at the head of the robbers, to come and assist his prince against the eunuchs, who arrived just at the time when that monarch had issued out an edict for extirpating them all excepting thirty of the youngest, to be reserved for the most servile offices of the palace; and executed his commission with such zeal, that many hundreds of them were put to the sword. But *Chu-ven*, who had thus far behaved with so much loyalty, being seized with a spirit of ambition, caused the faithful prime minister to be slain, and obliged the emperor to remove his court from the province of *Shen-si* to that of *Ho-nan*; which he had no sooner done, but the traitor put him to death in the sixteenth year of his reign and thirty-eighth of his age, and placed the crown on his son, till he could safely take it from him.

Released. *Restored.* *Eunuchs destroyed.* Chu-ven *rebels, and murders the emperor.*

XX. *CHAU-SWEN-TSONG* had not reigned two years, before he perceived that *Chu-ven* designed to sacrifice him as he had done his father; to prevent which, he offered voluntarily to resign the crown to him. The usurper took him at

XX. Chau-tsong. *After Chr.*

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his word; and gave him a principality, which he enjoyed only three years, being slain in the seventeenth year of his age; and with him ended the family of *Tang*, and thirteenth dynasty; and *Chu-ven*, who then assumed the name of *Tay-tsu*, became the founder of a new, though short and inconsiderable one (S).

14th dynasty. **The Fourteenth Dynasty called** Hew-lyang; **which had only Two Emperors within the Space of Sixteen Years.**

I. Tay-tsu. *After Chr.* 907. *Murdered by his sons.*

I. *TAY-TSU* did not long enjoy the fruits of his rebellion and parricides; and even during the time he sat on the throne, many principalities fell off from their allegiance. He fixed his court in the province of *Ho-nan*; and was murdered by his eldest son, in the sixth year of his reign, and sixty-second of his age, but was succeeded by his third son.

II. Mo-ti. *After Chr.* 913.

II. *MO-TI* was then sovereign of a petty state; but, as soon as he heard of his father's death, he marched immediately at the head of an army against his brother, and totally defeated and slew him, and mounted the throne. In the third year of his reign the *Sye-tans*, lately mentioned, who had changed their name into that of *Lyau*, laid the foundation of their government, which reckoned a succession of nine princes within the space of 209 years. *Chang-tsong*, the son of the famed one-eyed general, lately mentioned for his great services done to the late emperor *Hi-tsong*, took the advantage of the then reigning troubles, to seize on a crown, of which he thought himself more worthy than the usurper. *Defeated,* He commanded an army accustomed to conquer; and, after taking several considerable places from him, engaged and *and kills himself.* defeated him; and *Mo-ti*, in despair, slew himself in the tenth year of his reign, and with him ended this dynasty.

(S) The five following dynasties are styled by the *Chinese Hew-u-tay*, or the five latter races or successions, and are accounted as petty ones, as well as the five that preceded that of *Tang*. They likewise resemble them in their wars, revolts, and parricides, which so often stained the throne with royal blood: but they differ from them in the number both of years and monarchs; the five former reckoning twenty-four emperors in the space of 198 years, whereas the following ones hardly continued one cycle, and reckon no more than thirteen emperors; and these latter being much disturbed by a warlike nation called *Sye-tau*, which inhabited the country now called *Lyau-tong*, and were much increased by the colonies that came thither from *Korea*.

The

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The Fifteenth Dynasty called Hew-tang, *consisting of Four Emperors in the Space of Thirteen Years.*

15th dynasty.

I. *CHWANG-TSONG*, like his father, was enured to the martial trade from his youth; and, in all his campaigns, lay on the ground with a bell about his neck, for fear of sleeping too long; tho' his earlier years were blemished by his luxury, and fondness for public shews; and would himself act a part in plays, to divert his mother and wives. He was no less given to avarice; insomuch that though his coffers were filled with gold and silver, yet could he not prevail on himself to open them for the relief of his subjects. He was at length wounded in a sedition raised among his soldiery; and died of it, in the third year of his reign, and thirty-fifth of his age; but it was never known whether the arrow that wounded him was shot designedly at him, or at random. He was succeeded by *Ming-tsong*, whom the father of the late emperor had adopted, though he was not born in the empire.

I. Chwang-tsong. *After Chr.* 923

II. *MING-TSONG* proved worthy of the rank he was raised to; and was highly esteemed for his liberality, peaceable disposition, love of his subjects, and regard for learned men, though himself was quite illiterate. In his reign the art of printing [n] was found out; and the celebrated *Chau-quang-yu*, who afterwards became the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, was born. Several other blessings which accompanied and followed *Ming-tsong*'s reign are attributed to his singular piety, and the continual prayers he offered up to heaven for himself and subjects (T). He had moreover a great number of wise men, by whose counsel he made many excellent regulations, and one among the rest which excluded the eunuchs from all public employments. He reigned eight years very

II. Ming-tsong. *After Chr.* 926. *His excellent reign.*

[n] De hac, vid. sup. p. 212. & seq.

(T) The *Chinese* historians tell us, that he every night burnt perfumes to the Lord of heaven; and addressed him in words to this effect: *I was born a barbarian, and in a country of barbarians; yet, in the midst of the disturbances that troubled the empire, they chose me to govern it. I make but one request, which is, that the heavenly Majesty would vouchsafe to watch over my conduct, and send me wise and experienced men, whose counsel may aid me to govern this state, without falling into any mistakes* (35).

(35) *Vide Le Compte, Noel, Couplet, &c. al. & Du Halde, sub Ming-tsong.*

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Death. peaceably, and died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

III. *Min-tſong.* *After Chr.* 934. III. *MIN-TSONG* had not reigned a full year, when *She-king-tang*, ſon-in-law to the late emperor, at the head of an army of 50,000 men, furniſhed by the people of *Lyau-tong*, made himſelf maſter of the palace, and deprived him both of his life and crown in the forty-firſt year of his age. He was ſucceeded by his adopted ſon *Lo-vang*, ſince named *Fi-ti*.

IV. *Fi-ti.* *After Chr.* 935. *Burns himſelf alive.* IV. *FI-TI*, not being able to make head againſt the murderer of his father, fled for ſhelter into the city of *Ghey-chew*; where not thinking himſelf ſafe, he ſhut himſelf up with his family, and every thing he had of value, in a palace, and, ſetting it on fire, periſhed in the flames in the very firſt year of his reign. With him ended the fifteenth dynaſty; and the rebel *She-king-tang* became the founder of a new one, and took the name of *Kau-tſu*.

16*th dynaſty.* *The Sixteenth Dynaſty called* Hew-tſin, *conſiſting of Two Emperors in the Space of Eleven Years.*

I. Kau-tſu. *After Chr.* 936. *Makes a fatal ſtep.* I. *KAU-TSU* was forced to purchaſe his new-gotten dignity at the expence of the honour of his country. The general of the auxiliary forces of *Lyau-tong* refuſing to acknowlege him, and being inclined to aſſumed the imperial diadem, *Kau-tſu*, not daring to enter into a war with him, was forced to buy a peace, by yielding to him ſixteen cities of the province of *Pe-cheli*, neareſt to that of *Lyau-tong*, and ſending to him annually 300,000 pieces of ſilk. This imprudent donative, which could not but augment the power and pride of that warlike nation, proved the fatal ſource of numberleſs wars, which ravaged the *Chineſe* empire above 400 years. He reigned but ſeven years; and died in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his nephew, by the choice of the grandees.

II. Tſi-wang. *After Chr.* 943. *Betrayed and dethroned.* II. *TSI-VANG* had not reigned long, before he ſaw himſelf invaded by the *Lyau-tongians*, notwithſtanding the treaty made with his predeceſſor. He oppoſed them with an army ſufficient to have given them an effectual repulſe, had not his general *Lyew-chi-ywen*, who himſelf aimed at the imperial dignity, given them time, by his ſlow marches and affected delays, to ſeize on the emperor; who, being dethroned by them, was glad to accept of a ſmall ſovereignty, where he ended his days. He reigned four years; and was ſucceeded by his treacherous general, who aſſumed the name of *Kau-tſu*, and became the founder of a new dynaſty.

The

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The Seventeenth Dynasty called Hew-han, *consisting of Two Emperors in the short Space of Four Years.*

17th dynasty.

I. *KAU-TSU*, at the beginning, made so little resistance against the *Lyau-tongian* forces, that they made a terrible havock among the northern provinces; but, upon their entering into the southern ones, they were opposed by such bodies of *Chinese*, as made their general say, *He could not have believed the conquest of* China *would have proved so difficult*; so that, contenting himself with his rich plunder, he retired to his own country. In the mean time *Kau-tsu* died in the second year of his reign, aged fifty-four, and in the next was succeeded by his son.

I. Kau-tsu. *After Chr.* 947. *Northern* China *ravaged.*

II. *IN-TI*, being obliged to employ his forces against the *Tartars* of *Lyau-tong*, gave an opportunity to the eunuchs of raising great disturbances, in order to recover their power; so that, whilst his army was gaining many signal victories against those barbarians, his palace was all in combustion; and the eunuchs had raised a sedition, in which the emperor was slain, in the second year of his reign. The empress immediately placed his brother on the throne; but he was scarcely seated on it, before the imperial general, named *Koghey*, returned crowned with laurels from his glorious expedition, and was proclaimed emperor by his army. The empress, unable to support her son, was forced to submit to the victorious general, who from that time respected her as his mother; and, taking upon him the name of *Tay-tsu*, became the founder of the next dynasty.

II. In-ti. *After Chr.* 949. *Murdered by the eunuchs.*

The Eighteenth Dynasty called Hew-chew, *consisting of Three Emperors within the Space of Nine Years.*

18th dynasty.

I. *TAY-TSU*, upon his mounting the throne, removed his court to the capital of the province of *Ho-nan*, visited in person the sepulchre of *Confucius*, and honoured his memory with the title of king (V). Some believe that the *Mohammedans*

I. Tay-tsu. *After Chr.* 951.

(V) We are told, that some of his courtiers represented to him, that such an honour did not suit with a man who had always been a subject not only to the emperors, but even to petty kings. To which he replied, that they were mistaken; for that he had been rather a master to kings and emperors, and that therefore too much honour could not be paid to him (36).

(36) *Le Compte, Noel, Couplet, Du Halde, ubi supra.*

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hammedans first settled in *China* in his reign; whilst others place it much earlier, even as high as the thirteenth dynasty. He reigned but three years, and died in the fifty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his adopted son.

II. Shi-tsong. *After Chr.* 954.

II. *SHI-TSONG* was admired for his love of learning, and skill in the art of war; though he still retained such singular modesty, notwithstanding his grandeur, that he always kept a plough and loom at work in his palace. In the time of scarcity he opened all his granaries, ordered his corn and rice to be sold at the cheapest rate, and the people to pay him when they were able; alleging, that they were all his children, and that it did not become a parent to with-hold necessary food from his children. He likewise caused all the metal statues to be melted, and coined into money for their relief. His fame brought several petty princes to their obedience, who had for many years withdrawn it from his predecessors; and a method was proposed to him how to recover the provinces that had been dismantled from the empire during the late troubles; but death prevented his putting it in execution. He reigned six years, and died in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

His singular charity.

Death.

III. Kong-ti. *After Chr.* 960.

III. *KONG-TI* was but seven years old when his father died, who put him under the guardianship of his prime minister *Chau-quang-yu*, who had done signal services to the empire during the late wars; but the grandees, excepting against his nonage, raised that minister to the empire. When they went to acquaint him with their choice, they found him in bed; and saluted him emperor, cloathing him with a yellow habit, which is the imperial colour. *Kong-ti*, who had reigned but a few months, had a small principality assigned him, and with him ended the eighteenth dynasty. *Chau-quang-yu* accepted of the crown on condition that the empress mother should take place of him on all occasions; and with him began

We have formerly observed, that it was the custom of the *Chinese* thus to honour the dead with such titles; and many of the founders of dynasties, and their successors, have done it to their ancestors, who never had any while alive, and merely to give the face of grandeur to their families.

The

The Nineteenth Dynasty called Song, *consisting of Eighteen Emperors within the Space of 319 Years.* 19*th dynasty.*

I. *TAY-TSU*, for that was the name he assumed with his new dignity, together with eight of his successors, kept their court in some of the northern provinces of *China*, that they might be at hand to suppress the incursions of the *Tartars* and *Lyau-tongians*; by which means the empire began to take breath after all its former disasters; and those commotions were happily succeeded by a long calm, which might have proved still more lasting, had all the princes of his family been as much addicted to learning and arms. He was indeed endowed with all the princely qualities that could make a people happy and flourishing; and ordered the four gates of his palace, which fronted the four cardinal points, to be always open, *that his house, as well as his heart, might be open to all his subjects.* I. Tay-tsu. *After Chr.* 960. *His excellent character and reign.*

His fame was such for wisdom and moderation, that no less than ten petty sovereigns submitted to his government; and he was such an enemy to luxury, that he retrenched it altogether in his family, and would not suffer even his daughters to wear pearls. However, he honoured his deceased father, grandfather, and great grandfather, with the title of emperor; and his mother, an excellent princess, with that of empress (W). During a severe winter, reflecting on what hardships his army, then engaged in opposing the northern nations, were likely to suffer, he pulled off his fur gown, and sent it to their general; telling him, that he wished it was in his power to do the like to every soldier; and it is hardly to be conceived what ardor and zeal this action inspired his whole army with. He gave a still more pregnant proof of *Frugality.* *Kind message to his army.*

(W) This noble lady, when congratulated by the grandees on her son's advancement, instead of expressing any joy at it, only reminded them of the great difficulty of ruling well; adding, that, if her son did so, she should gladly receive their congratulations; but, if not, that she should contentedly resign those honours, and finish her days in her pristine obscurity.

A year before her death she is said to have earnestly charged her son not to be swayed by his affection for his children in the choice of a successor; but to nominate his brother to that dignity; "for (said she), remember, my son, that you "are beholden for the throne "you sit on, less to your own "merit, than to the infancy of "the prince of the preceding "family;" which advice the emperor exactly followed, as will be seen in the sequel.

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Stratagem to save Nan-king. his fatherly affection at the siege of *Nan-king*; when, reflecting upon the horrid slaughter that would be made in it, as it was on the point of surrendering, he feigned himself sick. His generals, alarmed at it, came and surrounded his bed, every one proposing some remedy to him. To whom he answered: "The only remedy that can effectually cure me, "is in your power alone; swear to me, that you will not shed "the blood of the citizens." They all swore accordingly, and he immediately appeared well; and, though they took all possible precaution to restrain the soldiers, so that there were but few slain by them, yet those few drew a flood of tears from him: and as the city had, with a long siege, suffered likewise by famine, he immediately sent one hundred thousand measures of rice to be distributed among them. Many other public acts he did, worthy of so good a prince; and died in the seventeenth year of his reign, leaving the crown to his brother *Tay-tsong*, according to his mother's desire, mentioned in the last note.

Death.

II. *Tay-tsong.* *After Chr.* 977.

II. *TAY-TSONG* was a great lover of learning, and erected a library which is affirmed to have contained 80,000 volumes. He was once besieging the metropolis of one of the revolted reguli, when he was alarmed with a tumult in the camp which was commanded by his brother *Chau*, occasioned by a design of the soldiers, as was reported the next day, of making him emperor. *Tay-tsong*, without betraying the least resentment, went on vigorously with the siege; and, a few days after he had taken it, *Chau* in a familiar manner told him, he wondered he had not rewarded those who had signalized themselves at the siege. To which the emperor replied, *I expected that you would have rewarded them.* This stung *Chau* so to the heart, that he killed himself before night; which when his brother heard, he shed a flood of tears over his corpse, and caused the greatest funeral honours to be paid to it.

Wars in the north.

He fought several battles with unequal success against the *Lyau-tongians*, in order to recover the cities which had been yielded to them by *Kau-tsu*, founder of the sixteenth dynasty, though contrary to the advice of his more experienced general; so that we need not wonder at his pursuing that war with such fluctuating success, being as often defeated by, as victorious over, the *Tartars*, but without gaining any great advantage (X). He reigned twenty-one years; and died in the fifty-

(X) These wars were much against the mind of his wife general *Chang-tsi-hyen*, who advised him first of all to settle the empire

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fifty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his third son. *Death.*

III. *CHING-TSONG* much deceived the hopes which his subjects had conceived of his reign (Y); and, instead of pursuing the advantages he had gained against the *Lyau-tongians*, whom his victorious forces had thrown into the utmost consternation, bought a shameful peace of them at the price of 100,000 taels, and 200,000 pieces of silk, to be paid annually to them. He was much intoxicated likewise with notions of magic, and other superstitions of the sect of *Tau*; and we have had occasion to mention elsewhere an egregious trick that was put upon him by one of those impostors [o], which was not a little to his dishonour (Z). III. Ching-tsong. *After Chr.* 998.

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[o] See before, p. 193. sub not. (E).

empire in peace, before he aimed at new conquests. However, we are told of a strange stratagem which that officer made use of to raise the siege of a city: he caused 300 soldiers to approach the besieger's camp, in the dead of the night, with lighted flambeaux in their hands; which so alarmed them, that they thought the whole *Chinese* army was coming against them; so that they, betaking themselves to a sudden flight, fell into an ambuscade which *Chang-tsi-hyen* had laid for them, and were most of them cut off (37).

(Y) A comet having appeared at the beginning of his reign, which was deemed to portend some calamity, he ordered, as usual, all his faults to be laid before him, that he might avert the omen; and at the same time remitted ten millions of the taxes, and set 13,000 prisoners at liberty; and, a son being born to him at that juncture, he attributed that long-wished for blessing to the favour of heaven, which he looked upon now as pacified by his religious and charitable deeds above-mentioned; and his subjects looked upon the whole as a good omen of a prosperous reign; though it proved otherwise, through his excessive weakness.

(Z) His prime vizir, we are informed, being on his death-bed, told his children, that his conscience did not upbraid him with any neglect, except that of his not having advised the emperor to burn that pernicious book which they had made him believe was dropt from heaven, and he received with so much respect; and, as I cannot forgive myself that fault, said he, so then I desire I may be punished for it after my death; and therefore charge you to cause my head and face to be shaven; and my body to be buried, like that of a wretched bonza, without cap or girdle. This was doubtless done by that wise minister, in order to cure the emperor of his vast respect for that cursed

(37) *Vide Du Halde sub Tay-tsong. See also before, p.* 103. *sub* (E).

book;

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In the sixteenth year of his reign he caused an account to be taken of all the people employed in agriculture; who were found to amount to 21,976,965 able persons, exclusive of the magistrates, literati, eunuchs, soldiers, bonzas, watermen of all sorts, &c. all which amounted to an immense number. He caused likewise the antient books to be reprinted, and dispersed through the empire, and died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and fifty-fifth of his age, and was succeeded by his sixth son, whom he had by his second queen.

IV. Jin-tsong. *After Chr.* 1023.

IV. *JIN-TSONG* was then but thirteen years old; but the empress took the government into her hands, and held it till her death, which happened eleven years after his accession, and to whom he had always paid the same respect as if she had been his own mother. As he was of a pacific disposition, his sole aim, when he came to govern, was, to let his subjects taste the fruits of tranquillity; but, this emboldening the *Tartars* to renew the war, he was forced to buy another shameful peace from them. He was, however, a prince of great piety; which he shewed not only in banishing all image-worshippers from his palace, but by his constant addresses to heaven during a long drought, and his thankfulness to it upon the return of the usual rains. He saved 500,000 of his subjects from perishing by the timely supply he sent them of corn and rice.

Buys a shameful peace of the Tartars.

His singular piety to his subjects.

His extreme desire of having a son made him divorce his empress, for which he was blamed by the generality of his subjects; but his most shameful false step of all was, his buying a peace of the *Lyau-tongian* king, who demanded a restitution of ten cities which had been retaken by one of his predecessors, and instead of which he engaged to pay him a pension of 200,000 taels, and 300,000 pieces of silk; and suffered the word *Na* to be used in the treaty, which rather signifies a tribute than a pension. As he had no children either by his empress, or by that which he married after her divorcement, he was obliged to name *Ing-tsong*, the thirteenth son of his brother, for his successor. He died in the forty-first year of his reign, and fifty-fourth of his age.

A shameful treaty with the king of Lyau-tong.

V. Ing-tsong. *After Chr.* 1064.

V. *ING-TSONG*'s reign had like to have been imbittered by a misunderstanding between him and the empress, who, though not his mother, had a share in the government; but that breach being made up by the strenuous endeavours of his wise prime minister, and she resigning her part up to him,

book; against which it is observed by the *Chinese* historians, that, from that fatal period, the respect due to the Sovereign Lord of heaven abated much among great numbers of their countrymen.

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he reigned quietly the rest of the time, which was in the whole but four years. He died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (A).

VI. *SHIN-TSONG*, a prince of more courage than conduct, was extremely desirous to deliver his northern subjects from the *Tartarian* yoke; but was diverted from it by his dying mother, who counselled him to sacrifice every thing to the peace of his empire. He was a lover of learned men, many of whom flourished in his reign, particularly *Chew*, *Chang*, *Ching*, *Shau*, &c. authors of a new atheistical philosophy, by which they undertook to explain their antient books, and whom that monarch distinguished by titles and honours both before and after their deaths. One of their disciples, observing the emperor's grief at a time of drought, and that he endeavoured to appease heaven by fasting and prayer, had the boldness to tell him, that he tormented himself in vain, for that every thing that happened in the world was the mere effect of chance. Upon which the prime minister severely reproved him: "How dare you, said he, "teach such a doctrine? If the emperor was to lose all re- "spect and fear of heaven, what crimes would he not be ca- "pable of committing?" These philosophers had some other equally dangerous notions, all which were learnedly opposed by the great *Su-ma-quang* mentioned in the last note, and who was then in the highest esteem. *Shin-tsong* reigned eighteen years, and died in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

VI. Shin-tsong. *After Chr.* 1068. *An atheistical sect.*

VII. *CHE-TSONG* being then but ten years old, his grandmother governed with singular wisdom during the eight years she lived; and, when she died, would have obliged the prime minister to have discarded several of the young monarch's useless servants and flatterers; but, as she had not done it herself, his authority was not sufficient for it. He presented, however, a memorial to him, in which were the ten following instructions, expressed in twenty characters: 1. Fear heaven; 2. Love your subjects; 3. Strive after perfection; 4. Apply yourself to the sciences; 5. Employ persons of merit; 6. Readily hear advice; 7. Lessen the taxes; 8. Mitigate the severity of punishments; 9. Shun profuseness;

VII. Che-tsong. *After Chr.* 1086. *Ten noble instructions.*

(A) In his reign flourished the celebrated *Ko-lau* and annalist *Su-ma-quang*, who is said to have compiled his history from above 2000 volumes, beginning with *Whang-ti*, the third *Chinese* monarch (38).

(38) *Du Halde, sub Ing-tsong.*

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10. Deteſt debauchery. *Che-tſong* died in the fifteenth year of his reign, and twenty-fifth of his age, and was ſucceeded by the eleventh ſon of his predeceſſor *Shin-tſong*.

VIII. Whey-tſong. *After Chr.* 1101.

VIII. *WHEY-TSONG* was equally a lover of learning and pleaſure; and divided the government with his grandmother, to avoid having too great a ſhare of buſineſs. He loſt the eſteem of his ſubjects, firſt, by raiſing the eunuchs to greater power than they had enjoyed of late, and ſome of them even to ſovereignties, which were actually granted only to princes of the blood; and, ſecondly, by his ſuperſtitious fondneſs for the ſect of *Tau*, whoſe books he cauſed to be collected; and was even infatuated enough to give one of his diſciples the title of *Shang-ti*, or *Supreme Lord*; and the *Chineſe* make no ſcruple to aſcribe all the diſaſters that ſince befel the empire, to that blaſphemous title, given in a ſort of contempt of heaven.

Wars againſt the Lyau-tongians.

He joined forces with the *Nyu-che*, or eaſtern *Tartars*, againſt the *Lyau-tongians*, and obliged thoſe few that remained unſubdued to flee into the mountains in the weſt; by which an end was put to the kingdom of *Lyau-tong*, after it had ſtood 290 years. He paid dear for his victories: the *Tartarian* chief, no leſs elated with his ſucceſs, and reſolving to found an empire, and give it the name of *Kin*, or *Gold*, ſoon broke all treaties with him; and, invading the provinces of *Pe-cheli* and *Shen-ſi*, made himſelf maſter of them, more thro' the treachery of ſome *Chineſe* malcontents, than by force of arms. *Whey-tſong*, in danger of loſing a great part of his dominions, made him ſeveral conſiderable offers; and, at his deſire, went in perſon to him, and with him ſettled the limits of the empire by a new treaty of peace.

An end of that kingdom.

The Tartars *inwade* China.

On his return to his capital, he was eaſily perſuaded to alter his mind, that treaty being ſo ſhameful to him, that the moſt bloody war was preferable to it: but the *Tartar*, having intelligence of it, reſolved to keep him to it by force of arms; and entered the province of *Shen-ſi* in triumph, where he invited the emperor to a ſecond interview. *Whey-tſong*, who dreaded nothing ſo much as a war, eaſily agreed to it; and, upon his arrival, was ſeized, and ſtripped of all his imperial ornaments, and confined priſoner under a ſtrong guard. He died in the deſart of *Sha-mo*, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and fifty-fourth of his age, and appointed his ſon *Kin-tſong* his ſucceſſor.

Emperor ſeized and confined.

His death.

IX. Kin-tſong. *After Chr.* 1126.

IX. *KIN-TSONG*, according to his father's commands, put ſix of his miniſters to death, who had betrayed him to the *Tartars*; but made ſo little preparation againſt them, that they penetrated into the province of *Ho-nan*, and, croſſing

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the *Yellow River* without opposition, where a handful of men might have prevented them, marched directly to the metropolis, took and plundered it, and carried away the emperor and his queen prisoners, in the first year of his reign, whilst several lords, preferring death to an ignominious slavery, slew themselves. The conquerors left behind the empress *Meng*, who had been divorced, and excluded from public affairs, and who, being a princess of great wisdom and conduct, had preserved the empire, by getting the crown placed on the head of *Kau-tsong*, the brother of the late emperor.

X. *KAU-TSONG* had some few successes against the *Tartars*, which he might have improved to advantage; but though he was a lover of learning, yet he was too apt to slight the advice of his best experienced ministers, and confiding in a few parasites, of no honour or skill in governing. He was, moreover, so addicted to the bonzaic sect, that he committed the care of the empire to his adopted son, that he might be more at leisure to vacate at his superstitions. X. Kau-tsong. *After Chr.* 1127.

In the mean time, *Ho-tsong*, the *Tartar* king, did all he could to gain the love of his new subjects, and shewed a more than ordinary regard for learned men, visited the sepulchre of *Confucius*, and paid him the same royal honours the *Chinese* did, telling his courtiers, that if he did not deserve them on account of his birth, he did on account of his excellent doctrine. He marched thence to the city of *Nan-king*, where the emperor had fixed his residence at first, but had been forced to abandon it, and laid close siege to it. He easily made himself master of it; and, among other prisoners, carried off a general, named *Yung-pang*, whom he strove, by the most advantageous offers, to gain to his interest; but that faithful officer not only refused them, but wrote, with his blood, on his vest, that he chose to die, rather than serve barbarians; for which he was immediately put to death. Another *Chinese* general was then marching, with all speed, to relieve that capital; which the *Tartars* having notice of, set the palace on fire, and retired towards the north; but had their rear almost cut off by him; and from that time never dared to cross the *Kyang*. *Invaded by the* Tartars. *Nan-king taken.*

A FEW years after, *Kau-tsong* made a shameful treaty with them, in which he did not scruple to own himself *Chin*, or subject, and *Kong*, or tributary. This peace was, however, broken, in the thirteenth year of his reign, by the *Tartar*, who came again into the southern provinces, with a formidable army, and took the city of *Yang-chew*; but attempting to cross the *Yang-tse-kyang*, near the mouth of it, where it is widest and most rapid, his army mutinied, and slew him, and Tartar with- *A shameful peace made with them.* *king slain.*

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withdrew with all speed towards the north, where several insurrections began to appear.

Kau-tsong *abdicates.*

KAU-TSONG resigned his crown to his adopted son, in the eleventh year of his reign, but lived about twenty-five years longer, and died without issue, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

XI. Hyau-tsong. *After Chr.* 1163.

XI. *HYAU-TSONG*, descended from the founder of this dynasty, reigned peaceably twenty-seven years; the new *Tartar* king *She-tsong* being of a more pacific disposition than his predecessor. In this reign flourished the great *Chu-hi*, one of the most celebrated interpreters of the antient books, who discharged the greatest functions in the state with honour. *Hyau-tsong* died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was succeeded by his third son.

XII. Quang-tsong.

XII. *QUANG-TSONG* died in a fit of an apoplexy, in the fifth year of his reign, and fifty fourth of his age, and was succeeded by his third son.

XIII. Ning-tsong. *After Chr.* 1195.

XIII. *NING-TSONG*, a prince of small abilities, was, with great difficulty, persuaded to accept of the crown, and, when he did, was wholly governed, or rather misguided, by his courtiers. In his reign the imperial palace was set on fire, and burned four days before it could be extinguished; and, some years after, a fire happened in the metropolis, which was *Hang-chew*, which reduced 530,000 houses into ashes.

It was in the twelfth year of *Ning-tsong*'s reign that the famed *Jenghiz Khân*, head of the *Western Tartars*, laid the foundation of his vast empire, and gave it the name of *Yuen*, as hath been fully related in a former volume *. In the mean time, the *Kin*, or *Eastern Tartars*, having, according to custom, broken the peace, invaded *China* afresh; upon which *Ning-tsong* entered into a league with the head of the *Western Tartars*, in order to destroy a faithless enemy, which was perpetually disturbing him. This put the *Eastern* into the utmost consternation, and obliged them to send him new and advantageous offers of peace; but the emperor, incensed at their frequent breach of faith, and confiding more on that of the *Western*, rejected them with scorn (B). *Ning-tsong* reigned thirty years,

* See before, vol. iv. p. 543. 573. & seq.

(B) We are told, that when the *Tartar* king heard of his offers being so scornfully rejected by the *Chinese* monarch, he said, as speaking to him, "To-day he (the *Western Tartar*) will take my empire "from me, and to-morrow "yours from you;" which came to pass accordingly (39).

(39) *Couplet, Monarch. Sinic. Tab. Chron. p.* 74. *Vide & Du Halde Engl. sub Ning, note* (E).

and

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and died in the fifty-seventh of his age, and was succeeded by *Li-tsong*, another descendant from the founder of this dynasty.

XIV. *LI-TSONG* was no warlike prince, but rather addicted to learning, and to the whimsies of the sect of *Tau*; but, nevertheless, carried on the war against the faithless *Tartar* with great vigour, in conjunction with his new ally. He took from them the city of *Ho-nan*, where their king kept his court, and next the capital of *Shang-tong*, after a long and bloody siege, in which the *Tartars* were forced to feed on human flesh, their king *Ngai-ti*, in a fit of despair, hanging himself, just before its surrender; which put an end to the empire of the *Eastern Tartars*, after it had continued 117 years, under nine princes.

XIV. Li-tsong. *After Chr.* 1225. *Wars against the* Eastern Tartars. *The end of that empire.*

NEVERTHELESS, the small remains of that nation, which was then almost destroyed, gave rise to the family which afterwards conquered the *Chinese* empire, and governs it to this day, with so much glory, as will be seen in the sequel. All this time *Li-tsong* only held the southern provinces of *China* under his dominion, whilst the *Western Tartars* had the empire of the north. Their king, called *Kublay*, or *Koblay Khân*, and by the *Chinese Ho-pi-lye*, a lover of the sciences, gained the love of his subjects, by the respect he shewed to learned men, and the honours he paid to the memory of *Confucius*. *Li-tsong* reigned forty years, and died, without issue, in the sixty-second of his age, and was succeeded by his nephew.

Western Tartars *hold the northern.*

XV. *TU-TSONG* had the misfortune to be encouraged in his debauches by a treacherous prime minister, no less vicious than himself, and fell into such pernicious counsels, as proved fatal both to him and the empire. Many of his faithful ministers having in vain tried, by frequent and pressing memorials, to disengage him from his wicked *Ko-lau*; and, foreseeing the dreadful disasters that were likely to fall on the imperial family, retired to the *Western Tartars*, who were then pursuing their conquests in the north, and had already seized on the provinces of *Yu-nan*, *Se-chwen*, and *Shen-si*, and were entering into that of *Hu-quang*, most of the cities opening their gates to them; whilst *Tu-tsong*, drowned in pleasures, was gradually stripped of his dominions, without knowing any thing of it (C). He reigned ten years, and died in the twenty-

XV. Tu-tsong. *After Chr.* 1265. *Betrayed by his* Kolau. *Stripped of most of his dominions.*

(C) It was about this time that *Marco Paolo*, or *Mark Paul*, a *Venetian* gentleman, came into this country, and travelled thro' some

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twenty-fifth of his age, leaving three young children, who seemed only born to be the sport of fortune; the second of whom was raised to the throne.

XVI. Kong-tsong. *After Chr.* 1275.

XVI. *KONG-TSONG* being but an infant, the empress, who governed for him, sent an ambassy to the *Tartars*, to beg a peace, upon any terms; but received a most haughty refusal. The *Tartar* general, at the head of 200,000 men, went still on with his conquests; and having seized the young emperor, in the second year of his reign, sent him to a desart of *Tartary*, called *Co-hi*, and by the *Chinese Sha-mo*, where he died.

XVII. Twang-tsong. *After Chr.* 1277.

XVII. *TWANG-TSONG*, his elder brother, was next placed on the throne; but the *Tartar* advanced against him with such diligence, as obliged him to go on board his fleet, with the lords of his court, and about 130,000 troops that remained with him, designing to retire into the province of *Fo-kyen*. But being closely pursued by the *Tartars*, both by sea and land, was forced to fly to the coasts of *Quang-tong*, the most southern province of the empire, where he died of some disease, in the second year of his reign, and eleventh of his age; and was succeeded by his youngest brother *Ti-ping*, the last remains of the family of *Song*.

XVIII. Ti-ping. *After Chr.* 1279. *Forced on board.* *Drowned.*

XVIII. *TI-PING* was then on board his fleet, which not being able to avoid engaging that of the *Tartars*, a bloody fight ensued, in which the latter gained a complete victory. *Lo-syew-se*, the prime minister, to whose care the young emperor, then eight years old, was committed, seeing his ship surrounded by *Tartar* vessels, took him up in his arms, and leaped with him into the sea. The rest of the grandees, and the distracted empress, followed his example. Nothing was heard but the most dismal outcries; and it is affirmed, that no less than 100,000 *Chinese* perished in this fight, either by the sword, or by water, into which the greater part threw themselves, in despair.

The sad catastrophe of his fleet; and end of that dynasty.

THIS dreadful catastrophe happened near an island depending on the city of *Quang-chew-fu*, or *Canton*, capital of the province of *Quang-tong*.

THUS ended the dynasty of *Song*, and with it the *Chinese* dominion; for *Shi-tsu* (before called *Ho-pi-lye* by the *Chinese*, and *Kublay Khan* by the *Tartars*), who was the fourth son of *Tay-tsu* (or *Jenghiz Khan*, who founded the empire of the

some of the finest provinces of it, and published that description of which we have spoken at the beginning of this chapter (40).

(40) *See before, p. 8, & (F). See also the next note.*

Western

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Western Tartars), took possession of his new conquests, and was the first emperor of this new dynasty †.

The Twentieth Dynasty, called Ywen, *consisting of Nine Emperors, within the Space of Eighty-nine Years.*

Twentieth Dynasty.

I. *SHI-TSU*, founder of this dynasty, though a *Tartar*, and the first foreign prince that ever reigned over the *Chinese* nation, yet found a most effectual way of reconciling them to his government, and even of endearing himself to them, by keeping as close as possible to their antient laws and customs, by his equity and justice, by his love and regard to learned men, and fatherly tenderness to all his new subjects; insomuch, that the reign of this family is, to this day, styled by the *Chinese*, *the wise government*. He even caused a declaration to be published, that all persons should continue in the same posts and dignities which they enjoyed in the preceding reign; though many of the *Chinese* nobles refused his offer, and preferred a voluntary death to an honourable servitude.

I. Shi-tsu. *After Chr.* 1281. *His excellent government.*

In the third year of his reign, he formed a design of invading of the *Japan* islands with 100,000 men; but miscarried in it, they being all shipwrecked, except four or five persons, who brought him the melancholy news of it. He caused, in the same year, all the books of the impious sect of *Tau* to be burned; and ordered, that there should be but one calendar through the whole empire, which should be compiled at court, and published every year; and forbid all private persons to attempt the like, under pain of death. Four years after, his only son, whom he had named his successor, died; and, though he left children behind, yet was the emperor inconsolable for his loss.

Fatal attempt on Japan.

Orders an universal calendar.

At his first accession to the *Chinese* crown, he had fixed his court at *Tay-ywen-fu*, the capital of *Shen-si*, but thought fit afterwards to remove it to *Pe-king* (D); and, being informed that

† See before, vol. iv. p. 519, & seq. & alib. pass.

(D) This metropolis is, by *Marco Paolo*, called *Kambalu*, in stead of *Ham-palu*, which, we are told, signifies, in the *Tartaric* tongue, the seal of the king or emperor; which mistake is inconsiderable in a stranger, if it be really one. But the above-mentioned etymon of *Ham* and *palu* is justly questioned; for not *Ham*, but *Han*, or rather *Khân*, signifies a king, in the *Mongol* language, which is originally the same with the *Turkish*; and possibly *palu* may be another mistake for

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that the barks which brought to court the tribute of the southern provinces, or carried on the trade of the empire, were obliged to come by sea, and often suffered shipwreck, he caused the famed great canal to be made, which is at present one of the wonders of the *Chinese* empire, it being 300 leagues in length, and forming a great road of water, by which above 9000 imperial barks transport, with ease, and at small expence, the tribute of grain, rice, silks, *&c.* which is annually paid to the court (E). He reigned fifteen years, and died in the eightieth of his age, and was succeeded by his grandson.

Causes the great canal to be made.

His death.

II. Ching-tsong. *After Chr.* 1296. II. *CHING-TSONG*, a mild and wise prince, mitigated the severity of the *Chinese* punishments, lessened the taxes, with which several petty princes had began to burden the people; but his bad state of health would not permit him to apply so closely to the affairs of the empire, as he was inclined to. He reigned thirteen years, and died in the forty-second of his age, and was succeeded by his nephew.

III. Vu-tsong. *After Chr.* 1309. III. *VU-TSONG* was no less admired for his mildness, generosity, and regard to learned men, and, in particular, to the great *Confucius*. Being informed, that gold, silver, grain, silk, and other commodities, were exported into other countries, he forbade it, under the severest penalties. He reigned but four years, and died in the thirty-first of his age, and was succeeded by his brother.

IV. Jin-tsong. *After Chr.* 1313. IV. *JIN-TSONG* was still more remarkable for his princely virtues, and great penetration and application to the business of state. He punished with reluctance, and rewarded with singular generosity. He forbade the petty princes to hunt from the fifth to the tenth month of the year, for fear of damaging the product of the earth. He set an extraordinary value on great men, and had them near his person; alleging, *that if he could but make his people happy and prosperous, by their advice, no riches or felicity could be equal to*

for *balik* or *baluk*, which, in the same language, signifies a city (41).

(E) A late missionary (42), who has published a curious abstract of the five first *Mongol* emperors, from the *Chinese* history, tells us, that those historians exaggerate the faults of this great monarch, particularly his fondness for the superstitions of his lamas; but say nothing of his virtues, though it is plain, from what we have said of him above, that he deserved their highest encomiums, on several accounts, besides that of the most useful and noble canal abovementioned.

(41) *See note on Du Halde, sub Shi-tsi, vol. i. p.* 215.

(42) *Semed. Observ. Math. ap. eund. ibid.*

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his. He reigned nine years, and died in the thirty-fixth of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

V. *ING-TSONG* inherited all his father's virtues; but was unfortunately aſſaſſinated, in the third year of his reign, and thirtieth of his age, as he was entering his tent with his faithful *Ko-lau*, by ſome wicked villains, who were conſcious of ſome enormous crimes, and in dread of a condign puniſhment. He was ſucceeded by the eldeſt ſon of *King-byen-tſong*.

V. Ing-tſong. *After Chr.* 1322. *Murdered.*

VI. *TAY-TING*, upon his mounting the throne, not only put the murderers to the moſt ſevere deaths, but exterminated their families. In his reign happened ſome very ſevere calamities, as earthquakes, falling of mountains, overflowing of rivers, droughts, conflagrations, *&c.* during which, he gave ſignal proofs of his love for his ſubjects, by the timely aid he gave to them. He forbad likewiſe entrance into his dominion to all the bonzas or lamas of *Tibet*, who uſed to come in ſwarms, and, going from houſe to houſe, were a great burden to the people.

VI. Tay-ting. *After Chr.* 1325... *Sundry calamities during his reign.*

He reigned five years, and died in the thirty-ſixth of his age, and the eſtates choſe his ſecond ſon to ſucceed him; but he refuſing to accept of the crown, which, he ſaid, belonged to his eldeſt brother *Ming-tſong*, who was then in *Tartary*, they ſent for him from thence, and proclaimed him emperor.

VII. *MING-TSONG*, upon his acceſſion, gave a grand entertainment to the court; but, in the midſt of it, was ſuddenly ſtruck with death, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned; and his brother, who had refuſed the crown, was choſen in his ſtead.

VII. Ming-tſong *proclaimed, and dies.*

VIII. *VEN-TSONG* proved a wiſe and affable prince, open to the wiſe counſels of his miniſters; but was guilty of a weakneſs unbecoming his dignity, his receiving the lama or chief bonza of *Tibet* into his palace, and ſuffering his nobles to pay him their honours, on their knees, and preſenting him with wine, whilſt the haughty prieſt received them, without making the leaſt return (F).

VIII. Ven-tſong. *After Chr.* 1330. *Sends for the lamas of* Tartary.

He

(F) The proud lama did, it ſeems, receive all theſe honours, without ſtirring off his ſeat; which inſpired one of the nobles with ſuch diſdain, that he addreſſed him in a quite different manner: "Honeſt man, ſaid "he to him, I know that you "are the diſciple of *Fo*, and "maſter of the bonzas; but "you don't know, perhaps, "that I am a diſciple of *Confucius*, and one of the chief "among the litterati of the "empire; and it is fit I ſhould "acquaint you with it, and "and adviſe you to lay aſide "all this ceremony." This ſaying,

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He reigned but three years, and died in the twenty-ninth of his age, and was succeeded by *Ning-tsong*, the son of *Ming-tsong*, the seventh monarch of this dynasty; but as he reigned but two months, he is not reckoned among the other emperors. He was succeeded by his elder brother *Shun-ti*, who was fetched from the province of *Shen-si*, and placed on the throne.

IX. Shun-ti. *After Chr.* 1333. *Degenerates.*

IX. *SHUN-TI* was the last of this *Tartar* race that reigned in *China*. Those princes, enervated by the pleasures of that fine and fruitful country, easily degenerating from the valour of their ancestors; whilst the *Chinese*, growing gradually brave and warlike by their subjection, deprived them of their conquest, and drove them clear out of their empire. *Shun-ti*, though otherwise a prince of great parts, was lulled into a downright indolence and effeminacy, by his favourite *Ko-lau*; and, to complete his misfortunes, sent for the lamas of *Tartary*, who quickly filled his palace with female singers and dancers, and introduced idolatry and magic, together with lewdness and debauchery, which quite bereaved the young prince of the little valour that was left.

Chû *heads the revolters against him.*

In the fourteenth year of his reign, a *Chinese*, named *Chû*, who had been a servant in a monastery of bonzas, going over to a numerous company of revolters, became their chief, and made a surprising advantage of the present juncture, making himself master of many considerable cities, and next of the provinces; and, in a celebrated battle, defeated the imperial army sent against him. His great success soon drew vast numbers of *Chinese* into his army, with which, having crossed the *Yellow river* without opposition, he easily subdued every place that came in his way, and meeting at length with the imperial army, cut it all in pieces. The emperor was forced to flee towards the north, where he died two years after, having reigned thirty-five; and with him ended the *Tartar* dynasty of *Yuen*, which was succeeded by that of *Ming*, founded by *Chû* above-mentioned, who, upon his mounting the throne, took the name of *Tay-tsû*.

His success,

and end of the Tartar *dynasty.*

saying, he offered him the cup standing; upon which the lama thought fit to stand up, and, with a smile, took the cup from him, and drank it (43).

(43) *Du Halde, in Yen-tsong.*

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The Twenty-first Dynasty, called Ming, *containing Sixteen Emperors, within the Space of Two hundred and Seventy-six Years.*

Twenty-first Dynasty.

I. *TAY-TSU*, formerly named *Chû*, and *Hong-vu*, mounted the throne with a general applause, and fixed his court at *Nan-king*; and, the year following, made himself master of *Pe-king*, after one day's siege, erecting that country into a sovereignty, which he gave to his fourth son. He likewise honoured his father, grandfather, *&c.* with the title of emperor; and then enacted some wholsome laws, to preserve the national tranquility (G). His court was soon crouded with ambassadors, who came from all parts, to congratulate him, particularly from *Japan*, *Korea*, *Formosa*, the *Philippine*, and other southern islands. But the joy that reigned at his palace was soon after allayed by the death of his empress, to whose wise counsels, he said, he owed the crown. He was a prince of great wisdom and penetration; and his piety was no less conspicuous in time of drought, when, they tell you, he hath gone and staid three whole days upon a high mountain, and by his prayers hath obtained plenty of rain. He had taken likewise special care to breed up his son in such excellent manner, that he might prove a father to his people; but the unexpected death of that promising young prince did so overwhelm him with grief, that he mourned for him three whole years, contrary to his own law. He reigned thirty-one years, and died in the seventy-first of his age, and was succeeded by his grandson, then but thirteen years old.

I. Tay-tsû. *After Chr.* 1368.

Excellent government.

Piety.

Grief for his son.

Death.

II. *KYEN-VEN-TI* gave early marks of an excellent disposition, by remitting one third of the taxes, and other popular acts; but his uncles, ill brooking the preference that

II. Kyen-ven-ti. *After Chr.* 1399.

(G) Among which, the following ones were the most important; *viz.*

1. That those who possessed sovereignties, should not extend their power beyond their own territories, nor meddle with public affairs.

2. That the eunuchs should be excluded from all employments, civil and military.

3. That the women should not be suffered to turn bonzesses, nor men to turn bonzas, before the age of forty years.

4. That the antient and modern laws should be reduced into one body, of 300 volumes. It was, we are told, a whole century before that work appeared.

5. That the twenty-seven months of mourning for the death of a parent should be reduced to twenty-seven days (44).

(44) *Du Halde, sub Tay-tsû.*

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was given to him, which was ascribed to the intrigues of the *Ko-lau* of the late emperor, soon raised great disturbances in the empire. *Young-lo*, in particular, who had been raised to the sovereignty of *Pe-king*, took up arms against him, and a bloody battle was fought between him and the imperial army; which was soon followed with new offers of peace on the court side: but *Young-lo* refused to hearken to any, unless the emperor's ministers were delivered up to him. This not being granted, he marched directly to the imperial city, where, the gates being opened to him by a traitor, he committed a most horrid slaughter, and reduced the imperial palace to ashes. The body of the young monarch being brought, half consumed by the flames, to the conqueror, drew a flood of tears from him; and he ordered him to be interred with all the pomp due to his rank. But this did not allay his resentment against his ministers, many of whom he put to most cruel deaths; whilst others chose to kill themselves, or to escape his fury in the habit of bonzus. Thus perished that young monarch, in the fourth year of his reign, and seventeenth of his age, and was succeeded by *Young-lo*, who then took the name of *Ching-tsu*, and seized on the crown.

Invaded by Young-lo.

Burned in his own palace.

III. Ching-tsu. *After Chr.* 1403.

III. *CHING-TSU* was a generous and magnanimous prince, but much dreaded, on account of the cruelties with which he began his reign. He obliged a great number of bonzas, who had taken the habit before they were forty years old, to quit their convents; and ordered all the books of chemistry, which treated of the immortalizing liquor, to be burnt. In the seventh year of his reign, he removed his court from *Nan-king* to *Pe-king*, leaving his son in the former, with the same number of courts and ministers as were established in the latter. He encouraged learned men, and caused some philosophical works to be published, expository of the antient classical books. When some fine precious stones were brought to him from a mine lately discovered, he ordered it to be shut up; alleging, *it only fatigued his people with useless toil; whereas those stones, however valued, could neither feed nor cloath them in times of scarcity.* He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the sixty-third of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

An excellent saying.

IV. Jin-tsong. *After Chr.* 1426.

IV. *JIN-TSONG* gave early instances of his tenderness and liberality, in the speedy relief he sent to the province of *Shang-tong*, then labouring under a famine (H). He was like-

(H) It being represented to him, by his ministers, that it would be proper for him to consult the tribunals about the means of relieving so much people, he replied, "When "my

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likewise much given to astrology; and having spent a whole night in observing the stars, and found some uncommon change in the heavens, sent for his two *Ko-laus*, and told them, that his life was at an end; and gave them some signal marks of his love and gratitude for their fidelity to him. His son, then at *Nan-king*, was sent for with all speed; but came too late to receive his last commands. He had reigned but a few months, and died in the forty-eighth year of his age. And this year is reckoned to the reign of his son, contrary to the *Chinese* custom, which includes that of the emperor's death with those of his reign. *His strange death.*

V. *SWEN-TSONG* was attacked by the *Tartars*, who had made an irruption into the empire; but were severely repulsed, and defeated by him. Some years after, the king of *Cochin-China*, whom he had nominated to that dignity, being slain by a band of rebels, these immediately sent an embassy to crave pardon for it. *Swen-tsong* not being then able to send an army against them, without great inconveniency, not only granted them pardon, but sent them home with some titles of honour. About the same time, the palace having took fire, burnt with such violence several days, that great quantities of gold, silver, copper, tin, and other metals, which were melted together, formed a mass of a mixed metal, which, like that which is reported to have happened at *Corinth*, hath been much esteemed ever since, and bears a very great price. *Swen-tsong* reigned ten years, and died in the thirty-eighth of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son. V. Swen-tsong. *After Chr.* 1427. *Invaded by the* Tartars. *Imperial palace burnt.* *A new mixed metal produced.*

VI. *ING-TSONG*, then but nine years old, and under the guardianship of the empress and court eunuchs, began his reign with rebuilding the nine gates of the imperial city; and, in the third year forbad any honour to be paid to *Confucius* in the idol temples. In the mean time, the *Tartars*, taking the advantage of his youth, made continual inroads into his northern provinces; against whom he marched, in the fourteenth year of his reign, at the head of a powerful army, even beyond the great wall; but his forces, weakened by want of provision, were totally defeated, and he taken prisoner, and carried into the furthermost part of *Tartary*. VI. Ing-tsong. *After Chr.* 1437. *Defeated, and carried prisoner.*

"s my subjects are in distress, "we ought to fly to their re- "lief, with the same speed as "we would to stop an inunda- "tion, or extinguish a fire;" and, upon their reminding him that a distinction ought to be made between those who stood in more or less need of relief, "With all my heart, he said; "but let them not be too nice "and dilatory in their scrutiny, "nor be afraid of exceeding "my intentions, by being too "liberal."

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The court, in the greatest consternation at the news, placed his son, then but two years old, on the throne, under the guardianship of the captive prince's brother, who soon seized on the throne. In the mean time, the empress having sent a great quantity of gold, silver, silks, *&c.* to ransom the emperor, the *Tartar* conducted him to the frontiers of *China*; but there pretending that the ransom was too small, and being, perhaps, bought by the brother on the throne, conducted him back, in a few days, into *Tartary*. He reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his brother.

Two instances of Tartarian *perfidy.*

VII. King-ti. *After Chr.* 1451.

VII. *KING-TI* mounted the throne; but an agreement being soon after made for the release of the emperor, some of the grandees went to receive him on the frontiers. Here the *Tartar* pretended a-new, that the retinue was too small to accompany so great a monarch; and insisted, that a greater number should come, and in greater pomp; but the emperor forbade it, and sent the court word, that he renounced the empire, and designed to end his days in solitude; and, to avoid all ceremony, entered the capital by a private gate. Here the two brothers having embraced each other, with great tenderness, *King-ti*, attended by the whole court, accompanied him to the south palace, which he had chosen for his retirement.

KING-TI had, by this time, resolved to declare his own son his successor; but that was opposed by the prime minister (I); and the young prince dying about a year after, and himself being soon after taken ill of an incurable disease, *Ing-tsong* was again brought out of the southern palace, and reascended the throne, a year before his brother's death.

KING-TI had reigned seven years, and, upon his death, the emperor was desired to stigmatize his memory, and to have his name erased out of all public records, as a punish-

(I) *King-ti* had designed to declare his son his successor on his next birth-day; and, willing to try how the prime minister would take it, said to him one day, "The birth-day of "the prince my heir falls on "the second day of the seventh "moon." To which the *Kolau* replied, "Give me leave "to tell you, that it is the first "day of the eleventh moon." Plainly intimating thereby the birth-day of *Ing-tsong*, who was the lawful emperor. Upon which *King-ti* set aside all further thoughts about his own son.

As *Ing-tsong* did afterwards resume the empire, *Du Halde*, and others, have made two reigns of it, though but one monarch: we have only followed the series as it happened, without that needless addition.

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ment for his usurpation: but he rejected the proposal, and contented himself with ordering his funeral obsequies to be performed only as for an emperor's brother. After that, he reigned seven years longer, and died in the thirty-first of his age, and left the crown to his eldest son.

VIII. *HYEN-TSONG*, who was the son of the second queen, owed the crown to the empress's barrenness, and proved a warlike prince, and frequently defeated the plundering *Tartars*, who were often making inroads into his territories. The king of *Korea*, about that time, proposed an easier method of paying his homage to him, than by sending an ambassy; but he absolutely rejected it. He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the forty-first of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Hong-chi*, who since assumed the name of *Hyau-tsong*. VIII. Hyen-tsong. *After Chr.* 1465.

IX. *HYAU-TSONG* was much addicted to the superstitions of the bonzaic sect; yet, in the eighth year of his reign, one of the most considerable of them, having been the ring-leader of a rebellion, and being taken prisoner, was executed, without regard to his function. About the same time, a famine raged through several of the western provinces, to such a degree, that the parents were known to eat their own children; whilst as grievous a pestilence, a calamity scarcely known in *China*, raged and laid waste the eastern ones. These were followed with such terrible earthquakes, that many thousands of people were buried alive. The latter end of this reign was no less remarkable for the irruptions and depredations which the *Tartars* made in the empire, and, at length, for the death of the emperor, in the eighteenth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son *Vu-tsong*, whom he had caused to be proclaimed his successor, with great pomp, five years after his coming to the crown. IX. Hyau-tsong. *After Chr.* 1488. *Dreadful calamities all over the empire.*

X. *VU-TSONG*, a wilful and debauched prince, enjoyed but a very uneasy reign; the calamities of the former still continuing, and he deaf to all advice that was given him towards a remedy. At length several provinces, particularly those of *Shang-tong* and *Ho-nang*, oppressed with famine and heavy taxes, revolted, in a kind of despair, and, like an irresistible torrent, spread dread and devastation where-ever they came; and if any forces were sent against them, they only put a stop to the evil for the present, to break out soon after with greater fury. X. Vu-tsong. *After Chr.* 1506. *His unhappy reign.*

In the thirteenth year of his reign, he took it into his head to march against the ravaging *Tartars incognito*; and he was, with great difficulty, diverted from the dangerous project, by one

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cowardice, one of his *Ko-laus* (K). The next year, he resolved to retire into the southern provinces, from which his ministers all joined to dissuade him; alleging, that it would be interpreted by the *Tartars* as a shameful flight: and so exasperated was he at their opposition, that he suffered them to continue, on their knees, five whole days before his palace, notwithstanding the badness of the weather. At length, a sudden inundation which followed, and was by him looked upon as portending of some evil, made him relax, and set aside this project also. He reigned sixteen years; and, a little before his death, sent for the grandees, and appointed his empress guardian to his second son, then thirteen years old, whom he *and death.* appointed his successor, and died in the thirty-first year of his age.

XI. *Shi-tsong.* *After Chr.* 1522.

XI. *SHI-TSONG*, or *Kya-tsing*, began his reign with several public acts (L); such as, repairing the great wall, relieving his subjects during the scarcity, and enacting some wholsome laws; but is much blamed for his fondness for poetry, for the superstitions of the bonzas, and, in particular, for the immortalizing liquor, which he caused to be sought for far and near. The *Tartars*, having invaded his *His success against the* territories, were totally defeated, and above 200 officers taken Tartars, prisoners. The next year, their king sent to beg pardon, and to ask leave for his subjects to come into *China* to sell their horses; which was granted at first; but, as that commerce was like to prove a continual source of quarrels between the mandarins and the merchants, it was absolutely forbid again.

and Japanese. About the thirty-fourth year of his reign, the *Japanese* shook off their homage to him, and about 4000 made a descent into the province of *Che-kyang*; but were either destroyed, or forced to flee to their ships. The next year, 10,000 more came on the same errand, and met a worse fate, they being all cut off to a man. This did not prevent their

(K) He was so provoked at their opposing his mad project, that he drew his scymetar to slay the first that spoke another word against it; upon which one of those *Ko-laus* stretching out his neck towards him, as if to receive the blow, quite allayed his passion, and made him open his eyes to the danger of his design.

(L) The famine and poverty then raging, obliging many parents to prostitute their daughters, two young maids, to avoid the disgrace, drowned themselves; which, when the emperor knew, he erected a fine monument to their memory, giving them the title of *The two illustrious virgins.*

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making fresh attempts in the following years; but still with the same ill success.

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign, a severe memorial was presented to him, complaining of his ill conduct almost in every branch of his government, and more particularly of his extravagant search after the immortalizing liquor. He had no sooner read it, than he trampled it under his feet, in the first sally of his passion; but, growing cool again, he took it up, and, upon a second reading, shewed some signal tokens of remorse. He did not live long enough, however, to give any further proofs of it; for, falling sick a few days after, he had no sooner drank the pretended liquor, than he expired, in the forty-fifth year of his reign, and fifty-eighth of his age, and was succeeded by his son. *His ill conduct complained against.* *Strange death.*

XII. *MO-TSONG*, alias *Shin-tsong*, began his reign with releasing some of those whom his father had too severely imprisoned, and with other acts of clemency; but could never brook the advice of his ministers, and often degraded them for it. He repealed, in part, the law which forbids the subjects having any employments in their own native provinces, by excluding out of it inferior mandarins, tax-gatherers, and inspectors over literature. He fell sick in the sixth year of his reign; and putting his son, then but ten years old, under the guardianship of the empress, and of the *Ko-lau Chang-kyû-ching*, declared him his successor, and died not long after. That prince was called *Van-lye*, but, upon his accession to the crown, took the name of *Shin-tsong*. XII. Mo-tsong. *After Chr.* 1567.

XIII. *SHIN-TSONG* shewed an excellent disposition, and prudence much above his years, and paid the utmost regard to his master *Chang-kyû-ching*, and behaved with singular assiduity, justice, and uprightness, in every branch of his government: and every day, from four in the morning, applied himself to examine and answer the petitions that were presented the day before; and, for the greater ease and conveniency of his subjects, ordered a book to be printed every three months, containing the names, rank, degree, and country, of every mandarin in the empire; which custom is still observed. He married in the seventh year of his reign, and immediately his wife was proclaimed empress. XIII. Shin-tsong. *After Chr.* 1573. *His excellent reign.*

THREE years after there was such a dreadful famine in the province of *Shan-si*, that numberless people died of hunger; insomuch that sixty great pits were dug in different places, each of which held 1000 dead bodies, and, on that account, were called *Van-jin-keng*. The same year was remarkable for a great defeat of the *Tartars*, of whom 10,000 were killed on the spot; but much more for the death of the prime *A dreadful famine.* Tartars *defeated.*

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miniſter *Chang-kyu-ching*, whom the emperor cauſed to be interred with great pomp, and ſingular marks of honour. Theſe, however, proved but of ſhort duration; his enemies laying ſuch accuſations againſt the deceaſed about two years after, that both he and his poſterity were deprived of all their titles; their eſtates confiſcated; and his ſon, either through grief or fear, killed himſelf. A grievous froſt, which happened in the eleventh year of his reign, and had congealed the greateſt rivers, invited again the plundering *Tartars* into *China*, who were moſt of them cut off. The famine, which followed ſoon after, obliged that monarch often to addreſs himſelf to heaven for relief, and to contribute largely to the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects; but when it was repreſented to him, that his miſconduct, and the avarice of the miniſters of his court, drew theſe calamities down upon his people, he not only proved deaf to their remonſtrances, but puniſhed the authors of them (M).

A new famine.

Japaneſe fall upon Korea.

ABOUT the twenty-firſt year of his reign, the *Japaneſe* broke into the kingdom of *Korea*, ſeized on ſeveral cities, and put all to fire and ſword where-ever they came. The king himſelf was obliged to flee; but, having ſoon after obtained a ſeaſonable ſuccour from the emperor, intirely routed them. After this defeat, they ſent an ambaſſy to the emperor, to beg his pardon for the irruption, and to intreat him that he would beſtow ſome title upon their chief. Both which were granted; and the title of *Je-kwen-vang*, which ſignifies king of *Japan*, was given to him; but with expreſs orders, that he ſhould ſend no more ambaſſies to *China*. By this time the *Nyu-che*, or eaſtern *Tartars*, who were become formidable, and divided into ſeven dynaſties, after a long and bloody war, coaleſced into one, under one prince, who laid the foundation of a new kingdom. As to the *Tan-yu*, or weſtern *Tartars*, they lived peaceably within their own territories, without making any further inroads into *China*.

Their chief obtains the title of king.

(M) During theſe troubles, a comet alſo appeared towards the eaſt, which was thought to portend ſtill ſome greater diſaſters to the empire; upon which a *Ko-lau*, named *Song-guen*, preſented a memorial to the emperor, ſetting forth, that the figure of the meteor forewarned him to rid his court of certain miniſters, who took bribes, and preſerved their poſts by the baſeſt flattery. For this he was condemned to death by the exaſperated monarch; but, his ſon coming to him, and begging he might be permitted to lay down his life to ſave his father's, *Shing-tong* relented, and changed his ſentence into that of baniſhment.

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In the forty-fourth year of his reign, the chief of the *Tartars*, highly incenſed at the inſolence with which the *Chineſe* mandarins treated his merchants trading into *Lyau-tong*, and much more at their treacherouſly ſeizing on their prince, and cutting off his head, reſolved now to ſeize on ſome of the *Chineſe* cities which lay moſt convenient for him; and accordingly the ſon of the deceaſed king, named *Tyen-ming*, entered the province of *Lyau-tong* at the head of a powerful army, and took the city of *Kay-ywen*; but at the ſame time ſent a letter, with his complaints, to the emperor, offering to reſtore the city, and lay down his arms, upon proper ſatisfaction being made for ſuch a cruel injury. The mandarins, to whom the emperor communicated the letter, ſlighting it ſo far as not to vouchſafe an anſwer to it, ſo exaſperated the *Tartar* prince, that he vowed to ſacrifice 200,000 *Chineſe* to the ghoſt of his murdered father. He accordingly marched with an army of 50,000 men into the province of *Pe-cheli* in triumph, with a deſign to attack the imperial city; but, being repulſed by the *Chineſe* forces, he retired into *Lyau-tong*, where he aſſumed the title of emperor of *China*. Two years after, having, by a ſtratagem, drawn the *Chineſe* forces farther towards *Tartary*, he ſurrounded them at once, and made a dreadful ſlaughter among them; and their general was found among the ſlain. On the next year the emperor oppoſed them with a powerful army, and 12,000 auxiliaries out of *Korea*; and a long and obſtinate battle was fought; in which the *Tartars* being at laſt victorious, marched directly towards *Pe-king*; which threw the court into ſuch conſternation, that the emperor would have retired into the ſouthern provinces, had not his miniſters repreſented to him how much ſuch a ſhameful flight would inſpirit the enemy, and diſhearten his ſubjects. Under theſe diſaſters the emperor died, in the forty-eighth year of his reign, and fifty-eighth of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Quang-tſong*, who, upon his acceſſion, took the name of *Tay-chang*.

Their king's letter to the emperor ſlighted.

Succeſs againſt the imperial forces.

The emperor defeated.

Death.

XIV. *TAY-CHANG* died in a month after, and, as is ſuppoſed, through the neglect of his phyſician; but appointed his eldeſt ſon *Tyen-ki* to ſucceed him, who thereupon took the name of *Hi tſong*.

XIV. Tay-chang. 1621.

XV. *HI-TSONG*, though a timorous prince, and too much ſwayed by his court-eunuchs, yet made a vigorous oppoſition againſt the *Tartars*; augmented his forces, ſent for freſh auxiliaries from *Korea*, and ſaw his army reinforced from ſeveral quarters; particularly by an amazonian lady, at the head of ſeveral thouſand men, which ſhe had brought from the province of *Se-chwen*, where her ſon held a ſmall ſovereignty.

XV. Hi-tſong. *Aſt. Chr.* 1621.

Great preparations

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against the Tartars. sovereignty. He also fitted out a powerful fleet, in order to humble the enemy both by sea and land; and, upon this occasion, he sent to *Ma-kau* for some *Portuguese* engineers, to serve the artillery, to which the *Chinese* were very little used; but, before they came, the *Tartars* were driven out of the province of *Lyau-tong*, and the capital recovered from them; so much the more easily, as the inhabitants detested the cruelty of *Tyen-ming*, and he was then engaged in another war in *Tartary*. He was, however, no sooner returned from that expedition, than he renewed the siege of that city with fresh vigour; in which the *Chinese* lost 30,000 men, and he 20,000, and at last carried it by means of a traitor. As soon as he was master of it, he published an edict, commanding all the *Chinese*, under pain of death, to shave their heads after the *Tartar* fashion; upon which several thousands of them chose rather to lose their heads than their hair. In the mean time one of the ablest *Chinese* generals, named *Mauven-long*, being sent with fresh troops against the *Tartars*, so strongly fortified the citadel of *Shang-hay*, that he made it impregnable, and, by that means, shut up the entrance into *China* from *Tartary*.

Strange firmness of the Chinese.

THE third year of *Hi-tsong*'s reign was dreadfully disturbed by crouds of robbers and seditious people, whose number and rapines daily increased; and the next year was remarkable for the Christian monument dug out near the capital of *Shen-si*, and mentioned in a former section [a]; as also for the death of the emperor, in the seventh year of his reign, and thirty-second of his age; who was succeeded by his brother *Tsong-ching*, or *Zun-chin*, since called *Whay-tsong*, the fifth son of *Quang-tsong*.

I-tsong's *death.*

IN the same year died *Tyen-ming*, the king of the *Tartars*; a prince, who, according to the *Chinese* account, was distinguished chiefly for his fierceness; and was succeeded by his son *Tyen-tsong*, who proved the reverse of his father, and a prince of great clemency, meekness, and goodness.

XVI. Whay-tsong. *Aft. Chr.* 1628.

XVI. *WHAY-TSONG*, the last emperor of the *Chinese* race, and more commonly known by the name of *Zun-ching*, was a great lover of sciences, and a favourer of the Christians, though he continued still bigotted to the bonzaic superstitions. He had most of the princely qualities that could render him capable of governing; was an enemy to luxury, and to the court-eunuchs, and took the most effectual way to re-

[a] See before, p. 77, & (L).

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move them (N), even from the very beginning of his reign. In the mean time the revolters multiplying in the provinces, whilſt his forces were engaged againſt the *Tartars*, he reſolved to make peace with the latter, that he might the more effectually ſuppreſs the former; and, to that end, ſent one of his generals, named *Ywen*, into *Tartary*, at the head of an army, with full power to negotiate a peace; but that traitor made one on ſuch ſhameful terms, that the emperor refuſed to ratify it; upon which he took the following method to oblige him to it:

Betrayed by his general.

MAU-VEN-LONG, the faithful and expert general mentioned under the laſt reign, was then at the head of the imperial forces; and him the villain invited to a feaſt, and poiſoned; and then ſent word to the *Tartars* to march directly to *Pe-king* by a different road from that which he took with his army; which they did without meeting with any oppoſition, and laid ſiege to that capital. *Ywen* was thereupon ordered to march to its relief; which he did, not ſuſpecting that his perfidy was found out; and, upon his arrival, was put to the torture, and then ſtrangled; which the *Tartars* no ſooner knew, than they raiſed the ſiege, and returned into *Lyau-tong*, loaden with the richeſt plunder.

Mau-venlong *poiſoned.*

Ywen *ſtrangled.*

In the eighth year of *Whay-tſong*'s reign died *Tyen-tſong*, king of *Tartary*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Tſong-te*, father of the founder of the following dynaſty, and a mild and affable prince, who had been privately brought up from his infancy among the *Chineſe*, and was a perfect maſter of their language and learning, as well as of their genius and cuſtoms; all which gained him the love and eſteem of the *Chineſe* generals and mandarins, who inſenſibly fell off from the emperor, whoſe ill ſucceſs had quite altered his temper, and rendered him thoughtful, uneaſy, diffident, and cruel. This and the following year proving a ſeries of robberies,

Tyen-tſong's *death.*

His ſon brought up among the Chineſe.

The emperor abandoned.

(N) He at firſt forbad all his mandarins to have any converſation with them; and ſoon after gave them leave to go and viſit their native country for a month, and money to defray their journey, and afterwards ſent them an expreſs prohibition to return.

There was one among them, named *Ghey-tſong*, who had raiſed himſelf in the former reigns to the higheſt pitch of power, wealth, and inſolence; but, upon this emperor's mounting the throne, whom he knew to be an enemy to the whole tribe, diſpatched himſelf by poiſon, to avoid a more ſevere puniſhment; upon which his immenſe riches were confiſcated, his body torn in pieces by the populace, and the temples and monuments which his flatterers had reared to his honour, levelled with the ground.

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Revolters everywhere.

murders, and inteſtine wars, the revolters grew to ſuch a height, that they compoſed no leſs than four armies, commanded by as many generals, who were however reduced ſoon after to two, named *Li* and *Chang*. Theſe agreed to divide the provinces between them: *Chang*, taking the weſtern ones of *Se-chwen* and *Hu-quang*, left *Li* to ſeize on part of *Shen-ſi*, and then of *Ho-nan*, whoſe capital, named *Kay-fong*, he laid ſiege to, but was repulſed with loſs. He renewed it ſix months after, with no better ſucceſs; the beſieged chuſing to feed on human fleſh, rather than ſurrender to a rebel. The imperial forces coming ſoon after to its aſſiſtance, their general made no doubt of drowning the whole rebel army, by breaking down the dikes of the *Yellow River*; but, by ill fortune, they had time to eſcape to the mountains; whilſt the city, which lay lower than the river, was quite overflowed, by which unforeſeen accident about 300,000 of its inhabitants periſhed.

Kau fong *beſieged by* Li.

Drowned by accident.

AFTER this diſaſter *Li* marched into the provinces of *Shen-ſi* and *Ho-nan*, where he put to death all the mandarins, exacted great ſums from the officers in place, and ſhewed no favour to any but to the populace, whom he freed from all taxes: by this means he drew ſo many of the imperial army into his intereſt, that he thought himſelf powerful enough to aſſume the title of emperor. He next advanced towards the imperial city, which, though ſtrongly garriſoned, was divided into factions; and into which he had found means to convey a ſufficient number of his own men in diſguiſe, who were to open the gates to him ſoon after his firſt appearance. They did ſo accordingly on the third day, and he entered the city in triumph, at the head of 300,000 men; whilſt the infatuated emperor kept himſelf ſhut up in his palace, ignorant of what was done without it; and only buſying himſelf with his bonzaic ſuperſtitions. It was not long, however, before he found himſelf betrayed; and, under the greateſt conſternation, made an effort to get out of the palace, with about 600 of his guards. He was ſtill more ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf treacherouſly abandoned by them, and deprived of all hopes of eſcaping the fury and inſults of his rebel ſubjects; ſo that, preferring death to the diſgrace of falling alive into their hands, he forthwith retired with his beloved empreſs [b] (*Du Halde* ſays, only the young princeſs his daughter) into a private and diſtant part of the garden, or, according to *Palafox*, into a ſmall wood, without being able to utter a word to her, ſuch was the exceſs of his grief. That princeſs, how-

Li aſſumes the imperial title.

Enters Pe-king.

[b] Vide DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 266, & ſeq. & PALAFOX, ſup. citat.

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ever, too well apprehended his meaning; and, after a few tender, but silent embraces, retired into the wood, and there hanged herself in a silken string. The emperor, pierced to the heart at the doleful sight, staid only to write these words on the border of his vest: *I have been basely deserted by my subjects; do what you will with me, but spare my people*; which being done, he cut off the young princess's head with one stroke of his scymetar, and hanged himself on another tree, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and thirty-sixth of his age (O). His prime minister, queens, and faithful eunuchs, soon followed his example, and killed themselves [c]; and with his life ended the *Chinese* monarchy, to give place to that of the *Tartars*, who have reigned over the whole empire ever since with an absolute sway.

The emperor hangs himself.

The sad catastrophe of his family.

It was not till after some time, and with great difficulty, that the body of the unfortunate *Whay-tsong* was found, which, when brought, and laid before the rebel *Li*, as he sat upon the throne, the inhuman wretch used with the utmost indignity; after which he caused two of his sons, and all his ministers, to be beheaded; only his eldest son happily escaped by flight. It is scarcely credible how soon every one submitted to the usurper; and prince *U-san-ghey*, who commanded the imperial forces in the province of *Lyau-tong*, was the only one who refused to acknowlege him, which obliged him to march against him at the head of a powerful army; and, having invested the place where he was governor, the more effectually to move him to surrender, shewed

His body insulted, and his sons murdered, by Li.

U-san-ghey opposes him.

[c] See Du Halde, & al. ubi sup.

(O) *Padafox* (45) adds, that the unhappy monarch, being quite chilled with horror, called for a glass of wine, though at all other times averse to that liquor; and, having drank it, bit with his own teeth one of his fingers, till the blood gushed out, and wrote with it, not the abovementioned short sentence, but a long and more mournful epistle, in which he complains of the treachery of his officers, but absolves his subjects of the guilt, and prays that they may escape the punishment, of it. He deeply laments the ruin of his empire, which had flourished in such power and splendor so long a series of centuries; and the extinction of his antient and royal family, who had held it so long, and with so much glory; and concludes, that, since he hath lived to see the loss and ruin of them, and of all that was valuable in life, he thought it high time to put an end to it. But that author mentions nothing of his cutting off his daughter's head, as *Du Halde* doth (46).

(45) *Conquest of China, chap. 2.*

(46) *Annals, pag. 227.*

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him his father loaden with fetters; and swore that he should be instantly sacrificed, if he refused to submit. The brave *U-san-ghey*, when he beheld his father in that condition, from the top of the city-walls, burst out into a flood of tears; and, falling on his knees, prayed to heaven to forgive him, if he sacrificed his filial duty to his allegiance to his prince; and the good old gentleman, applauding his son's noble resolution, submitted to his fate, and was accordingly put to death.

Noble resolution.

U-san-ghey, resolving at once to revenge his prince and his father's death, immediately struck up a peace with the *Manchew* or eastern *Tartars*, and invited them to his assistance against the usurper and his rebellious forces; which *Tsong-te* their king easily consented to, and, without any delay, joined him with an army of 80,000 men; upon which the usurper raised the siege, and marched directly to *Pe-king*. Not thinking himself safe there, he plundered and burnt the palace, and, with the immense treasure he had got, fled with his troops into the province of *Shen-si*, no less loaden with the curses of the people, than with the spoil of the imperial city (P).

Invites the eastern Tartar.

Li *burns and plunders the palace.*

TSONG-TE died almost as soon as he had set foot in *China*, after he had declared his son *Sun-chi*, then but six years old, his successor, and committed the care of him and of the empire to his brother *A-ma-van*. The young prince

Tsong-te's *son declared emperor.*

(P) The villain, who had hitherto hardly encountered with any but unarmed and disheartened enemies, and had succeeded more by treachery than valour, was so exasperated to see himself now opposed not only by the imperial army, but by a much more numerous and warlike one of the *Tartars*, that, not content to give up that rich metropolis to be plundered by his rebellious troops, whilst he did the same by the imperial palace, he vented his rage on the inhabitants by the most bloody and execrable cruelties during his short stay; and that under pretence of punishing them for those remaining faint sparks of loyalty which they had dared to shew for their lawful sovereign, which rather consisted in an universal abhorrence they testified, than in any resistance they ventured to make against him.

What forces the king of *Tartary* brought with him into *China*, we are not told; except, in general terms, that they were without number, both of horse and foot. They were commanded by the three uncles of that young monarch, who served him so faithfully with their wise counsels as well as valour, and behaved with such moderation and equity towards the *Chinese*, as the more easily reconciled them to his government (47).

(47) *Palafox, ubi sup. ch.* 2, *& seq.*

was

was presently after conducted to *Pe-king*; and received with the acclamations of the people, as their great deliverer. Nothing was heard on all sides but the shouts of *Van-swi! Van-swi! Long may he live! long live the emperor! may he live a thousand years!* This memorable revolution, which put a final end both to the twenty-first dynasty, and to the *Chinese* government, and made way a second time for that of the eastern *Tartar*, happened in the twenty-first year of the seventy-third cycle, which answers to that of Christ 1644 (Q). *End of the Chinese monarchs.*

WHAT became of the traitor *Li*, and of his army and immense treasure, is not certainly known. Some say that he retired with them into the province of *Shen-si*, one of the six which he had made himself master of; and that he settled and fortified himself in it, the best he could, against the new conqueror: others think that he was slain in an engagement by *U-san-ghey*. However that be, we hear no more of him from the time of his retreat from *Pe-king*; and so shall have done with him with this remark, that his name and memory are to this day held in execration both by the *Chinese* and *Tartars*. It is now time to pass on to

The Twenty-second Dynasty, named Tsing, *now reigning, and containing at present Three Emperors.* *22d dynasty.*

I. SHUN-CHI, or *Xun-chi*, began his new reign with rewarding the noble *U-san-ghey*, by bestowing upon him the dignity of king, and title of *Ping-si*, which signifies the pacifier of the west; and assigned to him the city of *Si-gnan-fu*, capital of *Shen-si*, for his residence, which had been lately ravaged with fire and sword by the usurper *Li*. But this did not hinder *U-san-ghey* from sorely repenting of his error and rashness in calling the *Tartars* to his assistance against that

I. Sun-chi. *Ast. Chr.* 1664. U-san-ghey *made king.*

(Q) The *Chinese* historians, or at least our *European* memoirs from them, have not been so careful to transmit to us the year and month of the *Tartar* and his army entering into *China*, nor the length of the reign and life of this last *Chinese* emperor. We are only told in general, that, after their their arrival, the conquest of the whole empire was completed in three years and some months; and that *Quang-tong*, or *Can-ton*, the last city which surrendered to them, was not taken by them till *January* 1647; from which it is probable to suppose, that they entered about the end of the year 1643, and that the new emperor was crowned some time in the year above-mentioned (48).

(48) *Conf. Palafox, Du Halde, &c.*

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tyrant, or, as he himself used to phrase it, *in sending for lions to drive away dogs*. In the mean while the young monarch, who was now absolute master of the northern provinces (R), began to turn his arms to the conquest of the southern

(R) It is surprising to think what quick progress he made in the conquest of those northern ones, considering their vast extent, and the number and strength of their cities; for he made himself master of them all within the space of about a year, that is, by the latter end of the year 1644. It is true the *Chinese* had neither the heart, nor were they at that time so loyal to the family of their antient princes, as to make any considerable resistance; nevertheless there were several that did, tho' with so little success as gave even but small encouragement to others to follow their example. But the new emperor, who would himself be always at the head of his vast and powerful army, had such excellent counsellors and generals, particularly his three uncles lately mentioned, that he fell immediately into the most effectual and expeditious way of reducing them.

His method was, not to trouble himself, when he entered into a province, what great towns he left behind, but to bend his forces towards the metropolis at once, which he first caused to be summoned; and, if they submitted, he treated them with all possible humanity, appointed such governors over them as they could not but approve of, and often some of their own nation, and left the rest of their polity in the same state in which he found it, without making any alteration. If they refused, then he ordered his numerous troops to bring them the second summons; which they did with such force and fury, that they gained the place in a short time; in which case they must submit to the fate of war, which was generally very hard and cruel, if it were but to serve as a warning to the rest. By these means, whether the metropolis submitted of its own accord, or was forced to it, the rest of the cities seldom failed of opening their gates to him; and the reduction of the capital proved the reduction of the whole province (49).

Another thing that greatly forwarded the conquest not only of these, but of the southern ones afterwards, was, that the emperor, in all his declarations, always ascribed his great and surprising success not to his valour, or to the number and courage of his troops, as might be natural for such a young monarch to do, but to the will and favour of heaven; which squaring exactly with the notion of the generality of the *Chinese*, they not only readily yielded to it, but were glad to plead it as an excuse for their so shamefully abandoning the interest and cause of their natural princes, of their laws and liberties, and

(49) *Palafox, Couplet, &c.*

so

ſouthern ones; rightly judging, that he would never enjoy the one quietly till he had got poſſeſſion of the other.

ON the other hand, he did not think it proper to leave the kingdom of *Korea* behind him, a fierce and warlike people, who had a king of their own, but who was a vaſſal to the *Chineſe*, and now of courſe to him. He marched accordingly againſt them at the head of a powerful army; and, though the *Koreans* fought with much vigour and intrepidity, yet they ſtill found themſelves inferior to the *Tartars*. At length their king thought it the wiſeſt way to ſecure his crown by a timely ſubmiſſion; which *Shun-chi* readily accepted, and brought back his forces with honour; and ordered the *Korean* king to follow him to *Pe-king*, where the articles of peace and homage were ſoon after concluded; and, having received his crown and ſceptre from the emperor, and paid him the homage agreed on, returned to his own ſubjects. *Shun-chi* then ordered his army, under the command of one of his uncles, to march directly towards the ſouth, where a grandſon of *Shin-tſong*, or *Van-lye*, the thirteenth emperor of the foregoing dynaſty, had been proclaimed emperor, under the name of *Hong-quang*, or *Hun-guan*, which ſignifies ſplendor, and had moſt of the nine ſouthern provinces under his ſubjection. This young prince had many amiable qualities, and had been educated under the late and laſt emperor with great care, whilſt the empire was at peace, and was looked upon as the laſt refuge of the *Chineſe*; but was with great difficulty prevailed upon by the mandarins to accept of a crown, the weight of which he foreſaw would ſoon cruſh him to death. However, he was prevailed upon at laſt; and took all proper means to fortify his capital of *Nan-king*, and to ſtrengthen his army; but, with all theſe precautions, found himſelf unable to reſiſt the ſuperior force of the enemy, which came and beſieged him in that city, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of it. *Hong-quang* was purſued in his retreat, and taken priſoner, by the *Tartar* general, who immediately ſlew him, or, according to others, ſent him to *Pe-king*, where he was ſtrangled. Being returned to *Nan-king*, he gave the government of it to a *Chineſe* mandarin, who had enjoyed ſome of the greateſt poſts under the two or three laſt emperors, and made him viceroy of that province.

Korea invaded by the emperor.

Submits to him.

Hung-quang ſtrangled.

ſo tamely ſubmitting to a foreign yoke; for, if that was the abſolute will and decree of heaven, how could it be in their power to oppoſe it, or what could they do better than ſubmit to it? This was, it ſeems, their excuſe then, and is ſo ſtill, whenever any other nation upbraids them with their ſlavery.

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He marched thence into *Che-kyang*, and besieged the capital; where *Lo-vang*, then king of it, and a prince who had refused the title of emperor, appeared upon the walls, and, on his knees, begged the *Tartars* to spare his subjects, and to accept of his life as a victim for theirs; and then went out, and submitted to their mercy, and had the good fortune to obtain it. Not long after this, another grandson of the late emperor *Shin-tsong*, named *Long-vu*, and by others *Jan-van*, was proclaimed emperor in the province of *Se-chwen*, which, with those of *Fo-kyen*, *Quang-tong*, and *Quang-si*, were the only four that still remained unsubdued; and, tho' he was not in a capacity of recovering those that were lost, he was still made to hope that he might be able to preserve these. He was the more easily flattered into this hope, as there had appeared in his interest at sea one of the bravest commanders, whom many of the nation had joined, and who was then very powerful, and successful enough to alter the face of his affairs.

Lo-vang submits himself and people to the emperor's mercy.

Long-vu proclaimed emperor.

His interest supported by the brave Ching-chi-long.

This captain was the famed *Ching-chi-long*, a person originally of an obscure extract (S), but then one of the richest and

His extract, and powerful fleet.

(S) *Ching-chi-long*, called also *Chin-chi-lung* in the *Dutch* ambassies, and by foreigners *Iquan*, *Icoa*, *Equan*, and *Ikoan*, was born in some obscure maritime place in the province of *Fo-kyen*, of very mean parents; but, being a sprightly lad, went to seek his fortune abroad, first at *Macao*, among the *Portuguese*, where he served a merchant for some time, became a convert to Christianity, and took the name of *Nicholas*, or, as others have it, *Gaspard*. From thence he went to *Japan*, where he soon raised himself in the service of a rich merchant; and, from his factor, became the commander of his trading vessels, with which he used to carry a considerable traffick into *Cochin-China*, *Kamboya*, and other places, not only for his own masters, but for a number of other merchants, who likewise intrusted him with some of their richest commodities.

Being come to *Kamboya*, he received letters, that both his master and they were dead; some of the plague which had raged in *Japan*, and others, of the famine that followed it; upon which, without any regard to Christianity, which he had so lately embraced, he forged their wills, and made himself heir to all the wealth they had intrusted him with; and, to avoid being questioned by the *Chinese* mandarins about their validity, resolved to turn corsair; and, with the wealth he had made himself heir to, purchased a number of other vessels, and soon became commander of a formidable squadron, by the many other pirates who joined him, and put themselves under his colours; insomuch that he, and one more of the same profession, had

and moſt conſiderable traders in the province of *Fo-kyen*; who, at his own charges, had fitted out a numerous fleet againſt

had the ſole command of thoſe ſeas, and plundered all that fell in their way, without diſtinction, but under a mutual agreement not to act offenſively againſt each other.

The emperor and court, to whom they were become dreadful, and yet were not in a condition to ſuppreſs them by open force, bethought themſelves of a ſtratagem that would in all likelihood effectually do it. Accordingly he received a letter from the emperor to this purport: That, being thoroughly appriſed of his valour and ſucceſs, and of the great ſervices he might do to his prince and country, he promiſed him not only a general pardon and amneſty for all his piracies, but to make him chief admiral of all his ſea-forces, and captain-general of all the ſea-coaſts, or any other dignities or employments he ſhould deſire, on condition he joined immediately the imperial navy, and aſſiſted it in ridding the ſeas of the other piratic fleet. The ſame offers were made at the ſame time to the other commander, in a letter ſent to him from the ſame monarch. What effect it had upon the latter, is not known; but *Ching-chi-long*, though he preſently ſuſpected the artifice, yet, depending on his ſtrength and good fortune, made no heſitation to go and fall upon the other; and, after a long and bloody fight on both ſides, wherein he proved victorious, ſtruck off his head, and took as many of his men and veſſels as he could, the greateſt part of which readily liſted under his flag, as they only exchanged maſters, without altering their condition. By this means *Icoun* became more powerful than ever; and, when the imperial fleet came to join him, they dared not do otherwiſe than congratulate him on his late victory, and great ſucceſs; whilſt he, by virtue of the emperor's letter, and a ſufficient force to oblige him to ſtand to his promiſes, began to act according to the tenor of them, without betraying the leaſt diffidence of the court's ſiniſter views, and to oblige all trading ſhips to receive their paſſports from him; inſomuch that none of them, whether *Chineſe*, or of any nation, dared venture to ſea without them.

He had but one thing to fear, the reſentment of the court, on account of his cruel exactions on all thoſe trading veſſels, his taking all that had not a paſs from him; and many other ſuch extortions, by which the commerce was greatly obſtructed, and the maritime provinces quite impoveriſhed. But, as he was perfectly well acquainted with the ways of the court, and that the emperor, ſurrounded as he was by his eunuchs and miniſters, knew little or nothing of his ſubjects miſeries, but what they pleaſed to acquaint him with, he found means to bribe them ſo high and effectually, as to ſtop all complaints from coming to his ears; they caring but little how he plundered and robbed the people, whilſt they ſo plentifully partook of the ſpoil. Nothing was heard

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against the *Tartars*; and was followed by such an innumerable multitude of *Chinese* vessels, that he became head of one of the most formidable fleets that ever appeared on those seas; and had openly declared for the young *Chinese* monarch, against the usurping *Tartar*. Some relations do even affirm, that he was the chief person who caused him to be crowned emperor; and indeed the immense wealth which he had amassed by sea and land, and the vast number of vessels and troops which he had under his command, had rendered him so powerful, and the vast bribes with which he had been continually cramming the chief eunuchs and ministers had confirmed his interest at court to such a degree, even during the preceding reign, that he alone seemed to govern the empire; so that, if he had not been faithfully attached to the royal family, he might much more easily have seized on the crown than either of the two rebels *Li* and *Chong* lately mentioned; and much more so after the fatal death of that unhappy monarch, and the wars that raged all over the empire: but his fidelity to the royal blood would not permit him to listen to, much less to form, any such design (T); and this it

Vast wealth and interest.

Signal loyalty to the royal blood.

among them but the highest encomiums on him, and the vast services he did to his prince and country, whilst the continual complaints sent to them from the desolate provinces were wholly suppressed by his large presents from being so much as heard. By this time he was grown to such a height of power and insolence both by sea and land, that, upon a disgust against the imperial officers at *Can-ton*, who were in arrear to him about 20 or 30,000 ducats of his stipend, he went on shore into that populous city with only 6000 of his own men, caused a tribunal to be reared in one of the squares, and there summoned those officers, with some public notaries, and obliged them to pay him the money on the spot; and, having given them authentic receipts for it, went back to his fleet without the least molestation. This was the condition to which *Ching-chi-long* had raised himself at the time of the *Tartars* invading the *Chinese* empire, and which we thought necessary to give our readers a sketch of, for the better understanding the rest of this transaction. See also the next note (50).

(T) This is the common opinion, though there are not wanting those who give him a quite different character, and charge him with having aspired to the crown, when made general of the *Chinese* forces, and to have betrayed the young emperor to the *Tartars*, for which he was afterwards cast by them into a prison at *Pe-king*, where he died (51). We shall only

(50) *Dutch Ambassy, Palafox, Couplet, Du Halde, & al.* (51) *Vide Ogilby's China, vol. ii. p. 49.*

observe

it was that induced at length the *Tartar* monarch, who looked upon him as one of the most powerful obstacles to his reducing the few remaining provinces, to try to gain him to his interest by the greatest offers, and fairest promises (U). These he rejected with haughtiness and scorn; and, being fully resolved to defend his prince to the last, sent an embassy to *Japan*, to procure some forces from that monarch, which

observe at present under this head, that the *Dutch* then settled at *Formosa*, or rather *Tay-wan* (52), having given him some umbrage, either by their carrying on too great, or perhaps some illicit, trade with *China* and *Japan*, for which he sent them a threatening message that he would drive them from that island, they sent him an embassy, and agreed to pay him 30,000 crowns a year for their liberty of commerce; and, among other presents, a golden sceptre and crown, engaging themselves to assist him with all their forces, in case he took the step hinted at by the present; and we are told, that he never made any other shew or use of it, than to have it carried about among other ornaments of his wardrobe.

(U) These promises were made to him by the *Chinese* mandarin lately made viceroy of *Nan-king*; in which, among other things, he assured him of his being made viceroy, or even king, of the two provinces of *Fo-kyen* and *Quang-tong*; or, if he insisted upon it, should only pay homage to the *Tartar* emperor for them. This offer *Ching-chi long* not only rejected with scorn, but treated the *Tartar* as a robber and usurper; and vowed, that he would not only defend the few provinces still unconquered, but that he would use his utmost power to recover all the rest to the imperial family of *China*. It is true, when he was afterwards taken prisoner by the *Tartars*, and this haughty answer was laid before the emperor against him, he denied it to be his, as he was forced to do many other accusations laid to his charge. What was still more surprising, those very ministers of the *Chinese* court, whom he had corrupted by his vast bribes in the last reign, being now gone over to the *Tartars*, became his most inveterate accusers; so that, knowing their rapacious temper, he had recourse to his former expedient of cramming them with fresh gifts, which at once stopped their mouths, and all farther accusations; and he at length was acquitted with honour and applause.

As for the several battles which he fought against the *Tartars* during about six months before he was made prisoner, we only hear that they were very bloody ones, without any farther particulars of the success of them. The relations do not so much as hint whether he was taken in one of them, or in defending any of the imperial cities; neither is it certainly known what became of him at last, so dark and contrary are the accounts we have about it.

(52) *Vide Ogilby's China, ubi sup. See also before. p. 48. 57. & alib.*

was

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was however refused on account of its being sent not by the emperor, but from a subject. This did not discourage him from making a noble defence; and several battles, we are told, were fought with great bravery on both sides; till at length the brave *Ching-chi-long* was taken prisoner, and sent to *Pe-king*; upon the news of which, the unfortunate *Long-vu* soon found himself disappointed of all his hopes, all the cities of that province opening their gates to the conqueror; and himself, whether betrayed by *Ching-chi-long*, as some pretend, or hurried through his ill fate into their hands, was deprived at once of his life and crown. And then it was that *Ching-chi-long*, now in the hands of the *Tartars*, and envied and hated by the court more on account of his great wealth and glory than of his fidelity to his prince, went over to the *Tartar* interest, to rid himself from the many prosecutions they had laid against him; which step he could then take with less dishonour to himself, not only as *Long-vu*, for whom he had declared himself, was now dead; but as he knew his powerful fleet to be still under the command of his own son the brave *Ching-chi-long*, of whose loyalty to the imperial family of *China* he was fully satisfied. Some relations pretend that he was not taken prisoner; but invited to a grand feast at court by the *Tartar* monarch, and was conducted thither with honour; and that he accepted of the invitation, in hopes of obtaining the highest dignities there; but, as this doth not appear suitable to his character and behaviour in other cases, we rather think he was carried thither prisoner.

Sent prisoner to Pe-king.

Long-vu put to death.

Ching-chi-long submits to the Tartars.

The rest of the provinces reduced.

However, the *Tartars* had by this time so far proceeded in their conquest, that there remained but few that stood firm to the imperial family; and these one of the conqueror's uncles, named by some relations *Peli-pu-wang*, or *Peli-paovan*, was sent with a powerful army to reduce, who was moreover made viceroy, or, as others say, king, of those provinces, which were *Quang-si* and *Quang-tong*, besides that of *Fo-kyen* lately surrendered to him. He sent accordingly a vast body of troops into that of *Quang-tong*, where one of the imperial family of *China* had been proclaimed emperor; but had only a few dastardly troops, which had already (W) turned their backs more than once to the conquering *Tartars*, and were expected to do so again on their first appearance.

(W) The *Chinese* relations do not tell us the name of this new monarch, though they are more exact and full as to the other transactions that happened in this province, which being situ-

ate over against *Ma-cao*, the *Portuguese* had a much better intelligence of them than of what was done in others more remote.

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The capital, where he then resided, was indeed very strongly fortified, and populous enough to have maintained a siege, had it been better garrisoned; nevertheless some relations affirm, that about twenty of the *Tartarian* horse, having entered it, and riding about the streets in a hostile manner, put the whole place into such consternation, that the army, which was then about half a day's march from it, had nothing to do but to enter it in triumph, and take possession of it, without meeting with the least opposition [a]; but that seems altogether invented to expose the *Chinese* nation for not having better defended their country and liberty; and it is more probable that that metropolis, which, besides its garrison, such as it was, contained above 200,000 inhabitants, most of them rich and opulent [to say nothing of its having been made a repository of immense treasures from other parts, as a place of more strength and safety], made a vigorous defence; and accordingly we are told by others, that it sustained a vigorous siege near a whole twelvemonth before it surrendered to the *Tartar* general, who, on that account, permitted it to be plundered three whole days. On the first night of their entering it, a powerful fleet, which brought a considerable reinforcement, appeared on the canal of *Canton*, and came up to the town; but, finding the place already in the possession of the enemy, were so exasperated at it, that they set fire to the new city, which was the finest and richest part of the whole, and then put to sea again. The city was plundered, and burnt to ashes; and the young emperor, being found concealed among some faithful friends, was put to death in the fortieth day of his reign, and with him all his adherents. The plunder which was found in it, during the three days it was left to the mercy of the army, amounted to an immense value; and the indignities and cruelties which were committed against the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, were no less dreadful. At length the generals put an end to both; and, having restored good order and government in that metropolis, set about the reduction of the rest of the province; and met with so little resistance in it, that they completed it in a very little time.

Quang-tong *entered by the* Tartars.

After a vigorous defence,

a fleet comes to the defence; but comes too late.

Set the new city on fire, and sail away.

THEY marched next into the province of *Quang-si*, where they met with a quite different reception; and where *Thomas Kyu*, then viceroy of it, and *Luke Chin*, generalissimo of the *Chinese* forces, both Christians and brave warriors, engaged them with such intrepidity, that they intirely defeated and put them to flight. After this, the victorious army pro-

Quang-si *makes a noble stand against the* Tartars, *and defeats them.*

[a] Vide DU HALDE, PALAFOX, & al. sup. citat.

claimed

Young-lye proclaimed emperor.

claimed a new emperor of the *Chineſe* family, named *Young-lye*, then king of the metropolis of the province of *Quey-chew*, and removed his court to *Shau-king* (X), alias *Xao-chin*, the only city in the province of *Quang-tong* that ſtood firm againſt the *Tartars*, and refuſed to ſubmit to them.

The Chineſe reſume their vigour.

THE news of their late victory, and of the election of a new emperor, was ſoon ſpread through the other provinces; and ſo effectually revived the courage of the *Chineſe*, that a commander, who had got together a new army in the province of *Fo-kyen*, began to recover ſeveral cities from the *Tartars*; whilſt the brave *Ching-chi-kong* (Y), the ſon of *Ching-chi-long*, at the head of a numerous *Chineſe* fleet, did the ſame on the ſea-coaſts. This new admiral, ſtill more zealous for the imperial *Chineſe* family than his father, performed many noble exploits againſt the *Tartars*, in which he met at firſt with great ſucceſs. He took ſeveral conſiderable places from them, as the city of *Hay-ching*, in the province of *Fo-kyen*, where he cut in pieces the *Tartar* army ſent to relieve it; that of *Wen-chew*, in the province of *Che-kyang*, *Nan-king* in *Kyang-nan*, and many others. The misfortune was, that his good ſucceſs did not follow him long, before he met with ſo total a defeat, that he was quite driven out of *China* by the *Tartars*, and forced to direct his views another way, *viz.* againſt the iſland of *Formoſa*, where he was in hopes to erect a new kingdom, after he had driven the *Dutch* out of it.

Ching-chi-kong and his fleet defeat the Tartars.

Driven by them to Formoſa.

(X) This young monarch had for his chief counſellor an eunuch, named *Pan-Achilles*, who was a very zealous Chriſtian, by whoſe intereſt Father *Andrew Koffler* was permitted to inſtruct his royal mother, his queen, and eldeſt ſon, in the truths of Chriſtianity, who all received baptiſm from him; and it was expected, that this monarch would one day be the *Conſtantine* of the *Chineſe* nation, which name they gave him with that view when he was himſelf baptized; and we are told, that theſe illuſtrious converts did, by his conſent, depute Father *Michael Boym* to *Rome*, to pay a filial obedience to the holy ſee in their names.

(Y) This is the ſame that is called *Coxinga* in the *Dutch Ambaſſy*, and whom they charge with having driven them out of *Formoſa*, or *Tay-wan*, contrary to the articles agreed on between them: but they ſay nothing of the provocation they gave him for it, *viz.* their ſeizing ſome of his ſhips as they were ſailing towards the eaſtern provinces with money to pay his forces there; by which diſappointment they diſbanded themſelves; and he, in a fit of deſpair, and reſentment againſt their treachery, ſailed directly againſt them, and drave them from that iſland, as we ſhall have farther occaſion to ſhew.

HOWEVER,

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HOWEVER, there were, beſides thoſe two, ſome others who appeared in arms at the ſame time for the new *Chineſe* monarch, particularly the viceroy of *Kyang-ſi*, who ſhook off the yoke, and defeated the *Tartars* in ſeveral engagements. Soon after this there appeared two other chiefs in the northern parts, one named *Ho*, and the other *Kyang*, each at the head of a numerous army which they had newly raiſed. The firſt marched directly into the province of *Shen-ſi*, and made himſelf maſter of ſome conſiderable cities in that province; and the other, following him into it with an army of 140,000 horſe, and a much greater number of foot, defeated the *Tartars* in two engagements; and threw them into ſuch a panic, that they dared not appear any more in the field. Yet this did not deter the reſt of them from puſhing on their good fortune; for they made a ſecond attempt on the city of *Shau-king*, where the *Chineſe* monarch reſided; and which made ſo vigorous a defence, that they were obliged to abandon it. They met a ſecond repulſe on the frontiers of the province, whither the *Chineſe* monarch had gone to meet them, and was the firſt that had the courage to do ſo during this war, and gave them a freſh defeat. But the moſt dreadful general that took up arms againſt them was one named *Chang-hyen-chang*, who acted more like a devil incarnate than a *Chineſe* chief, making the moſt dreadful havock in the weſtern provinces; and, after having exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties in thoſe of *Ho-nan*, *Kyang-nan*, and *Kyang-ſi*, turned his whole fury againſt that of *Se-chwen*, where he committed the moſt unheard-of outrages and barbarities (Z); and did not

The Chineſe reſume their vigour.

Ho's ſucceſs in Shen-ſi.

The Tartars often repulſed.

Chang-hyen-chang's dreadful ravages.

(Z) This monſtrous brute, who could be affable to none but his ſoldiers, with whom he would converſe and carouſe with great familiarity, put the king of *Ching-tu-fu*, the metropolis of *Se-chwen*, to death, though he was a prince of the laſt *Chineſe* dynaſty; and, where-ever he conquered, he governed with ſuch a tyrannic ſway, that if any man committed a fault, though ever ſo ſmall, he cauſed him, and all the people that lived in the ſame ſtreet, to be put to death. He cauſed 5000 eunuchs to be murdered, becauſe one of them refuſed to give him the title of emperor. A little after, double the number of literati, whom he pretended to conſult about ſome affairs, were likewiſe butchered, on pretence that they, by their ſophiſtry and ſubtleties, ſtirred up the people to rebel. Being about to depart from *Ching-tu-fu*, he ordered all the inhabitants to be led out of that city in chains, and to be maſſacred in the fields, to the number of 60,000; and did not leave that province till he had burnt its capital, and ſeveral other conſiderable cities. He was no leſs cruel to his own troops, ordering them to kill their

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not leave it till he had burnt the capital, and other cities, and filled them with ruin and slaughter. He next advanced towards that of *Shen-si*, where he was preparing to give the *Tartars* battle. He was already got near their army when he was told, that five warriors were seen upon the hills; upon which he went to view them, without staying to put on either helmet or cuirass; but was scarcely got in sight of them, before he was shot through the heart with an arrow. His army was soon after dispersed; and the people of that province, seeing themselves free from the danger of that bloody monster, readily received the *Tartars*, and submitted themselves to them.

Marches against the Tartars.

Shot to death, and his army dispersed.

The Tartars *have recourse to stratagem, and regain their losses.*

BUT, by this time, so many ill successes obliged the *Tartars* to have recourse to stratagem; and partly by bribes, rewards, and promises, and partly by sowing divisions and jealousies among the *Chinese* commanders [which last proved the most effectual], regained in a few years all the places they had lost, and obliged the *Chinese* forces to submit. As for the city of *Shau-king*, it had suffered so much by that time, that, upon the *Tartars* besieging it afresh, *Young-lye*, not being in a condition to defend it against their powerful army, found himself obliged to abandon it to them, and to retire into the province of *Kyang-si*, and afterwards into that of *Yun-nan*.

Shau-king surrendered.

Prince A-ma-van's death.

THE year after the reduction of *Can-ton*, which was the twenty-eighth of the seventy-third cycle, died the great *A-ma-*

their wives, because they were an incumbrance in time of war; and set them an example, by cutting the throats of three hundred of his own, reserving only twenty, to wait on the three queens (53).

As he pretended to be a great friend to the Christians, he boasted to some of the missionaries, that he had destroyed 20,000 bonzas, on account of one of that order having raised a persecution against them; telling some of those fathers, that *the Lord of heaven had sent him to punish those miscreants, who had intended to take away their lives.* The same author adds (54), that he professed such a veneration for the law of Christ, that he promised, when he came to the empire, to erect a magnificent temple to God. For this he hath been represented by a late ingenious writer † as a person of *Jewish* extract, for claiming a commission from God for all his murders and villainies, and styled the *Chinese Constantine*, as being, in his opinion, so like the *Constantine* of *Rome*; but with what justness, or regard either to the law or gospel, let the reader judge.

(53) *Couplet, Du Halde, &c. al.* (54) *Couplet Monarch. Sinic. Tabb. synol. p.* 96. *Vid. & not. in Engl. Du Halde vol. i. p.* 228. † *See note on Du Halde, vol. i. p.* 228.

van,

van, uncle and guardian to the young *Tartar* monarch *Shun-chi*, to the great regret not only of the whole court, and *Tartar* nation, but of the ſubdued *Chineſe* alſo, among whom he was highly eſteemed for his gentle treatment of, and ſingular humanity towards, them; ſo that he might be juſtly looked upon as the chief perſon who fixed the *Tartar* family now reigning upon the throne. His brother, who had a ſmall ſovereignty in the ſouthern provinces, claimed a right to the guardianſhip of the young emperor; but he being then fourteen years old, and married to a daughter of the prince of the weſtern *Tartars*, that claim was oppoſed by all the grandees, and the young monarch deemed capable of governing alone. They even cauſed the enſigns of their reſpective dignities to be hung at the gates of the palace; proteſting, that they would receive them again from no other hands than thoſe of *Shun-chi*. As ſoon as it was reſolved that he ſhould take upon himſelf the reins of government, the young monarch did it in ſuch a manner, as could not fail of gaining the hearts of all his ſubjects. Inſtead of ſhutting himſelf up in the imperial palace, as was the cuſtom of the *Chineſe* emperors, he began his reign with ſhewing himſelf in public, and giving free acceſs to his perſon. But what charmed the *Chineſe* nation above all things, was, his extreme moderation, and the ſingular and unhoped-for regard which he paid to their antient laws and government; in which, contrary to the uſual cuſtom of other conquerors, he did not make any alteration, except in a few particular caſes; and would not ſo much as permit them to learn the *Tartarian* language without his ſpecial licence. He alſo retained their ſix ſupreme tribunals, but would admit them to ſit no-where but at *Peking*; and ordered that there ſhould be a *Tartar* as well as a *Chineſe* preſident in each of them, and that thoſe of *Nanking* ſhould be ſuppreſſed. *Aſt. Chr.* 1651.

Shun-chi takes the reins of government upon himſelf.

Gains the hearts of the Chineſe.

He continued to beſtow the government of provinces and cities on the literati; but aboliſhed that abominable practice of their examiners, of licenſing perſons for money who were not duly qualified for it. He even condemned thirty-ſix of the former to be beheaded for that male practice, and cauſed the latter to undergo a freſh examination; pardoning thoſe who were found qualified for their degrees, and baniſhing the reſt, with their families, into *Tartary*, which is ſince become the common place of exile for great offenders; as the propereſt means of peopling thoſe vaſt deſarts is, that the children who are born there may more effectually contract a natural conformity to the manners and diſpoſition of the *Tartars*. With regard to the *Chineſe* troops, which, upon their

Rectifies ſome great abuſes.

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Favours the Chinese.

submission, were incorporated with his own, though he left a great many of their own officers to command them, especially if they were either well skilled in the martial discipline, or were descended from considerable families, in which last case they were rather a kind of hostages to him; but still he commonly set some of his own *Tartars* over them. And as to civil employments, he was still less scrupulous; and let such of the *Chinese*, as were found qualified for them, enjoy them, as they had under their native princes; or even raised them to some of the highest, if their desert intitled them to it; though he frequently found occasion to lessen their exorbitant power, and in some cases to reduce it to a mere honorary title. But still all this was done with so much candour and judgment, as plainly shewed those necessary alterations to be more for the common good of the empire than the support of his government.

Loves and encourages learning.

SHUN-CHI was no less esteemed for his love of learning, and the great progress he had made in several of the sciences, even much beyond his years, as well as for the kind reception which learned men met with from him and his court. Among those who were most in his favour, was Father *Adam Schaal*, of whom we have had occasion to speak, on another account, and whom he always honoured with the title of *Ma-fa*, or *My father*. We need not repeat here the vast improvements which the *Chinese* observatory, and astronomical and other schools, received from that learned Jesuit, and others of his society, under that monarch, who made him president of the tribunal of the mathematics, that he might reform their astronomy and calendar, and deprived the *Mohammedans* of that dignity, after they had been in possession of it above 300 years. The interest which the extraordinary learning of those missionaries gained them at the imperial court, did not a little contribute to the advancement of Christianity there, especially, as Father *Schaal* had this special privilege granted to him, of presenting his petitions into his own hands, without passing through the usual examination of the tribunals; insomuch that two handsome churches were built at *Pe-king*, by the authority and protection of the emperor.

Heaps favours on the Jesuits, particularly on Father Schaal.

Two Christian churches built in his capital.

Ambassy from the czar unsuccessful.

FIVE years after *Shun-chi* had taken the reins of the empire into his hands, arrived the first ambassy from the czar, or grand duke of *Muscovy*, to him; which, however, did not meet with a favourable reception, the ambassador refusing to comply with the *Chinese* ceremonies. Next to that, arrived one from *Holland*; which did not prove more successful, though this was rather owing to the influence which the Jesuits

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suits then had then over the emperor, than to the *Dutch* refusing to submit to the formalities of the *Chinese* court.

THREE years after, *Ching-ching-kong*, alias *Coxinga*, who had been left commander of the numerous fleet belonging to his father, after having contented himself, for some time, with making incursions, and plundering the coasts of *China*, came, at length, and besieged the city of *Nan-king*, with about 3000 ships. A council of war being called, by the viceroy of the province, who was a young *Chinese* mandarin, a *Tartar* chief declared, that it could not be defended, unless its numerous inhabitants were destroyed. Upon which the young governor bravely replied, "If that be the case, you must be-"gin the butchery with me;" which stopped the *Tartar's* mouth, and saved the lives of some myriads of citizens. The siege had gone on about three weeks, when *Coxinga's* birth-day caused an universal rejoicing through the besiegers camp, which lasted three whole days; during which, there was nothing seen but feasting, carousing, and all manner of diversions. When the besieged came to be apprised of it, they unanimously agreed to sally out upon them, with all possible silence, about midnight, and found them all drowned in sleep, and so overcome with wine, that they easily surprised them, and destroyed about 3000 of them, and forced the rest to flee, with all haste, to their ships, leaving their camp, provisions, and baggage, behind. To repair this loss and disgrace, he ordered his fleet to sail immediately after that of the *Tartars*, and engaged it with such desperate fury, that he sunk and took a great number of their ships; and having put the rest to flight, cut off the noses and ears of his prisoners, and set them on shore, to the number of 4000. All these unfortunate wretches were, soon after, put to death, under pretence that they ought to have died sword in hand, but in reality to conceal the shame of that defeat.

Coxinga besieges Nan-king.

His camp surprised, and his army cut off, by the besieged.

Success against the Tartars.

COXINGA, after this victory, thought it dangerous to return to *China*, where the *Tartar* daily gained ground, and began to think of executing what he had threatened against the *Dutch*; and, in the year 1661, and seventeenth of *Shun-chi's* reign, set sail directly towards the island of *Formosa*, with a fleet of 900 sail, and took the islands of *Pen-gu* and *Tay-wan* in his way, the *Dutch* not having had time to fortify themselves in either of them; so that they surrendered to him, on his first appearance (B). He left 100 of his ships there, to guard

Sails to Formosa,

(B) The *Dutch*, who, as was hinted a little higher, had made an alliance with *Ching-ching-long* his father, and paid him a tribute

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and besieges, guard them, and with the rest went and besieged *Formosa*, where the *Dutch* made such a stout defence against him with their cannon, that he began to despair of mastering them, as he had brought no artillery against them. On the other hand, he was afraid, if the siege lasted too long, lest they should send to *Batavia* for a reinforcement, and force him to raise it, and if he was drove thence, he knew not where to fix next; *and takes it.* all which obliged him to pursue it, at all events. At length fortune so far favoured him, that, after four months, they were forced to surrender to him, for want of provision. They were, however, suffered to carry off their effects with them, whilst he dispersed his troops all over that part of the *Settles his new kingdom in it.* island which is now possessed by the *Chinese*, and established his new kingdom there. From this time that island put on a new face, every thing there being settled after the *Chinese* form. He lived not long to enjoy this his new kingdom, but *After Chr.* 1662. *Dies, and is succeeded by his son* died in about a year after, and left it to his son *Ching-king-may*, who, having been bred up to study, took little care to

Ching-king.

a tribute of 30,000 crowns for their liberty, accuse his son of treachery, and of coming upon them unawares; so that, trusting on the treaty between them, they had taken no care to strengthen themselves. And yet, it is plain, by their own confession and behaviour, that they were conscious of having done something to incur his anger, seeing they conceived such an apprehension at some of his naval preparations, that they sent him a fresh ambassy, to know whether he intended peace or war with them. The ambiguous answer he gave to them, *That when he looked towards one point of the compass, he designed to steer towards another*, without explaining himself further as to their question, did no less alarm them; so that he was far enough from finding them so unprovided, as they pretend.

As to the cause of his treating them in that hostile and severe manner, though they tell us nothing of it; but represent his case as desperate, and him as having no place to take sanctuary in, and secure himself against the resentment of the *Tartars*, but his making himself master of those islands; yet, if we may believe other relations, they will tell us, that they had given him the greatest cause of wrecking all his rage against them, seeing they had intercepted some part of his fleet, in which he had sent money and provisions, to pay some of his forces in the north-eastern provinces, who were in the utmost want of both, and did actually abandon him, upon their hearing of those ships being seized; by which disappointment, his condition was become indeed as desperate, as they say, and he had no other resource left, but at once to go and avenge himself of their treachery, and to fortify himself, and his few remaining forces, in that island.

improve

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improve what his father had, with so much pains, acquired. This indolence did not a little cool the zeal and courage of his people for some time, till a new occasion revived their martial spirit, as we shall see in the sequel.

By this time the *Tartars* had been so successful in the continent, that they had reduced most of their opposers. Neither had *Shun-chi* any competitor to the imperial crown, but the unfortunate *Young-lye*; and he had been driven out of *China*, and taken sanctuary at the court of *Pe-gu*, where he still was honoured with the title of emperor. The kingdom of *Pe-gu* being contiguous to the province of *Yun-nan*, and *Shun-chi*, having reason to fear some fresh disturbances from thence, sent some troops thitherward, with a threatening letter to the king of *Pe-gu*, that, if he did not deliver up the fugitive prince, he would put his kingdom to fire and sword. Upon which that monarch, not being in a condition to cope with him, immediately surrendered him, with his whole family, to the *Tartars*, who conducted him to *Pe-king*, where he was quickly after strangled. As to the two queens, his mother, and consort, who were brought back with him, they had each a separate apartment allotted them, in the royal palace, where they were honourably treated, and lived and died in the Christian faith, which they had been converted to by Father *Schaal*.

Young-lye delivered up to Shun-chi. Strangled. After Chr.

The same year proved fatal to the emperor, who fell passionately in love with a young married lady; and having used her husband, a young *Tartar* lord, with some indignity, which broke his heart, soon after raised his widow to the imperial dignity. He had afterwards a son by her, whose birth was celebrated with the greatest magnificence; but the child dying in three months, and the mother soon after, that monarch, upon the news of it, was seized with such grief, that he snatched a sword, and would have killed himself, had not his mother and eunuchs prevented it. He ordered afterwards that thirty men should voluntarily sacrifice their lives to her manes, after the *Tartarian* custom, a ceremony justly abhorred by the *Chinese*, and since abolished by his successor. He caused her body to be burned on a magnificent pile, and, with a flood of tears, gathered up her ashes into a silver urn. After which, he gave himself up to grief, and to the superstitions of the bonzaic sect, which he used formerly to treat with contempt, and, in a few days, was reduced to such extremity, that his life was despaired of. Father *Schaal*, for whom he had always had so great an esteem, waited upon him, and strove all he could to divert, or reason, him out of his deep melancholy, but in vain; he heard all he had to

Shun-chi marries a young widow. His excessive grief at her death. His sickness, and last words.

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say with patience, forbade him to kneel to him, and made him drink tea with him, and, with his usual kindness, dismissed him; and, as soon as he was gone, ordered four lords of his court to draw near to him, and, in their presence, accused himself of a great variety of faults he had been guilty of, during his government; such as, his ingratitude to his most faithful ministers, his disregard to the counsels of his mother, his avarice and idle expences in vain curiosities, his affection to the eunuchs, and inordinate passion for the late queen, and the afflictions which he had occasioned to his people. After this, he appointed them guardians to his youngest son *Kang-hi*, whom he declared his successor, though then but eight years old; then calling for his imperial mantle, he put it on, and shrunk himself in his bed, saying, *Now I leave you*; and expired in an instant, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. On the next morning, the bonzas were all driven out of the palace, and the corpse of the deceased emperor was inclosed in a magnificent coffin; and the day after, *Kang-hi* mounted the throne, and received the homage of all the grandees of the empire.

Death.

Kang-hi declared emperor.

II. *KANG-HI* was not only endowed with all the princely qualities that could render him worthy of, and an ornament to, the imperial diadem, but was likewise very happy in his four noble guardians, who made it their chief study to preserve the empire in a peaceable and flourishing condition. They began with driving all the eunuchs out of the palace, except 1000, whom they kept only to be employed in the lowest offices of it. They next published an edict, commanding all the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, on pain of death, to leave their dwellings, and to retire, and settle themselves, three leagues distance from the sea; and by which all the maritime cities, towns, and fortresses, were to be demolished, and all commerce by sea absolutely forbid. By this means, the power of the great sea commander *Ching-ching-kong* was indeed greatly impaired; but it no less affected the fishing trade of the subjects; so that an infinite number of families, who wholly subsisted by it, were reduced to want.

II. Kang-hi *mounts the throne.* *After Chr.* 1662.

Towns on the sea-coasts destroyed.

AFTER this, came forth a severe edict against the Christian converts, all whose churches were demolished; and the city of *Ma-kau* in danger of sharing the same fate, had not Father *Schaal*, whose interest at court was still very great, prevented it, by employing all his friends there to procure to that city an exemption from the general edict against Christianity. For this, he, and three more of the same society, were,

Severe edict against the Christians.

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were, some time after, imprisoned, and loaded with irons and infamy, upon the petition of one of the literati to the regency, in which both the missionaries and their religion were represented in the most odious colours, and both, in a short time, totally suppressed, as we have already shewn, in a former section [c].

So-ni *the chief regent dies.* *Aft. Chr.* 1667.

In the fifth year of *Kang-hi*'s reign, died the great *So-ni*, chief of the four regents; when the young emperor, taking the government into his own hands, began to give eminent tokens of that great reputation which he afterwards acquired during the sequel of his reign, the most glorious and flourishing that ever was. Soon after the death of that regent, came on the disgrace of *Su-ka-ma*, the next in credit to him, against whom were exhibited twenty articles of accusation. Upon which his effects were confiscated, and a most cruel sentence pronounced against him; which was, however, so far mitigated by the emperor, that he was only strangled, seven of his children beheaded, and his third son cut into pieces. Which severe punishment was looked upon, by the Christians there, as justly deserved by him, for the ill offices he had privately done to them, and their religion. About two years after, arrived the *Portuguese* ambassadors at the *Chinese* court, and met with an honourable reception; which did not a little contribute to the establishment of that nation at the city of *Ma-kau*. On the next year, Father *Verbiest*, who had been ordered to examine all the faults in the *Chinese* calendar, made by the successor of Father *Schaal*, in the chair of president of the mathematics, was promoted to that place; and the other, named *Yang-quang-syen*, who had set all the bonzas and *Mohammedans* against the Christian religion, was not only turned out of it with disgrace, but even condemned to die, on account of the many blunders that were found in his calendar. *Verbiest*, who did at the same time instruct the young emperor in the mathematics for about five months, made use of all his interest with that monarch to restore the Christians to his favour, by representing to him the injustice of those calumnies that had been raised against them; but all he could obtain was the recalling of the missionaries, and a declaration from the assembly of mandarins, that the Christian religion taught nothing that was evil, or tending to sedition: however, they were expressly forbid to build any churches, and the *Chinese* to embrace Christianity.

Su-ka-ma *the second regent, disgraced, and put to death.*

Portuguese *ambassadors well received.* *After Chr.* 1670.

Father Verbiest *pleads for the Christians.*

U-san-ghey *revolts.*

In the twelfth year of *Kang-hi*'s reign, *U-san-ghey*, who had invited the *Tartars* into *China*, to suppress the revolters

[c] Vide supra, p. 129, & seq. & 131, & seq.

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Aft. Chr. 1674. there, and had been ſince made a tributary ſovereign of a ſmall principality, as has been elſewhere hinted, being by this time become ſtrong enough, not only to make himſelf independent, but to deliver his country from their yoke, had already taken ſuch meaſures, as gave the court no ſmall ſuſpicion of his intentions. He was thereupon invited by the emperor to come thither; but ſent back his deputies with this anſwer, *That he deſigned not to come thither, unleſs in company of* 80,000 *men*; and, as ſoon as they were gone, made a public declaration of his deſign. He had made himſelf maſter of the provinces of *Yun-nan*, *Se-chwen*, *Quey-chew*, and part of *Hu-quang*; and, which is a mark of the imperial prerogative, had ſent the *Chineſe* calendar to the neighbouring princes, and, among the reſt, to the king of *Tong-king*, who all refuſed it, and ſent it back to the emperor; upon which *U-ſan-ghey*'s ſon, then at court, was condemned to be beheaded. Soon after this, the kings of *Fo-kyen* and *Quang-tong* did likewiſe declare war againſt the *Tartars*, and were joined by *Ching-ching-may*, the ſon of *Coxinga*, and now king of *Formoſa*; ſo that *Kang-hi* would have had a powerful alliance againſt him, if all thoſe princes had acted in concert, and in behalf of the common liberty. But they were ſoon divided by ſuch unhappy jealouſies, as quickly turned the ſcales in favour of the *Tartars* (C), and left *U-ſan-ghey* to fight alone for the *Chineſe* cauſe; who being by this time much advanced in years, and full of grief at his misfortunes and diſappointments, died ſoon after, not before he had ſeen himſelf ſtripped again of great part of the provinces which he had gained before. For, immediately upon the fatal rupture of his allies, *Kang-hi* ſent ſeveral

Anſwer to the emperor.

His ſtrong alliance;

broken.

U-ſan-ghey *dies.* *Aft. Chr.* 1680.

(C) *Ching-ching-may* was the firſt who broke this alliance, and fell out with the king of *Fo-kyen*, under pretence that he had not paid him the honour due to his rank; upon which he declared war againſt him, defeated him in ſeveral battles, and obliged him to ſubmit to the *Tartars*. On ſome ſuch pretence the king of *Quang-tong* broke his treaty with *U-ſan-ghey*, and put himſelf and province under the protection of the emperor; and it is likely that theſe diſcords and jealouſies were artfully ſown among them by ſome of that monarch's agents; and that the young king of *Formoſa*, who had ſhewn himſelf ſo careleſs and indifferent about his new kingdom, was privately influenced from the ſame quarter to fall foul on the king of *Fokyen*, in hopes of ingratiating himſelf to the emperor, and obtaining the government of ſome rich province in the continent by the defeat of his antagoniſt; but loſt his aim, by the latter's being beforehand with him in making his ſubmiſſion to that monarch.

armies,

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armies, commanded by *Tartarian* chiefs, to reduce those of *Che-kyang*, *Hu-quang*, *Fo-kyen*, *Quang-tong*, *Quang-si*, and, in a word, all that refused to submit to him. Notwithstanding all which losses, *U-san-ghey*'s youngest son *Hong-wha* was declared emperor.

THE latter end of this year 1624 proved fatal to the emperor, and to some of the northern provinces of *China*, on several other accounts. A dreadful earthquake, which happened on the second day of *September*, at *Pe-king*, overturned a great number of palaces, temples, and other public buildings, together with the walls and towers of the city, and many thousands of people were destroyed by it. The shocks, which continued from time to time for near three months, were so terrible, that the emperor, princes, and nobility, were obliged to quit their palaces, and to live in tents, whilst the rest of the people, both in the city and parts adjacent, were in the utmost consternation. On this occasion the emperor shewed himself a very tender father, in the timely relief he sent to all his suffering subjects. Towards the end of the same month the imperial palace was set on fire; and burnt with such fury, that it was all reduced to ashes in a few hours; the loss is computed to have amounted to two millions eight hundred and fifty thousand taels. Four days after this dreadful fire, the emperor set out with his usual retinue to take the diversion of hunting, at his pleasure-house; and observing, at a distance, the stately monument which his father had erected to the unfortunate *Whay-tsong*, the last of the *Chinese* emperors, he went to it; and, prostrating himself to the ground, caused rich perfumes to be burnt before it; and then, addressing himself to the dead monarch with tears, *You know*, said he, *O great emperor, that it was not we, but your rebellious subjects, who were the cause of your death.*

A dreadful earthquake.

The imperial palace burnt to the ground.

Kang-hi's *honour to the deceased* Chinese *emperor.*

IN the mean time the king of *Quang-tong*, though he had submitted to the emperor a little before, gave no small umbrage to him, not only on account of his enterprising spirit, but on his having made himself exceeding powerful and rich by carrying on a trade with the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, notwithstanding the imperial edict against it; upon which an order was sent to him from court to march with his forces to suppress the rebels in the province of *Quang-si*; which he did accordingly, and divided his army into several columns, as occasion required. He was soon after artfully prevailed upon to return to his own palace, on some pretence; and had not been there many days, before two grandees arrived from court, and presented him with a silken halter, and the emperor's

The king of Quang-tong *strangled.* *Aft. Chr.* 1681.

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peror's orders to ſtrangle himſelf; which he was forced to ſubmit to. Above one hundred of his accomplices, and, among them, three of his brothers, were beheaded; after which, his immenſe riches were divided between his other brothers, one of whom was the emperor's ſon-in-law. On the next year the king of *Fo-kyen*, another of *U-ſan-ghey*'s treacherous allies, was likewiſe put to death, and his body thrown to the dogs, on pretence that, during his revolt, he had mal-treated ſome of the mandarins who continued faithful to the emperor; and at the ſame time his brothers, tho' innocent, were beheaded. The *Tartars* were no leſs ſucceſsful againſt *Hong-wha*, who had been declared emperor in the province of *Yun-nan*; where, having made themſelves maſters of the capital, *Hong-wha*, to prevent a worſe puniſhment, killed himſelf: but they, not content with that, dug up the bones of his father the brave *U-ſan-ghey*, and carried them to *Pe-king*, where they were expoſed on ſtakes, with marks of infamy, in ſeveral public places, and then burnt, and the aſhes ſcattered in the air.

Hong-wha kills himſelf. After Chr. 1681.

Kang-hi viſits his Tartar dominions. After Chr. 1682.

By this time the whole fifteen provinces were ſo ſucceſsfully ſubdued, that the emperor determined to viſit his own native dominions of eaſtern *Tartary*, and the tombs of his anceſtors; and ſet out accordingly in the beginning of *March*, accompanied by the prince his heir, his three queens, and a numerous court and retinue, ſuch as we have elſewhere deſcribed [d]; and ordered Father *Verbieſt* to attend him, and to be always near his perſon; by which means he hath been enabled to give us a better account of thoſe parts than we could poſſibly have before. On the next year he made a new progreſs into weſtern *Tartary*, with a greater retinue and more numerous army (D); and continued to do ſo every year, and ſpent ſeveral

[d] See before, p. 158.

(D) The army which accompanied him in his firſt progreſs conſiſted of 70,000 men, beſides his numerous court, and the more prodigious number of their attendants. What addition he made to it in his ſubſequent journies, we are not told; but they were ſo troubleſome, and ſo expenſive, that ſome of his miniſters preſented very pathetic memorials againſt the frequency of them. However, tho' the diverſion of hunting was the pretence for this, yet he had much higher views in it; *viz.* 1. To keep his troops in exerciſe, and prevent their growing effeminate by the example of the *Chineſe*. 2. It ſerved to diſplay the grandeur and magnificence of his court,

several months there, in taking the diversion of hunting; a thing which neither the *Chinese*, nor even the *Tartar* lords of his court, much complained against. But that politic monarch had his ends in it, as we hinted in the last note; and it must be owned, that he was a prince of such excellent abilities, such constant application to the affairs of state, such penetration and justness in the choice of his ministers, such watchfulness over them, and such tenderness for his people, to say nothing of his singular frugality with respect to his own person, and profuse munificence with regard to the public, that it is not to be wondered at if he had the happiness of keeping that vast empire in so perfect a subordination and harmony, tranquillity, wealth, and grandeur, during a long reign of sixty years, which, under a less able governor, would be ever liable to discord and confusion.

Formosa surrendered to the Chinese. *After Chr.* 1682.

In the same year 1682 *Ching-ke-sun*, the son of *Ching-ching-may*, and grandson of the famed *Ching-ching-kong*, or *Coxinga*, then king of *Formosa*, was obliged to surrender that island to the *Chinese*, and to repair to *Pe-king*, where the emperor conferred upon him the title of count, and had some small government granted to him to maintain that dignity; after which we hear no more of him, or of any of his descendents. Two years after, that is, *Anno* 1684, the Fathers *Gerbillon* and *Pereyra*, two eminent missionaries, were ordered to accompany the *Chinese* plenipotentiaries into *Tartary*, and to assist them in the settling of the limits between the two empires of *China* and *Russia*; an account of which, as well as of their travels thro' western *Tartary*, and description of those parts, the reader may see at the end of the second volume of *Du Halde*'s empire of *China*. Those two fathers, and some others of the same society, were likewise much taken up in instructing the emperor in the mathematics, and reading and composing

Limits between Russia *and* China *settled. After Chr.* 1684.

court, both to his subjects and vassal princes, who were obliged either to accompany, or meet him in his progress, to pay their homage to him. 3. These troops made his power and authority more formidable, and kept those vassal principalities in greater awe, especially as they were sure to be visited once a year by him. Lastly, It gave him an opportunity of liberally rewarding those who best deserved it, by his large presents to them, by remitting some part of their tribute to him, by assisting them in time of need with some of his forces against any competitor; and frequently by bestowing some of his daughters, with a liberal dowry, on such as he esteemed worthy of that honour; by all which means he made himself as much beloved by the loyal, as feared by the disloyal or discontented, whether vassals or subjects.

lectures

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lectures in the *Tartarian* tongue, on algebra, geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy, physic, and anatomy: for tho' that prince was before a complete master of all the *Chinese* learning, and had bestowed his leisure hours in them, yet could he not be satisfied without being equally versed in the *European* sciences; and it was by the interest of those his tutors that a decree was obtained in favour of the Christians, who were before but barely tolerated, but were now allowed the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole empire. This decree bears date 1692, and in the thirty-first of his reign, and was confirmed and published in the month of *March* following.

A decree in favour of the Christians. After Chr. 1692.

Kang hi's son and heir degraded. After Chr. 1709.

HITHERTO his reign had been peaceable and happy, when, on a sudden, the forty-eighth year of it was disturbed with an unexpected event; and his second son, whom he had appointed his heir, and was almost his equal in dignity, was at once loaden with irons, and his children and chief officers involved in the same disgrace; which was chiefly owing to the intrigues of his elder brother. He was however found innocent, upon strict examination, and the accusing brother condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and public rejoicings were made through the empire, on his being restored to favour. This joy, however, proved short-lived; and he was soon after deprived of all the titles and privileges of his rank, for a real conspiracy against his father.

A new edict against the Christians. After Chr. 1716.

SOME years after the emperor revived two old edicts against the Christians; the one, forbidding them to build any churches, or make proselytes; the other, obliging every missionary to receive an imperial patent, wherein shall be mentioned his country, order, the time he hath been in *China*, and his engagement not to return into *Europe* (F). Upon this, three of the fathers went to throw themselves at his feet; but could obtain no other answer, than that none were prohibited to preach the gospel, but those who had not received the patent.

(F) This new edict was occasioned by a memorial presented to that monarch by a military mandarin, full of the bitterest invectives against the Christians. The Jesuits used all their interest to have prevented it passing thro' the usual examination of the tribunals, but in vain; and, though Father *Du Halde* represents it as fraught with the most unjust calumnies against them, and the mandarin as an enemy, who sought to raise himself by their fall; yet those tribunals confirming the accusations, and the emperor, who was their *friend* and patron, ratifying the sentence, shews that it must have contained something more than bare calumnies and invectives.

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THE next year, *viz.* 1717, happened the general mourning for the emperor's mother, which we have elsewhere given an account of [c]. Soon after which, the emperor was seized with a distemper which his court feared would send him after her, and threw it into no small consternation; especially as he designed to exclude his own family from the succession, and to bequeath the crown to a prince of the dynasty of *Ywen*, of whom there still remained above a thousand. Upon this occasion one of the chief mandarins ordered his son to present a memorial to him, setting forth the great importance it was to the peace of the empire to have his second son appointed his successor; at which the emperor was highly incensed. However, he pardoned the son, because what he had done was in obedience to his father, but ordered the father to be put to death; which deterred the rest of his ministers from speaking any thing more to him about a successor.

Great anxiety at court about the succession.

Severity against a mandarin.

IN the year 1720 he received the congratulations of the whole empire, on the news of a signal victory which his forces had gained over the king of the *Eluths*, who possessed the country of the lamas, and had committed dreadful ravages there four years successively; by which means the kingdom of *Tibet* fell into the hands of the conqueror; a thing which *Kang-hi* had much at heart, as he had the glory of finishing that troublesome war. In the month of *June* of the same year another earthquake was felt at *Pe-king*, which lasted about two minutes, and killed about 1000 persons by the fall of houses.

Signal victory over the Eluths.

Conquest of Tibet.

ON the 22d *November* following the ambassador from the czar of *Muscovy* made his public entry into *Pe-king*, with a numerous and splendid retinue, all dressed after the *European* manner; and the gentlemen on horseback, on each side of him, rode with their swords drawn, which was a sight both new and extraordinary there. His reception at court was no less polite and grand; though the emperor, for wise and obvious reasons, refused to comply with the main design of it, which was, to establish a free commerce between the two empires of *Russia* and *China*, and to have obtained leave to fix a factory in the chief provinces of the latter; and was pleased to confine their number to two, the one at *Pe-king*, and the other at *Schu-kou-pai-sing*, upon the frontier of the *Kalkas* *. There was, however, a circumstance, in the ceremonial of his admission, which that envoy could not readily consent to; and his refusal had like to have broken off all farther negotiation, when that politic monarch found out an expedient which

The Russian ambassador's public entry.

[c] See before, p. 261. * De his, vid. vol. v. p. 87, & seq.

would

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would oblige him to comply. We have elsewhere observed, that every one, of what rank or character soever he be, that approaches the imperial throne, is obliged to prostrate himself on the ground, and knock his forehead nine times against it †.

This formal piece of respect, which is paid all over this vast empire, not only to the emperor, but to princes of the blood, viceroys, mandarins, and other ministers, his excellency could not reasonably suppose would be dispensed with in an audience to so great an emperor. On the other hand, as he had cause to apprehend lest his complying with it should be judged too derogatory to his character and dignity, especially at his own court, and endanger the loss of his head; so he had no less cause to fear lest his refusal should be interpreted, at that of *Pe-king*, as a want of respect to his imperial majesty, and occasion a mutual dissatisfaction between those two great monarchs. We should here observe to our readers, that this very year was the sixtieth of the emperor *Kang-hi*'s reign, and was a kind of grand jubilee through his dominions, and was to be observed with the utmost joy and magnificence, and no-where more than in his capital; so that it is not improbable he might on that account suppress his resentment of the ambassador's refusal, that it might not be an impediment to his being an eye-witness of, as well as by his splendid appearance from adding to, the splendor and brilliancy of his court. However that be, the following was the expedient his prudence devised to settle the ceremonial above-mentioned, in such a manner as should not admit of any exception from either side: "Let the ambassador know, that it is my design that "the same honour be paid to the letter which he is to deliver "up to me from his master, which our laws require to be "paid to my own person; for which end I desire that he "would place the said letter on a table, that I may send one "of my chief mandarins in my name to strike his forehead "on the ground before it." His excellency readily complied; and made no difficulty to pay the same honours to the emperor as he had done to the czar his master's letter *.

Formosa revolts, and is reduced.

On the following year the court received the disagreeable news that the *Chinese* in the island of *Formosa* had in a few months shaken off the yoke; and, being assisted by those of *Fo-kyen* and *Kyeu-mi*, had killed all the mandarins, except one who fled, and had put all the imperial forces to the sword. This revolt was at first reported to have been fomented by the *Dutch*; but whether justly, or no, is not certain.

† See before, p. 142, & seq. & alib. pass.

* Lettres edifiant. & cur. vol. xvi. p. 378, & seq.

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However, those rebels were soon after severely punished for it by a new supply of forces which the emperor sent thither, who cut most of them off, drove their chief into the mountainous parts, and dispersed the rest.

The emperor taken ill.

In the year 1722 the emperor, being taking the diversion of hunting in his park of *Hay-tse*, was on a sudden seized with a strange chilness, which obliged him to return with all speed to his pleasure-house; where his attendants soon found, to their great surprise, that his blood was so congealed, that no remedy could save his life. Perceiving himself near his end, *Kang-hi* assembled all his grandees, and declared his fourth son his successor; and expired soon after, on the 20th of *December*, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and sixtieth of his reign. His body was that very night conveyed to *Peking*; and his fourth son *Yong-ching* mounted the throne on the next morning, about five of the clock.

Died.

Yong-ching proclaimed.

III. *YONG-CHING*, the emperor then reigning when the last relations came from thence, was forty-five years of age on his accession to the crown, on which he was congratulated by all the grandees; and took the name of *Yong-ching*, which signifies *lasting peace*, or *indissoluble concord*. He had a great number of brothers; but placed no great confidence in any, except his thirteenth, to whom he communicated all the affairs of state; but banished his ninth into *Tartary*, where he soon after died; recalled his fourteenth, who had the command of the *Chinese* army; and most of the rest, especially his eighth and tenth, fell under his displeasure on some pretence or other. He next banished and imprisoned several princes and grandees, on account of their protecting the missionaries: which shews he was no friend to their religion (G); and discarded all the

After Chr. 1722.

Some of his brothers disgraced.

Other princes banished.

(G) It plainly appears that he had conceived a singular prejudice against these missionaries from the very beginning of his reign, by means of some memorials presented to him by the literati, setting forth, that the late emperor had lost a great deal of his reputation by permitting them to settle in the provinces, where they built churches, and made proselytes, where-ever they came; and their converts acknowleged no other doctors but them, nor, in troublesome times, would they follow any directions but theirs.

This memorial was backed by another from the governor of *Fo-kyen*, much to the same tenor, which was confirmed afterwards by the tribunal of rites, and by the emperor himself, and produced those dreadful edicts against Christianity, and its preachers, which we have formerly had occasion to mention, and in a great measure extirpated it out of the empire (55).

(55) *See before, p.* 182, *& alib. pass.*

fathers

fathers out of his service, except one, who was an excellent painter; which shews that he had not the same love for the sciences that his father was so famed for. In other respects he shewed himself a wise prince, indefatigable and assiduous, steady and resolute, witty and eloquent, and always ready to receive and answer the memorials presented to him. He governed wholly by himself, and no monarch could be more absolute or more feared than he was. This gave him an opportunity of enforcing a great many wholsome laws and regulations for the good of his subjects, in the framing of which he spent whole days and nights with a surprising indefatigableness. The most effectual way to gain his favour, was, to present him with some scheme tending to the public good, or to the relief of his subjects in any calamitous times, and he would spare neither pains nor cost to put it in execution.

His assiduity and wise regulations.

Severity to converts of the imperial blood.

THIS was the excellent character of *Young-ching*; which made therefore his severity against the Christians the more remarkable, as it extended itself in a manner unworthy of so wise a prince, even to some of the most illustrious of the imperial family; particularly on that of the elder brother of the founder of this dynasty, who, together with his whole family, consisting of eleven princes [besides sixteen princesses who were married to *Mogol* princes or mandarins of *Pe-king*, and had each of them a numerous family], were all degraded, and sent into a miserable exile in a desert place in *Tartary*, to which they were conducted by soldiers, and there closely confined under a guard of them. The manner of their being treated before their exile had likewise something of cruelty in it; for that venerable old prince, without regard to his quality, age, merit, or the services done to the empire, was beheld setting out for the place of his banishment with thirty-seven of his children and grandchildren, without reckoning his daughters and grand-daughters, who were near as many, and about three hundred domestics of both sexes, most of them baptized. All these disgraces not being able to shake their constancy, the princes were brought back to *Pe-king* in waggons, each loaden with nine chains. There they were made to undergo several fresh interrogatories, mixed with promises of being restored to their former dignities, if they would renounce their faith, and with threats of being used with still greater severities, if they persisted in it. All these methods proving ineffectual, the tribunal condemned them to die; but the emperor changed the punishment into perpetual confinement, which only proved a more severe kind of death, seeing most of them died soon after in their close dungeons merely thro' hardship and want; and the rest were dispersed into other provinces,

Banishes them into Tartary.

Constancy of the Chinese *converts.*

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provinces, to end their days in prisons, fetters, and misery. The ambassadors of *Portugal* and *Russia*, who were then at the court of *Pe-king*, could not enough admire the constancy and intrepidity of those illustrious confessors of Jesus Christ.

Death of the emperor's favourite brother.

In the year 1730, and eighth of his reign, he lost his thirteenth brother, who used to share with him the burden of his government; and died of a languishing disease, occasioned by his excessive application; and the emperor was so inconsolable for it, that it nearly endangered his own life. However, he caused the most magnificent funeral obsequies to be performed to him, which, because they somewhat differ from those we have elsewhere described, the reader may see a short account of in the margin (H); and, amongst other honours,

Funeral honours.

(H) A declaration was at first issued out, intimating that it was the emperor's desire that all the world should share in his grief, and in the honours to be paid to the deceased, without distinction of rank or quality; with this caution nevertheless, that such as did not think him worthy of those honours should be at liberty to decline it, tho' he appointed officers at the same time to give him an account every day of all who performed that duty to him.

His body being exposed in the great *Ting*, where none but princes of the blood are admitted, there was a hall made of mats erected in the middle of the great court, before the gates of the palace, with a throne in it, and before that a table, on which were placed only two candlesticks, and a vessel burning with perfumes; for the dead prince was not only a petty king of the first rank, but had been honoured likewise with the title of *Quevang*, or king. The entrance into this hall was by a folding-door, which was opened as often as the officers of the tribunals came in their turns to pay their honours to him, only a set number being admitted in at a time. These at first stood up behind the tables that were set up on each side of the hall; then, kneeling down, made six several prostrations, accompanied with deep groans, and other silent tokens of grief, and then as silently withdrew, to make room for others that came to perform the same ceremony. From this place the body was afterwards conveyed in pomp to a palace built on purpose, about two little miles out of the city, where the same ceremony was repeated; and here it was that the mandarins of the city, the whole body of merchants, and the meaner sort of people, were introduced to pay him the last honours for a hundred days; at the end of which he was carried to another place, still more distant, and erected for the same purpose, and where the same rites were performed during the same space of time.

There were five such stations, at each of which the ceremony lasted an hundred days; after which he was conveyed to the

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honours he paid to his memory, caused his name to be placed in the hall of the emperors, a distinction never conferred on private persons, except they have done some extraordinary and important services to the state. His funeral obsequies were hardly completed before the third brother was arrested, and closely confined. The occasion of his disgrace is not known; but it extended itself to his family, who were degraded from their rank and dignities.

Third brother imprisoned.

Pe-king damaged by an earthquake.

ON the 13th of *November* 1731 the city of *Pe-king* was almost overturned by a dreadful earthquake, such as *China* never felt before. The first shocks, which happened about eleven of the clock in the morning, were so sudden and violent, that they were not perceived but by the horrid noise of the falling of houses, and the cries of the people; and one would have imagined that they had been blown up in the air by a general mine; and that the earth had opened underneath to swallow them up; so that, in less than a minute, above 100,000 inhabitants were buried in the ruins, and a still greater number in the country, where whole towns were utterly destroyed. What was still more remarkable in it, is, that the two first shocks were not felt with the same force thro' the extent of their course; but in those places where they met with less resistance, they were gentle, and hardly perceived; whereas they caused the greatest devastations where they met with the greatest opposition. Those two great and dreadful ones were followed by above twenty more small ones within the space of twenty-one hours.

Above 100,000 destroyed in a minute.

The emperor's piety on that occasion.

THE emperor was then at his pleasure-house, about two leagues from *Pe-king*; which was instantly reduced to such a heap of ruins, that it will require immense sums to repair it. He was then taking an airing in his barge, on the canal that runs through the gardens; and, at the dreadful sight, fell prostrate on his knees, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven; after which, he published an edict, as usual, accusing himself as the main cause of it, and attributing the judgment to the wrath of heaven for his offences, and want of care in governing the people. He next ordered an account

sepulchre which the emperor had caused to be prepared for him, and which was four leagues in circumference. To this last the mandarins and grandees of the provinces were to repair, or depute some of their sons in their stead, to pay the same respects to the deceased; after which they returned to their respective stations, and there caused monuments to be raised to him, with the greatest elogiums to his memory (56).

(56) *Du Halde, sub fin. annal.*

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to be taken of all the families that ſuffered by it, and an eſtimate of their damages, and advanced conſiderable ſums for their relief; and gave, in particular, 1000 taels to the miſſionaries, towards repairing of their churches.

Jeſuits baniſhed to Ma-kau.

BUT, on the next year, thoſe miſſionaries, who had been ten years before driven from the provinces into the city of *Quang-tong*, were now baniſhed from thence into *Ma-kau*, a little city inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, but under the dominion of the *Chineſe*[f]. What was ſtill more ſevere, they had but three days allowed them to prepare for their journey, and conveying away their effects. The only reaſon they give for this ſudden change, and hard treatment, is, that they had diſobeyed the emperor's orders; and preached the Chriſtian religion, in open defiance to his prohibition. They were accordingly forced to embark, to the number of thirty, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, under a convoy of four gallies and two mandarins. When they came to land at *Ma-kau*, the mandarins cauſed their domeſtics, and other Chriſtians who had followed the miſſionaries, to be loaded with irons, and ſent back to *Quang-tong*; where, after being dragged in an ignominious manner through ſeveral tribunals, ſome were caſt into priſons, others baſtonadoed, others condemned to carry the *Kan-ghe*, or wooden collar, a month or two; and all of them gave ſignal proofs of their zeal for, and ſincere adhering to, the Chriſtian religion.

Their domeſtics ſeverely treated.

THUS far go the *Chineſe* annals, which *Du Halde* ends with the twelfth year of *Tong-ching*'s reign, or the year 1732, at which time he was reigning with an abſolute ſway over that vaſt empire. Since that time, we have been informed that he died *Anno* 1736; and that the miſſionaries entertain no ſmall hopes of being reſtored under his ſucceſſor. However, theſe late accounts give us but little reaſon to expect it, ſince they acknowlege, that, though they found a great number of *Jews* and *Mohammedans* upon their firſt arrival thither, yet they met with no Chriſtians, notwithſtanding their having been ſo numerous formerly. Neither can they have thoſe opportunities of recommending themſelves to the *Chineſe* nation by their ſuperior ſkill in the ſciences, as they once had upon their coming thither; but, inſtead of that, muſt expect to meet with the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſition both from the literati and the whole bonzaic tribe, and their numerous followers, againſt their religion, which, they cannot now be ignorant of, is ſo contrary to the tenets of the former, and the intereſt

Hopes of a return fruſtrated.

[f] De hac, vid. ſup. p. 85, & ſeq.

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of the latter; to say nothing of the dislike and contempt which the disciples of *Confucius*, the only esteemed and valuable sect in *China*, must have conceived against some of their superstitious doctrines and practice.

Vain efforts to reenter.

WHAT hath since happened to them, their various applications to the new *Chinese* monarch, their apologies in behalf of themselves and their religion; the several memorials which those few Jesuits, who were suffered to continue at *Pe-king* in the emperor's service, presented to the throne and to the superior tribunals, and the small success which they have hitherto met with; being foreign to our design, and coming to us from thence by private letters from some one or other of those fathers, may be seen in their collection of letters from thence, and published by *Du Halde*[h], from that time to the year 1744; and we the more readily refer our curious reader to those letters, because he will easily perceive, from the style and tenor of them, that though neither these, nor any thing else from that quarter, were ever written with a design to extenuate the severity of the *Chinese* government, and much less to ascribe the total extirpation of Christianity to the misconduct of the missionaries, especially those of the Jesuit fraternity, yet contain such a variety of important transactions, and curious pieces, artfully worded, and circumstances, as we may suppose them to be, as will shew him, that it was not without the most cogent motives, and after the strictest and most impartial inquiries, that those two great monarchs *Kang-hi*, and *Yong-ching* his son and successor, yielded to the strenuous and repeated solicitations of their viceroys and governors, and especially of the superior tribunal, that of the rites in particular, to put an effectual stop to its further progress, by the banishment and utter proscription of all the missionaries out of their dominions. It is hardly possible for the most prepossessed reader in favour of that society to read their relations on this subject, written as they are by some of their ablest pens, without admiring the extreme indulgence and benignity of those two great emperors towards them, and especially their unparalleled condescension, patience, and assiduity, in receiving, perusing, and examining, every memorial and apology which were presented to them in their favour, either by themselves or their patrons, before they could be prevailed upon to proceed to those unavoidable severities. But, as the bare mention of every such instance of their impartial lenity would carry us beyond our bounds, we shall conclude this subject, and, with it, the *Chinese* history, with that remarkable apologetic speech by which the before-

[h] Vol. xxi. & seq. of Lettres edifiantes & curieuses.

mentioned

mentioned emperor *Yong-ching* condeſcended to anſwer their complaints, in a memorial lately preſented to him, and to juſtify his whole conduct towards them, to three of the moſt conſiderable members of their ſociety.

THIS curious piece, or rather the ſubſtance of it (for, it being ſpoken to them *extempore*, they could have no copy of it; neither could they, if they had been permitted, have taken it down in ſhort-hand, his words flowing with by far too great a rapidity for any pen to follow), hath been tranſmitted in *French* into *Europe* by Father *De Mailla*, one of the three who had the honour to be admitted to this interview. The other two were Fathers *Kegler* and *Parrennin*, perſons eminent in their way, and ſtill in great credit at court. Theſe three, having been admitted to the imperial preſence, according to his majeſty's commands, and after the uſual proſtrations, continuing all the time in a kneeling poſture, he addreſſed his ſpeech to them in words to this effect:

The emperor's ſpeech to the three Jeſuit miſſionaries.

"THE late emperor my father, after having cauſed me to "be brought up forty years under his eye, hath made "choice of me, preferably to my other brothers, to ſucceed "him on his throne. I make it a capital point of my duty "not to deviate in any thing from his manner of governing. "Some *Europeans* in the province of *Fo-kyen*, who had at- "tempted to diſannul our laws, and to pervert the people, "have been complained againſt to me; and I have thought "myſelf obliged to remedy that diſorder. It is an affair "which concerns the empire committed to my care; and I "neither could, nor ought I now to act as I did when I was "only a private prince of the blood.

"You tell me, that your religion is not a falſe one: I be- "lieve it; if I thought otherwiſe, what could hinder my "demoliſhing your churches, and driving you out of them? "A falſe religion is that, which, inſtead of recommending "virtue, inſpires men with a ſpirit of revolt, like that of "*Pe-lyen-kiao*. But what would you ſay, if I ſhould attempt "to ſend a number of bonzas and lamas to preach their reli- "gion amongſt you? How would they be received by you? "*Li-ma-low* (the *Chineſe* name of Father *Ricci*, one of the "firſt Jeſuits that came into *China* †), came hither at the "beginning of *Ovan*, *Vang*, *Li*'s reign. I ſhall ſay nothing of "the reception he met with from the *Chineſe*; I am not "anſwerable for what was then done. But at that time

† De hoc, vid. ſup. p. 125, & ſeq.

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" you were but a ſmall and inconſiderable number. You " had neither Chriſtian converts nor churches in any of the " *Chineſe* provinces; and it was not till under my father's " reign that you began to build them, and that your religion " was ſpread every-where with ſuch ſurpriſing rapidity. We " ſaw it, but dared not ſpeak a word againſt it; but, if you " have found means to impoſe upon him, do not hope to do " the ſame by me. You would have every *Chineſe* to become " Chriſtian; your law requires it of you, I am well aſſured " of it; but, in that caſe, what muſt be the conſequence " but that we ſhall become ſubject to your kings? Your new " converts own no maſters but you; and, if any public diſ- " turbances ſhould happen, will liſten to none but you. I " am very well ſatisfied, that at preſent we have nothing to " fear from you; but, when your *European* ſhips ſhall come " hither by thouſands and ten thouſands, will there not then " be ſome danger to be feared? *China* hath on the north the " great kingdom of *Ruſſia*, which is far from a deſpicable " one; it hath on the ſouth the *Europeans*, and their various " kingdoms, which are ſtill more conſiderable; and, on the " weſt, a great number of others, which I am reſolved to keep " under, and prevent their ſubjects ever ſetting foot into " *China*. When *Angelo*, the *Ruſſian* ambaſſador's collegue, " was endeavouring to obtain the liberty of ſettling *Ruſſian* " factories in all our provinces, for the better carrying on a " mutual commerce, that favour was denied to him; and he " was allowed to traffick no-where but at *Pe-king* and *Tchu-* " *koo-pay-ſing*, on the frontiers of the *Kalkas*. In the like " manner I have permitted you to ſtay here, or at *Quang-* " *tong*, ſo long as you give us no cauſe of complaint; but, " if any ſuch you give hereafter, I will neither ſuffer you to " ſtay in the one nor the other, but drive you out of every " one of my provinces.

" THE late emperor my father hath loſt a good deal of his " reputation, in the opinion of our literati, by the conde- " ſcenſion with which he permitted you to ſettle in his domi- " nions. The laws of our wiſeſt princes will admit of no " alteration; and I will never ſuffer my reign to be tarniſhed " with any thing of that nature. When my children and " grandchildren come to the crown, they may act as they ſhall " ſee fit, and I trouble myſelf no more about it than about " what is done in *Lapland*. Do not, however, imagine, from " what I have ſaid, that I have any thing to lay to your charge, " or any deſign to oppreſs you. You cannot but know how I " behaved myſelf towards you when I was only a regulo. The " family of one of your new convert mandarins in *Lyau-tong*,

" who

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" who publicly profeſſed himſelf one of your proſelytes, roſe " up in arms againſt him, for not paying the uſual honours " to his anceſtors. In that perplexity you applied yourſelves " to me; and I extricated you out of it, and compromiſed the " matter. What I do now is in quality of an emperor: the " well-governing of this empire is what ingroſſes all my care " and time from morning to night. I do not ſo much as ſee " my children, nor even my empreſs, or indeed any one ex- " cept ſuch as are intruſted with public affairs; and this muſt " be my continual application whilſt the three years mourning " for my father laſt; after which I may perhaps have oppor- " tunities of ſeeing you as uſual*."

His majeſty concluded his ſpeech with deſiring them to acquaint the reſt of their brethren with what he had ſaid to them, and diſmiſſed them with a ſmall preſent. We ſhall leave it to our readers to make their own remarks upon this ſoothing behaviour to that fraternity; if not perhaps exaggerated by the relater in favour of it, who was himſelf one of them. This did not hinder him, however, from giving them ſoon after the moſt convincing proofs of his being fully deter- " mined to extirpate their religion, root and branch, out of his dominions; for, his council having repreſented to him the danger of ſuffering miſſionaries of any denomination to ſtay at *Quang-tong* (which was the laſt favour they had petitioned him for, as their ultimate refuge, and the only way they had left to ſecure an entrance into *China*), he made no difficulty to recall his promiſe to them, and to order them all, and with the utmoſt ſpeed poſſible, to be tranſported to *Makau*; contenting himſelf with iſſuing an order, to thoſe who were to be charged with them, to treat them with all proper decency and humanity; which yet, if we may rely on our author, he ſuffered to be tranſgreſſed in almoſt every inſtance of their behaviour to thoſe unhappy exiles.

Before they left his dominions, they had the farther mortification to ſee a whole family of their nobleſt converts condemned to perpetual exile in ſome of the barren parts of *Tartary*, and to ſee them depart thither under a ſtrong guard, loaded with chains, and in a moſt deplorable guiſe. The head of it was no leſs a perſon than a prince of the blood, aged near 80 years, and deſcended from the elder brother of the emperor *Shun-ſhi*, the founder of the dynaſty now reigning. He had, during a long ſeries of years, enjoyed with great applauſe ſome of the higheſt poſts in the empire; and had done ſeveral ſignal ſervices to the ſtate, eſpecially during the laſt reign; yet neither theſe, nor his affinity to the imperial family, nor his

* De hac, vid. Lettres edifiant. & cur. vol. xvii. 267, & ſeq.

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extreme old-age, and personal merit, could obtain him either a reversion or respite, or even an alleviation of his dreadful sentence. A pregnant proof this of the irreconcileable hatred which that monarch bears to Christianity, and of the severe treatment which any *European* missionary must expect, that shall venture into that empire upon the like design, so long as his reign lasts. Their only hope now is, that Providence will some time hence raise him a successor of a different character, under whose more auspicious government they may be enabled to gain fresh admittance, and repair by degrees the immense losses which their religion hath sustained in so short a time within that extensive empire. Immense indeed, if, as we are told, above three hundred of their churches have been either demolished, or turned into public schools, hospitals, *&c.*; and if, as it is farther affirmed, the number of their proselytes amounted to 300,000 †, who are since either returned to their old religion, or, at best, live in continual danger of some severe punishment for their faithful adherence to their new one. It is therefore, in all likelihood, to keep these hopes alive, that the public hath from time to time been amused with accounts, in the foreign papers, of their having since met with better success and encouragement there from the new monarch and his ministry; all which hath hitherto proved to be without the least foundation, the laws and government continuing in all appearance as averse to, and severe against, all attempts of introducing again that proscribed religion amongst them; and all avenues to that empire, whether by sea or land, being still as closely watched as ever; insomuch that some Jesuits, having ventured to penetrate thither in strange disguises, by the way of *Tong-king*, have been discovered, and arrested in their passage through the most northern desart part of that kingdom, and have been since put to death by order of the *Chinese* emperor, to whom those princes are tributary, as we have seen in a former volume *.

† Lettr. edif. & cur. vol. xvii. p. 275, & seq. & 279, & seq.
* In fin. vol. vii.

APPENDIX *to the* Chinese *History*;

Containing the Description and History of the tributary Kingdom of Korea.

WE have had frequent occasion, in this and some of the preceding volumes, to remark, that the *Chinese* empire had three considerable kingdoms, which were either tributary vassals, or paid only a kind of tributary homage to it, without any farther subjection. Of the latter sort are those of *Tung-king* and

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and *Cochin-china*, which, for that reason, and to avoid as much as possible our deviating from the geographical order we have prescribed to ourselves in this *Indian* history, we have already give an account of about the end of the preceding volume. This therefore of *Korea*, and indeed the most considerable of the three, is the only one of consequence we have left to speak of in this place, as being not only contiguous to some part of *China* on the north, but as being likewise held in stricter subjection by the *Chinese* than any other, but more especially by the *Tartar* monarchs, since their conquest of that empire, as will be more fully shewn in the sequel of this appendix.

SECT. I.

Korea described.

KOREA, or *Corea*, called by the inhabitants *Tio-cen-koak*, by the *Tartars Solko*, or, as others write it, *Solgon*, and *Solho Kuron*, and, by the *Chinese*, *Kau-li-que* (A), is a large oblong peninsula, situate in the most eastern part of *China*, between it and the *Japanese* islands. It hath by some late writers been supposed an island; but is allowed now, by the most recent authors, to be contiguous, on the north, to the eastern or *Manchew Tartars*, as it is on the north-west to the *Chinese* province of *Lyau-tong*. It is divided from the rest of the *Chinese* empire by the *Whang-hay*, or *Yellow Sea*; from *Tartary* by a strong natural rampart, consisting of a long ridge of high and inaccessible mountains; and on the east, from *Japan*, by the sea of that name; and, on the south, is bounded by the *Chinese* ocean. Its extent from south to north is from 34° to almost 43°, and breadth from 8° 10′ to 14° east longitude from the meridian of *Peking*[a]. Its utmost extent northward is bounded by the river *Tu-men-ula*, which name is common both to the *Koreans* and *Manchews*, and answers to the *Chinese* name of *Wang-li-kyang*, or *river of* 10,000 *li's*, or *Chinese* stades, which falls into the *Japan* sea. It was likewise parted from the *Manchew Tartars*, and part of the province of *Lyau-tong*, by a strong wall, not much inferior to that of *China*, elsewhere described[b]; but some part of it was in a great measure de-

Parted from Tartary and Lyau-tong by a wall.

[a] Baudraud, La Martiniere, Regis ap. Du Halde; vol. ii. & al. plur. [b] See before, p. 289, & seq.

(A) The words *Kuron*, or *Kuroun*, in the *Manchew*, and *Qua* or *Que* in the *Chinese*, signify a kingdom. The *Chinese* books sometimes give it the name of *Chau-tsyen*, and other nations that of *Kaoli*, *Trozembuk*, and some others not worth mentioning, besides a variety of old ones which it hath borne through the several hands and stages it hath passed (1).

(1) *Regis Observ. Geogr. on Korea, ap. Du Halde, vol. ii.*

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ſtroyed by the *Manchews* in their irruptions into that peninſula, which they made one of their firſt conqueſts. The reſt, eſpecially on the more northern ſide, was ſtill ſtanding, and almoſt intire (B), till about a century paſt, ſince which it is become daily more and more ruinous [c]; however, there is no going into *Korea*, either from *Tartary* or *China*, without expreſs permiſſion from the emperor.

How divided. THE whole country hath been differently divided by the *Chineſe* monarchs, whoſe tributary it is pretended to have been from time immemorial. At preſent it conſiſts of eight *Number of cities.* provinces, which contain in all forty *Kyun*, or grand cities; 33 *Fû's*, or cities of the firſt rank; 58 *Chews*, or cities of the ſecond; and 70 *Hyen*, or cities of the third rank; in all, 201; beſides a vaſt number of fortreſſes and caſtles diſperſed in moſt parts of the country, and chiefly built upon hills, all which are well garriſoned by a proportionable number of officers and ſoldiers. The firſt or chief of the eight provinces is ſituate in the centre of the kingdom, and is called *King-hi*, or *the province of the court*. The next on the eaſt of it is ſtyled *Kyang-ywen*, or *ſource of the river*,

[c] REGIS ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. & al. plur.

(B) *Korea*, on the ſide of *Lyau-tong*, or, as it was alſo called, *Quau-tong*, was parted from it by a wooden paliſade, called from thence the paliſade of *Quau-tong*, which was a kind of barrier between them; but, whether built before its conqueſt by the *Manchews*, or ſince, is hard to gueſs. However, after that time it was agreed that a ſpace of land between the *Manchew Tartars* and this peninſula ſhould be left uncultivated to ſerve as a boundary between them.

Father *Regis* concludes his deſcription of the latter with a curious conjecture, which is not at all improbable, *viz.* that it was formerly contiguous to the province of *Pe-cheli*, till the *Whang-hay*, or *Yellow Sea*, formed that large gulph which lies now between them. The reaſon on which he founds it is, that, in the *Chineſe* abridgement of chorography, intituled, *Quang-yu-ki*, the city of *Chau-tſyen*, where *Ki-pe*, then king of that territory, reſided, is in the territory of *Yong-ping-fû*, a city of the firſt rank in the province of *Pe-cheli*. From which he rightly concludes it improbable, that that prince ſhould fix his reſidence out of his dominions, eſpecially with ſuch a large ſea between them. He confirms his conjecture with ſome other ſpeculations no leſs curious, which we cannot dwell upon. The reader may ſee them in that author; and by the map of that country, and the ſituation of the city of *Yong-ping*, may eaſily convince himſelf of the probability of the ſea having, in after-times, made that large chaſm between that city and the oppoſite coaſt (2).

(2) *Regis Obſerv. Geogr. on Korea, ubi ſup. ad fin.*

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and was antiently the country of the *Me's*; the third, on the weſt, hath its name from the *Whang-hay*, or *Yellow Sea*, and includes part of the old kingdom of *Chau-tſien*, and country of the antient *Mahan*. The 4th, or northern, ſtyled *Ping-ngan*, or *the pacific*, was formerly another part of the *Chau-tſyen* kingdom; and 5. *Tſwen-lo*, on the ſouth ſide, was the reſidence of the *Pyen-hau*. 6. *Chu-ſin*, or *the faithful and pure*, on the ſouth-weſtern ſide, is the antient *Mahan*, *Kye-king*, or *the happy*. 7. That on the north-eaſtern was the antient dominion of the *Kau-kiu-li*. And, 8. *King-ſhan*, on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide, was formerly the ſeat of the *Chiu-hau*. Some late authors are of opinion, that the ſea of *Korea* hath a communication with the northern ocean, becauſe whales are ſometimes caught in the former with *European* hooks, and harping-irons ſticking to their fleſh. To which one of our authors adds, that, upon aſking ſome of the *Korean* mariners, What countries lay on the north of theirs? they anſwered, None, nor any thing but a boundleſs ocean *. But we ſhall find a more proper place to make a farther inquiry into that pretended communication between the northern and *Japan* ſea.

THE cities both in the inland and on the ſea-coaſts are built and walled much after the ſame manner as thoſe of *China*, though much inferior in largeneſs, populouſneſs, beauty, and richneſs. The houſes are much in the ſame ſtyle, one ſtory high; in the cities of brick, and in the country moſtly of earth. *Its metropolis.* The metropolis of the whole peninſula is ſituate almoſt in the centre of it, and is by the inhabitants ſtyled *King-ki-tau*, but by the *Chineſe Kong-ki-tau*, becauſe they reckon the word *King* of too great a dignity to be given to any court but their own. We know but little of it, except that the *Chineſe* maps place it in latitude 37° 38′ 20″, which is about five degrees and a half from the northern boundary, and its longitude about 11 degrees eaſt of *Pe-king*.

KOREA hath but two rivers of any note, *viz.* the *Ya-lû* and *Tu-men*, called by the *Chineſe Ya-lû-kyang* and *Tu-men-kyang*; and, in the maps, by the *Manchew* names of *Ya-lû-ula* and *Tu-men-ula*; the words *Ula* and *Kyang* ſignifying each, in its particular language, a river. Theſe two riſe out of the ſame mountain, ſaid to be one of the higheſt in the world, and called by the *Manchews Shan Alin*, and by the *Chineſe Chang Peſhan*, that is, the *ever-white* mountain; but take oppoſite courſes, the one running weſtward, and the other eaſtward: they are both deep and rapid, and full of *Rivers of note.*

* HAMEL Journal, in Collect. of Voy.

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exceeding good water. As for the others, which are less considerable, the reader may see their course marked in the map, according to the *Korean Observations*.

Soil and product.

THE northern part of *Korea* is but barren, woody, and mountainous, full of wild beasts, and but thinly inhabited. It neither produces rice, nor any other corn but barley, of which the inhabitants make a coarse kind of bread. But the southern is rich, and fertile of every necessary of life; breeds great quantities of large and small cattle, besides fowl wild and tame, and great variety of game. It likewise produces silk, flax, cotton, and other such commodities, all which are manufactured among them, except the silk, which they know not how to weave, but send abroad unwrought, either to *China* or *Japan*, the only two countries they have any commerce with. The passage to either is short, tho' not equally easy and safe at all seasons. The *Korean* coasts are no less difficult of access, they being full of rocks, shelves, &c. which make the sailing along them very dangerous to those who are not used to them: and what makes the *Japan* sea still more so, if what the *Dutch* relation says be well founded, is, that there is a current that comes from another and greater sea on the north-east, in which are caught whales in great number, some of which are found with hooks and cramp-irons, such as the *Dutch* and *Greenlanders* use in the striking of them. This, if true, shews that there must be a passage or communication between *Korea* and *Japan*, which answers to the streights of *Veygatz*; but whether so or not, we dare not affirm upon that bare authority. However that be, the *Koreans* drive a considerable trade with those two neighbouring countries; and, besides the raw silks above-mentioned, export silver, lead, and some other coarse metals, rich furs which come from the north parts; and, above all, the famed root *Jin-seng* we have elsewhere described [d], which grows here in great plenty, and of which they make no small gain, besides their paying part of their tribute to the *Chinese* emperors in that valuable commodity [e]. The last-quoted relation tells us farther, that they have mines of gold; and that their seas produce pearls, and variety of fish; and that the inland is infested with a kind of crocodile of a monstrous length, some of them being 18 or 20 *Dutch* ells long. They have likewise some very venomous serpents in the southern parts, and great variety of wild beasts in the northern, particularly

Commerce.

A large sea on the N. E.

Commodities.

[d] See before, p. 98, (C).

[e] See the Dutch relation, printed An. 1670, and Collect. of Voyag printed at Amsterdam Anno 1718, by Bernard, vol. iv.

bears,

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bears, wolves, and wild boars. They use their oxen for plowing, and their horses for carriage. The people are commonly very stout and industrious, bold and warlike, and equally trained to the plough and to the sword (C), to domestic trades and to navigation (D), and yet are generally affable and civil to those that trade with them. Their manners, customs, and religion, nearly resemble those of the *Chinese*. Their dress, like that of the *Chinese* under the *Tay-ming* dynasty, is a gown with long and wide sleeves, a high square cap, a girdle, wide breeches, and leather boots; but the better sort wear this last of linen or sattin, and their gowns of silk or cotton; tho' the poorer sort are forced to take up with coarse hempen canvas. The northern provinces produce the stoutest men and best soldiers. The rich commonly wear fur caps and brocade clothes; and the women wear a kind of lace on their upper and under petticoats. The men of the highest rank, both in the northern and southern parts, affect to appear in purple-coloured silk; and, on public occasions, their clothes are adorned with gold and silver. The learned are distinguished by two feathers in their caps, and the whole nation in general are well-shaped, sprightly, and courteous, lovers of learning, and fond of music and dancing.

Cattle.

Dress.

(C) The *Dutch* relation above quoted tells us, that every province in the kingdom is obliged to send once in seven years all the freemen that are able to bear arms to his court, to do duty there for two months. Each province hath its general, who hath four or five colonels under him, and each of these as many captains, every one of whom hath either the government of some city, town, or fortress. The very villages have some inferior officer, who hath a proportionable number of men under him; and these, as well as the rest, are obliged to give an account every year of the people under their government; so that the king always knows what number of people he can raise upon any emergency.

(D) Three sides of the peninsula being surrounded by the sea, every maritime city is obliged to maintain a vessel, or galley, ready equipped, and furnished with all necessaries, at its own charge. These vessels have commonly but two masts, and about 30 oars, with five or six men to each oar, besides other common sailors, the whole amounting to about 300 each. They have likewise some few pieces of small cannon, and a large quantity of wild-fire, to serve upon an attack. Each province, therefore, is obliged to have its yearly admiral, who takes a particular review of all the vessels under him, and sends an account of it to the high admiral, who conveys it to the king.

THEIR

Language. THEIR language is different from the *Chinese*, or rather is a mixture of that and the *Manchew Tartar*; but they use the *Chinese* characters in their writings and books. They have some learned men among them who admire the doctrine of *Confucius*, and despise the superstitions of the bonzaic sect; but that doth not hinder that monkish tribe from being numerous all over the country: their idle life, and the gain and respect they extort from the people, invite them to it; and still more so, as they may renounce it when they please. As for the common people, they scarce have any religion; and all the worship they pay to their idols is only lighting a stick of some odoriferous wood before them, and making a very low bow to them at parting. Their temples and monasteries are numerous; but are not suffered to be in their towns, but in the country, and mostly upon or by the side of their hills, and some of them contain between 400 and 600 monks.

Bonzas numerous.

Worship. The same sort of worship runs through the whole peninsula; so that they seldom fall out about religion, except that the wiser and genteeler sort rather shew a contempt for those idols and temples; yet one common notion runs among them, that he that doth well shall be happy, and he that doth ill shall be punished, in another life. As for Christianity, there is not the least appearance of its having ever got footing in this country, even when the missionaries were in such high favour with the *Chinese* emperor, without whose leave they durst not have attempted to introduce it; much less likelihood is there of its ever gaining admittance there, since the *Chinese* court made such severe laws against it.

No Christians there.

Government. THE *Korean* government is altogether monarchical and despotic; for though, as hath been already observed, their kings are tributary to the emperors of *China*, yet, excepting the tribute and homage he is obliged to pay to them, he governs with an absolute sway, and hath neither prime ministers, nor any other counsellors, that dare to controul or even advise him, unless he desires them. His council chiefly consists of the governors and general officers mentioned in the two last notes, who are obliged at proper times to attend the court, and to be every day there within call. These, though they have held the highest dignities, and many times to a very great age, yet dare not offer their counsel unless it be asked, nor meddle with any affair of state unless they be appointed to it by him. There are few of them, except by a particular favour, that hold their posts above three years, especially among those of the subaltern rank; and many of them are turned out before that time, for some fault or other, the king having his spies every-where to inform him of their conduct;

The king's council.

Absolute will.

conduct; so that the fear of incurring his displeasure obliges them to concur with him in every thing, and to conceal their dislike to whatever he orders or doth.

He suffers neither lords, nor any other grandees, to hold cities or towns, or even villages, by right of inheritance, but only during their lives, after which they revolve to him; so that their chief revenue consists only in certain lands which they hold of him during pleasure; and a great number of slaves, which they keep to cultivate them; whilst the lands and places, which they enjoy under him, intirely depend on his will, and revert to him after their death. His chief revenue consists in a tenth, which the people pay to him yearly out of the product of their lands; and some customs laid on the commodities either imported or exported; other taxes are not known among them, except on emergent occasions. *Grandees, their income.*

What their laws are we know not, except that *Ki-tse*, one of their first monarchs, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, compiled a set of them out of the *Chinese Shu-king*, which he reduced into eight, and caused them to be published in his new kingdom; and that they had so good an effect on his subjects, that theft and adultery were crimes unknown unto them, nor did any of them shut their doors at night; and though many revolutions, which that kingdom hath gone through since, have made them deviate, yet our author [f] assures us, they may be still justly looked upon as a pattern to other nations (E). They are not indeed so eminent for their continence; since they abound with loose women, and the young men and maids are very familiar with each other. They marry without making such presents to each other as they do in *China*, or using any other ceremony. The princes and princesses of the blood always match with each other, and the grandees follow the same rule in their families. *Laws. Singular honesty. Given to women. Marriages.*

[f] Vide Hamel, Journal in Collect. Voy. vid. & Chevr. hist. of Korea, Art. V.

(E) This is in a great measure contradicted by the *Dutch* relation often quoted, which represents the *Koreans* as so naturally given to pilfering and stealing, that he says they are forced to have very severe laws against it. The reader may see an account of their several punishments in that author, amongst which that against adultery is one of the severest, except such as the king in some cases causes to be inflicted on traitors and obnoxious persons, which are commonly arbitrary, and against which it would be equally dangerous to make any objection or demur (2).

(3) *See vol.* iv. *of the Relat. above-mentioned, printed at Amsterdam by Fred. Bernard*, 1718.

5 They

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Mourning, and funerals. They keep their dead three years unburied, and so long wear mourning for their parents, but for a brother only three months. When the bodies are interred, they place by the side of the grave the clothes, chariots, horses, arms, &c. of the deceased, and in general whatever they were fond of in their life-time, which are carried off by those who assist at the funeral. They are for the most part very superstitious, as are all the worshippers of *Fo*[g], and abhor the depriving of any creature of life. Their punishments are commonly of the mild kind; and such crimes as are esteemed capital in other countries, are punished only with banishment into some of the neighbouring islands. Petty crimes are punished with bastonading on the back; but those who are guilty of ill language are put to death. When a criminal is to be punished, they commonly throw a sack over his head, which comes down to his feet; by which means they conceal his shame, and hold him faster in their power.

Kill no living creatures.

Punishments.

Houses, &c. THEIR houses have but one story, and are very plain, and thatched: they have no beds, but lie on mats. They use plates and dishes, and most of their furniture is plain. They are moderate in eating and drinking; and are commonly healthy, and take no physic. Their wine is made of a grain which they call *Paniz*, which we take to be a coarser kind of rice, fitter for that purpose than for eating. We do not read of any vines, or of those exquisite fruits, and odoriferous gums and woods, among them, which are so plentiful in the warmer soil of *China*; but they have a tree not unlike the palm, whose gum makes an excellent varnish, and of so beautiful a yellow, that it looks like gilding. They make a sort of cotton paper, which is stronger and more lasting, and bears a greater price, than any in *China*. They have few natural rareties, except a breed of horses not above three feet high, and a sort of hens whose tails are three feet in length. Their common weapons were cross-bows, and long sabres without ornaments, but they have since learnt the use of fire-arms from the *Chinese*.

Wine.

Palm-gum.

Strange creatures.

They are wholly ignorant of the liberal sciences; and their literati know so little of geography, that they divide the whole world into no more than 12 kingdoms, antiently all subject to that of *China*, but since become independent, and their maps extend no farther than that of *Siam*; so that, when they hear *Europeans* talk of the many kingdoms which that and the other three parts of the world contain, they cannot forbear asking them with a smile, *How it is possible for the sun to en-*

[g] Vide sup. p. 108, & seq. 114, & seq.

lighten

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lighten them all, unless indeed they give the name of kingdom to such contemptible countries, or inconsiderable islands, as hardly deserve that of a district, or barren hamlet. This is indeed very different from what we are told by other writers, that some of their books affirm, that the earth contains above 80,000 different countries; but this last they probably had from the *Chinese* †.

SECT. II.

Origin, Antiquity, and History, of the Koreans.

WE can say little concerning the origin and antiquity of the *Koreans*, except that it is as dark, impenetrable, and, according to some of their own accounts, as fabulous and absurd as that of any other eastern nation; they making no scruple to cry up the heads of their several hords or tribes as the miraculous offspring of some god, demigod, or hero, after the manner of the old fabulous *Greeks* (F). They are however allowed by most *Europeans* to be of *Tartarian* extract; and their country to have antiently been inhabited by various tribes of them, the principal of which were the *Me*, the *Kau-*

† De hoc, vid. sup. vol. viii. p. 6, & (D); vid. & HAMEL, ubi sup. & al. mult.

(F) To give our readers one instance, for all, of this their vanity, the *Kau-kyuli*, who are descended from the *Fu-yu*, a people of eastern *Tartary*, give the following account of one of their antient heroes: A daughter of the god *Ho-hang-ho* being detained in close confinement by the king of the *Kau-kyuli*, conceived one day by the rays of the sun, and was afterwards delivered of an egg as large as a bushel, wherein was found a male child; who, when grown up, was called *Chu-mong*, or *good archer*, and made overseer of his studs. *Chu-mong* starved the good horses, and fattened the bad, by which means the king chose the latter, and left him the former. One day, as they were hunting, his majesty gave him leave to shoot what game fell in his way; and he slew so great a number of fallow deer, as made the king think of cutting him off. *Chu-mong*, perceiving his intention, fled; and, being closely pursued, and coming to a large river which he could not cross, cried out, *Ah! shall I, who am the offspring of the sun, and the grandson of the god* Ho-hang-ho, *be prevented by this river from escaping?* He had no sooner ended, than a vast multitude of fishes, binding themselves together, made a bridge, over which he passed to the other side, where he met three persons, one dressed in hempen cloth, the second in a quilted garment, and the third with sea-weeds. These three accompanied him to the city of *Kyi-shing-ku*, where he took the name of *Kau*, to signify that he was of the *Kau-kyulian* race (3).

(3) *Regis, ubi supra.*

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kyuli, and the *Hau*; the last of which were again divided into three hords, *viz.* the *Ma-hau*, the *Pyeu-hau*, and the *Chin-hau*. We have lately mentioned the several parts of the country which they inhabited, in speaking of their eight provinces, at which time they were governed by their respective princes, till in process of time they all coalesced into one kingdom, and were at length subdued by the *Chinese* [b].

When first subdued. THE *Chinese* annals pretend, that the *Koreans* have been subject to them ever since the reign of *Yau*, their eighth emperor from *Fo-hi*, and continued so till the tyranny of *Tau-kang*, the third monarch of the *Hya*, or first dynasty (who, according to their chronology, began his reign in the year before Christ 2188) caused them to revolt. *Kye*, who ascended the throne 1818 before Christ, obliged them to become tributary to him; but his oppressive sway soon caused them to revolt, and even to seize on part of his dominions. *Kye*, being dethroned by *Chin-tang* 1766 years before Christ, reduced them soon after his becoming head of the *Shang*, or second dynasty. They again attacked *China* in the reign of *Chong-ting*, which began 1562 before Christ, and continued sometimes submissive, sometimes rebellious, till the year 1324 before Christ, when, through the weakness of the emperor *Vu-ting*, they subdued the provinces of *Kyang-nan* and *Shau-tong*, and kept possession of them till they were again subdued by *Tsin-chi-whang*.

Revolt.

Invade China.

THESE times, however, are allowed to be obscure hitherto; and the *Chinese* history, confirmed by the calculation of several eclipses therein mentioned, begins not the foundation of this *Korean* monarchy till the time of *Ki-tse*, a prince famous for his wisdom, and uncle to the then emperor *Chew*, the last monarch of the second dynasty *, who caused him to be imprisoned, for the sound and free counsels he ventured to give him. *Ki-tse*, however, was soon after restored by *Vu-vang*, the founder of the next or third dynasty, who mounted the throne 1122 years before Christ, to whom he delivered the instructions contained in the *Shu-king*, book iv. c. 6.; but, being unwilling to live under a prince by whom his own family had been dethroned, he retired into that part of *Korea* then called *Chau-tsyen*, where, by the emperor's assistance, and his own merit, he was made king, and introduced the *Chinese* politeness; and, by his singular wisdom, so firmly settled himself on the throne, that his posterity enjoyed it successively till *Ching-tsi-whang*, who came to the *Chinese* crown in the year 246 before Christ, made *Chau-tsyen* dependent on *Lyau-tong*, allowing only to the descendants of

Ki-tse *their first king.*

Introduces the Chinese *laws, &c.*

[b] See p. 522, & seq. * De hoc, vid. sup. p. 392, & seq.

Ki-tse

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Ki-tse the title of *Hew*, or *Earls*, till *Shun* reassumed that of *Vang*, or *King*, about forty years after. Chun *resumes the royal title.*

He did not, however, enjoy it long, before he was defeated at several encounters by *Weyman* (G), who at length put an end to the family of *Ki-tse*, and seized upon that crown. He was afterwards, though after several refusals, confirmed in it by the emperor *Wey-ti*, or rather by his mother, who governed during his minority, and by degrees brought the *Me*, the *Kay-kyuli*, and the rest of the *Koreans*, under his government. *Yew-kyu*, his grandson, about the year before Christ 110, having put to death the *Chinese* ambassador, the emperor *Vu-ti* sent an army against him, but without success; but it was not long before *Yew-kyu* was assassinated by his own subjects, who voluntarily submitted to the emperor; upon which *Chau-tsyen* was reduced into a province, and called by him *Tsang-hay*; and *Korea* divided into four more, *viz. Chin-fau*, *Ling-tong*, *Lo-lang*, and *Huen-tu*; and the emperor *Chau-ti*, who began his reign *Anno* 86 before Christ, since reduced *Korea* into two provinces. Yew-kyu *assassinated.* *Bef. Chr.* 110. Korea *divided into two provinces.*

About sixty years after, the emperor *Quang-vu-ti* reduced the kingdom of *Chau-tsyen*, and made it dependent on that of *Lyau-tong*, then under the government of *Chyi-tong*, famed for his wisdom and probity. In the mean time the king of *Kau-kyuli* conquered the *Me*, *Hau*, *Eu-yu*, and some part of *Japan*; but still continued tributary to the *Chinese* emperors, till *Kong* carried his arms into *China* for the first time, took the city of *Huen-tu*, and killed the governor of *Lyau-tong* in battle. *Kong* was however defeated in his turn by a son of the king of *Fu-yu*; and was succeeded by his son *Swi-chin*, who restored *Huen-tu* to the emperor, and paid him the usual tribute. But, in the weak reigns of *Whan-ti* and *Ling-ti*, he again invaded the country of *Huen-tu*, whence he was afterwards expelled by *Kew-lin*, governor of that province; part of his own kingdom was likewise taken from him, and the remainder destroyed under a succeeding dynasty. *Anno* 86. Swi-chin *restores* Huen-tu. *Expelled from it.* *After Chr.* 196.

But here it will not be improper to observe, that the *Chinese* annals make not the least mention of the conquest which the *Japanese* made of this peninsula about the year 201 after Korea *subdued by the* Japanese.

(G) *Wey-man*, or, as others call him, *Nyan*, was a native of *Pe-cheli*, and took advantage of the confusion that then reigned in *China*, whilst *Kau-tsu*, alias *Lyew-pang*, founder of the *Han* or fifth dynasty, was reducing all the several kingdoms into which *China* was divided under his government (4), to enter *Chau-tsyen* at the head of some disbanded soldiers, where he defeated and killed *Chun*, and destroyed the rest of the royal family (5).

(4) *See before, p. 392, & seq.*

(5) *Regis, ubi supra.*

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Christ, under their emperor *Tsin-ai*, or rather of his martial empress *Dsin-gu*, a celebrated heroine, who assisted him in it; for, that monarch dying soon after his entering upon that expedition, left it to be completed by her; which she did with such success and speed, that the whole *Korean* kingdom was in a very few years reduced, and made tributary to the *Japanese* empire. How long they continued under that subjection, the *Japanese* history doth not inform us; but owns, that in process of time, and by the assistance of the eastern *Tartars*, they found means to shake off the yoke, and restored their government to its antient form, till again subdued by the *Chinese*. From that time the *Japan* emperors have made frequent attempts to recover it, sometimes with, but oftener without, success; so that they were glad at last to let them continue unmolested for a considerable space. *Tay-cho*, the secular monarch of *Japan*, was the first, who, after that long interval, revived his pretensions, but disguised them under the colour of designing to invade *China*, and desiring their assistance; but the *Koreans* seeing through his views, and having murdered his ambassadors, a war was renewed, which lasted seven years, and of which we shall give a farther account in a proper place.

Shake off the yoke.

BUT to return from this necessary digression, *Chau*, or *Kau*, the great grandson of *Song*, lately mentioned, being made king of *Chau-tsyen* by the emperor *Yong-kya*, the kings of *Korea* continued to be created to that dignity during the dynasties of *Tsin*, *Song*, *Tsi*, the latter *Wey*, and *Chew*, till the seventh year of *Yang-ti*, the second emperor of the *Swi* dynasty, when *Ywen*, then king of it, invaded *Lyau-tong* at the head of an army: for this *Yang-ti* summoned him to appear before him; and, upon his refusal, marched against him in person; but, the *Koreans* taking shelter in their cities, and defending themselves stoutly in them, the emperor was obliged to retire, for want of provisions. He attempted thrice more to reduce them, but without success. *Kyen-vu*, the son of *Ywen*, succeeded his father, and was honoured with the title of *Shang-chu-que*, or *the pillar of the state*, by the founder of the *Tang* or thirteenth dynasty. At this time *Korea* was divided into five governments; *viz.* that of the court, or middle; and the other four respecting the four points of the compass; and *Kay-su-ven*, of the family of *Ywen*, then governor of the eastern canton, and a brutish and treacherous person, assassinated *Kyen-vu* his sovereign, used his body with the utmost indignity, and set up *Tsang*, a younger brother of the deceased, on the throne, but only under the title of *Molichi*, and reserved the power in his own hands. This traitor pretended to be the son of a river-god,

Koreans *invade* Lyau-tong. *After Chr.* 611.

Kyen-vu *mounts the* Korean *throne.* *After Chr.* 620.

Assassinated.

in

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in order to ſecure a particular regard from that ſuperſtitious people.

In the mean time the emperor *Tay-tſong*, being informed of his murder and treaſon, marched againſt him at the head of a powerful army, and was joined by the kings of *Ki-tau-hi*, *Pe-tſi*, and *Sim-lo*, took ſeveral towns from him, and ſat down before that of *Lyau-tong*, which he took by ſtratagem, reduced to a city of the ſecond rank, and called it *Lyau-chew*. He next took the city of *Ngan-ſhi*, to the relief of which two brave *Moko* generals came, at the head of 150,000 of their troops. Theſe the emperor attacked in their trenches, and routed them. The generals, upon their ſubmiſſion, were kindly received; but he ordered 3000 of the *Moko* of *Pin-jam* to be buried alive; and cauſed a monument to be erected on the mountain at the foot of which he had incamped, in memory of this victory. Not long after *Kay-ſuen*, dying, was ſucceeded as *Molichi* by his ſon *Nan-ſeng*; but a diſcord ariſing between him and his younger brothers, they came in perſon to the emperor *Kau-tſong*, who was then ſending ſome forces to the aſſiſtance of the *Siu-lo*, againſt whom the *Koreans* and *Moko* had declared war. That monarch ſent an army againſt the *Koreans*, under the command of his general *Li-tſing*; and inquiring of the *Kya-yeu-chong*, or cenſor of the empire, his opinion of that expedition, was anſwered, that *the ſecret memoirs declared, that the dynaſty or race of* Kau *ſhould not reign in* Korea *full* 900 *years, and that it would be ruined by a general aged* 80 *years. Now*, continued the cenſor, *this is the* 900*th year ſince the family of* Kau *ſucceeded that of* Han, *and the generaliſſimo* Li-tſing *is fourſcore years old. Beſides, the people are divided among themſelves; and ſo diſtreſſed by famine, that the very wolves and foxes appear in their cities; by which prodigies they are intimidated, ſo that the deſtruction of the* Kau *dynaſty is at hand.* Accordingly the *Chineſe* general beſieged *Pin-jam*; and *Tang*, the titular king of *Korea*, with about 100 attendants, ſurrendered himſelf to him, and met with a kind reception; notwithſtanding which, *Nan-kyen* defended the city with ſingular bravery, till one of the gates was betrayed to the imperial forces, and he was made priſoner. Then was *Korea* again divided into five provinces, conſiſting of 170 principal cities, and 690,000 families.

The emperor marches againſt the rebel, about the Yr. of Chr. 628.

His ſucceſs.

Kau-tſong *ſends an army againſt* Korea. *After Chr.* 67.

A notable prophecy about the expedition.

In the reign of the empreſs, or rather uſurpereſs, mother of *Vu-hew*[k], *Pay-ywen*, the grandſon of *Tſang*, laſt king of this country, was created king, of the ſecond rank, of *Chau-tſyen*, to which *Korea* had changed its name, inſtead of *Kau-ti*. In this ſtate the government of it continued till the reign of one of its kings named *Van-kien*, who aſſumed the dignity of king, ſub-

Paw-ywen *made king of the ſecond rank. After Chr.* 687.

[k] See before, p. 445, & ſeq.

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Van-kyen dued the kingdoms of *Pe-tsi* and *Sin-lo*, and removed the court from *Pin-jam* eastward to the foot of the mountain *Song-yo*. However, his three successors paid homage to the *Chinese* emperors, till the last of them, named *Chi*, was obliged to pay it to the *Kitan Tartars*, who had conquered the north parts of *China*, which were called *Lyau*, and taken six towns from *Vang-sun*, the successor of *Chi*, and obliged him to remove his court further from them: but he, making an alliance with the *Nywche Tartars* (H), who destroyed *Lyau*, and fixed themselves in the north of *China*, expelled the *Kitans* out of his dominions, and paid homage again to the *Chinese* monarch, and, for his bravery was highly honoured by him. His successors were no less favoured by them; and indeed, considering the then reigning contests between the northern and southern monarchs of *China*, in which the *Koreans* were courted by both sides, their alliance was so considerable, that they might make their own terms with either; and the emperor *Kau-tsong*, upon his mounting the throne, was so afraid of their joining with the *Kin*, or northern family, that he sent them a grand ambassy, to gain them to his side; but was disappointed by the *Kin*'s sending thither *Vang-chu* with the title of king. Some time after *Che*, then king of *Korea*, sent his son *Ching* to pay homage to the emperor *Li-tsong*; but, his father dying about the time, he returned to take possession of his kingdom, and had it confirmed to him by that monarch. This prince had paid tribute 36 times, when *Shi-tsu*, as the *Chinese*, or *Hu-pi-lay*, as the *Tartars*, call him (the son of the famed *Jenghiz Khân*, and the *Koblay* of *Marco Polo* the *Venetian* traveller)[k], was meditating the conquest of *Japan*, and designed to pass through *Korea* thither. In pursuit of which project he sent an ambassador to *Japan*, whom he ordered to pass through *Korea*, and to take his guides from thence; but, the *Koreans* not consenting to it, the emperor so highly resented it, that though *Ching* had never neglected to pay his tribute to him, yet he seized upon *Si-king*, or *Pin-jam*, and called it *Leng-nin-fu*. But, upon

Van-kyen assumes the royal dignity.

After Chr. 927.

After Chr. 960.

Chi *expels the* Kitans.

An ambassy to Korea.

After Chr. 1127.

Koreans *refuse passage to* Hupi-lay's *ambassadors.*

[k] See before, vol. iv. p. 515, & seq.

(H) These had formerly been subject to the *Koreans*, and had in their turn subdued them. Their princes had assumed the title of emperors, and give the name of *Kin* to their family, though they are not reckoned among the dynasties, because they never were sole master of *China*, the emperors of *Song*'s family still keeping possession of the southern provinces, as we have seen in the *Chinese* history. As to the farther particulars of the *Nyu-che Tartars*, *Kitans*, &c. their various names, tribes, territories, &c. we shall refer our readers to the *Tartar* history *.

* See before, p. 462.

Shin's

Shin's succeeding his father *Ching*, he married a daughter of the emperor, and received the seal of the emperor's son-in-law, with the title of king of *Korea*. He then took the name of *Kyu*, and his third successor was called *Song*, and from *Vang-kyen* to *Song* are reckoned 28 kings of *Korea*, of the *Vang* family, within the space of 400 years. When *Hong-vu*, founder of the *Ming* or twenty-first dynasty, mounted the *Chinese* throne[1], *Kyu* or *Chew*, then king of *Korea*, sent an ambassy of homage and congratulation to him, and was by him created king of *Kau-li* (or *Korea*), and was presented with a silver seal, and the antient privilege of sacrificing to the gods of the rivers and mountains of that kingdom. But, in the seventeenth year of that emperor's reign, the king's ambassadors having joined in a conspiracy against him, the *Koreans* were declared enemies of the empire. The matter, however, was soon after compromised, and that monarch satisfied, by a new ambassy and submission; upon which he sent to *Korea* to buy horses; and, the king refusing to take any money for them, *Hong-vu* had them valued, and paid for them; but at the same time ordered him to deliver up the towns of *Lyau-yang* and *Shin-ching*, which they had seized in the province of *Lyau-tong*. Soon after this, *Kyu*, then on the throne, was deposed; and *Vang-chang* raised to it by *Li-jin-jin*, then prime minister of *Korea*, whose son *Li-ching-que* dethroned *Vang-chang*, and set the crown upon *Vang-yau*'s head, and in a little time after took it from him, and placed it on his own. And thus ended the line of *Vang-tan*.

Chew's *ambassy and homage to* Hong-vu. *After Chr.* 1368.

After Chr. 1390.

[1] De hoc, vid. sup. vol. v. 60, & seq. viii. 471, & seq.

SECT. III.

The Sequel and Conclusion of the Korean *History.*

LI-CHING-QUE, who then changed his name into that of *Vang-tang*, failed not to dispatch a pompous ambassy, with considerable presents, to *Van-lye*, then emperor of *China*, with a petition to be confirmed on his throne; but both that and his presents were rejected; and *Ching-se*, who had drawn the petition, banished by the emperor. Soon after that, *Tau* resigned the crown to his son *Fang-ywen*, who obtained a confirmation from the emperor *Yong-lo*, who mounted the throne *Anno* 1403; and sent him 10,000 oxen by way of tribute, in order to stock certain lands which that monarch had assigned to the garrison of *Lyau-tong*. *Tau*, the son and successor of *Fang-ywen*, sent his tribute in *gerfalcons*, or sea-eagles; but the emperor refused them, saying, that *Jewels and rare animals were not what he liked.* We find little in their history, worth taking notice of, till the reign of

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the emperor *Van-lye*, except that one of their kings, named *Van-ky-whang*, prevailed upon the emperor *Shi-tsong*, alias *Kya-tsing*, the twelfth monarch of the *Ming* dynasty, to erase out of the book of the antient customs of the *Ming*, the article in which *Ching-que* was recorded for having deposed his lawful sovereign, and usurped his crown; because, said the *Korean* king, it was done at the solicitation of the grandees, and of the people. But, in the twentieth year of *Van-lye*, the fourteenth emperor of the *Ming* dynasty, *Korea* was invaded by *Ping-syew-kyi*, chief or king of *Japan* (I).

Korea *invaded by the* Japanese.

After Chr. 1592.

THIS conqueror, according to the *Japanese* history, finding, in the annals of that empire, that *Korea* had been formerly subdued, and made tributary to it, and being now raised to the height of secular power, thought it a proper time to revive his pretensions to that peninsula, not without a farther view of opening to himself a way to the conquest of *China*. He sent accordingly an ambassy thither, to demand of the *Koreans* a passage for his army through their country; and at the same time that they should acknowlege the emperors of *Japan* as their sovereigns, and pay homage to them. But the *Koreans*, instead of an answer, killed his ambassadors, and, by that hostile act, highly provoked him to hasten the war which he had premeditated against them. The *Chinese*, however, without taking notice of either of these circumstances, only pretend that he was induced to this invasion by the small distance there is between the mountain *King-shang* in *Korea*, and the island *Twi-ma-tau*, belonging to *Japan*, and then in

Ping-shyew-kyi's *origin and rise.*

(I) This conqueror is said to have been originally a slave, and afterwards a retailer of fish; and, being found asleep under a tree by a *Japanese Quan-pe*, or governor, who was then hunting, and was just going to kill him, awoke, and spake to him in such a taking manner, that the *Quan-pe* took a liking to him, and made him overseer of his studs, giving him the name of *Ping-syew-kyi*, or *The man from under the tree*. He soon after gave him some lands, and made him his chief confident; but, being a little after assassinated by one of his counsellors, *Ping-syew-kyi* put himself at the head of his master's troops, under pretence of revenging his death, which he did by killing the murderer; but presently after raised himself to the dignity of *Quan-pe*, and made himself master, by fraud or force, of about 60 small provinces. This is the account which the *Chinese* and *Koreans* give of the great *Tay-cho*, who raised himself by his valour and merit to the secular empire of *Japan*. But we shall find a proper place, in the next chapter, to do him that justice which his noble actions deserved. In the mean time we thought it not improper to give this one instance, among many more, of the *Chinese* pride, and the contempt they have of the *Japanese*, by the disadvantageous light in which they have set one of their greatest heroes and conquerors.

his

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his poſſeſſion (K); for, by the commerce carried on between them, he was informed, that *Li-ſeu*, who then reigned in *Korea*, was a prince ſo wholly devoted to his pleaſures, that he might be eaſily ſurpriſed. Accordingly *Kyi* ſent two of his generals, with a numerous fleet, to attack it; who, landing their forces unperceived, took the city of *Son-te*, and ſeveral others, the *Koreans* being ſo ſoftened by a long peace, that they fled upon the firſt approach of the enemy; and the king, leaving the government in the hands of his ſecond ſon, retired firſt to *Pin-yang*, and next to *I-chew*, in the province of *Lyau-tong*. From thence he ſent an ambaſſy to the emperor, to beg his aſſiſtance againſt the invaders, to receive him as his ſubject, and promiſing to make *Korea* a province of the empire; but, whilſt that was tranſacting, the *Japaneſe* had already demoliſhed the ſepulchres, plundered the treaſury, taken the mother, children, and officers, of the king, and made themſelves maſters of the greater part of the kingdom. They had likewiſe fortified the capital, and poſted their troops in the moſt important paſſes; and pretended ſtill, that they had no deſign on the empire, but only to make the river *Ta-to-kyang* the boundary of their conqueſts; but were ſtill moving nearer towards *Lyau-tong*, inſomuch that he was forced to remove farther from *I-chew* to *Ngay-chew*. All this while he was diſpatching couriers upon couriers to the *Chineſe* court, to haſten the ſuccours which came but ſlowly on; and ſome of them that arrived had been defeated and cut in pieces by the *Japaners*. *Succeſs in Korea.*

At length *Song-ing-chang* was ſent at the head of 60,000 *Chineſe* forces, and with the quality of *King-lyo*, or generaliſſimo; and diſpatched *Li-yu-ſong*, a general under him, with thoſe forces, through *Lyau-tong*; and the difficulty which their cavalry found in croſſing the mountain *Song-wang-ſhang* was ſuch, that their horſes are ſaid to have ſweated blood. However, *Li-yu-ſong* had ſent beforehand a proper general before him, to try to over-reach that of the *Japaneſe*, by endeavouring to perſuade him that he was not coming with an intention to oppoſe him, but to create *Kyi* his maſter a king, for which he was inveſted with full power from the emperor. *Hing-chang*, that was the *Japaneſe* general's name, readily ſwallowed the bait, and ſent twenty *The Japaneſe general outwitted by the Chineſe.*

(K) Theſe two are ſaid by ſome to be ſituate within ſight of each other, and, by others, within three days ſailing with a fair wind; however near enough they are to carry on a commerce, and even intermarry, with each other; by which means *Kyi* came to learn, that the *Koreans*, and their king, lived in ſuch peace and pleaſure, that the conqueſt of them might be eaſily atchieved †.

† *See Regis, Kæmpfer, & al. ubi ſup.*

officers

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officers to meet *Li-yu-fong*, who had ordered a party to take them prisoners; but they defended themselves so stoutly, that three only of them were taken. This action might have opened *Hing-chang*'s eyes; but, being told that it happened through a misunderstanding of the interpreters, he was caught a second time, and sent a fresh message to compliment the *Chinese* general.

We took notice a little higher, that the *Japanese* had fortified themselves in the capital, and other cities, particularly in that of *Pin-yang*, which was besides a very strong place by its situation, having the river *Ta-tong-kyang* on the south-east, and a considerable eminence on the north, then guarded by a good number of their forces. The *Chinese* general arrived before the city on the sixth day of the first month of the twenty-first year of *Van-lye*'s reign; and, having drawn up his forces in order of battle, began to march into the city, the *Japanese*, in their richest accoutrements, lining the way, and their general being placed on a tower to view the procession: but the *Chinese* officers behaved in such a manner, as soon alarmed the *Japanese*, and forced them upon their guard; upon which *Li-yu-fong* made a feint to attack the eminence on the north side, and ordered the detachment to retire after the first charge, in order to draw the *Japanese* from their post; instead of which, they in the middle of the night attacked the *Chinese* camp, but were repulsed with loss. On the eighth day the general assault was given by break of day, and the attack made on the south side of the city, with great vigour on both sides. At length the *Chinese*, having scaled the walls, forced the enemy to retire to their fortress, whence a good number of them, with their general, made their escape about midnight; but had near 300 killed in the action, besides a great number of others that were drowned in crossing the river: a detachment of 3000 *Chinese* killed 400 more of them in their flight, and took others prisoners. On the 19th they took the city of *Fu-kay* by storm, killing 165 of the enemy, who, by so many defeats, were now stripped of four of the *Korean* provinces. From that time the *Chinese* proved so successful against them in almost every encounter, some of which proved very bloody on both sides, that they had only the capital left to reduce, to which *Ching-king*, another *Japanese* general, had retired. The *Chinese* general, who was within 70 *Chinese* li's or furlongs from it, marched with double speed against it with his light horse, upon a false report, which he too easily gave credit to, that the *Japanese* had abandoned it; and thereby fell into one of their ambuscades, near a bridge within thirty li's of the place; upon which a bloody battle ensued, in which great numbers fell on both

Pin-yang retaken by the Chinese.

After Chr. 1593.

Ill success against them.

The capital of Korea besieged

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both sides; and, tho' the enemy was put to flight, yet the *Chinese* lost the flower of their troops. They were moreover, on their approach to the city, much incommoded by the thaw and rains in their camp; whilst the *Japanese* were advantageously seated on a dry eminence, with a river in front, and a mountain on their rear. The town had likewise reared high machines filled with destructive weapons, upon which the *Chinese* were forced to retreat to *Kay-ching*.

HERE, on the 3d month of the same year, their spies brought intelligence that 200,000 *Japaners* were about the capital, and that they were plentifully furnished with corn; part of which *Li-yu-song* having fortunately burnt, the enemy, fearing a scarcity, agreed to peace, and yielded the capital; which he entered on the eighteenth of the fourth month, and found in it 40,000 bushels of rice, and forage in proportion. After the surrender of the place, the *Japanese* sent an ambassy of submission to the emperor; and, in the seventh month, delivered up the children and principal officers of the king of *Korea*; and the emperor, in the twenty-second year of his reign, agreed, at the intreaty of that prince, to accept of the tribute offered by the *Japanese*, and to create *Ping-shyew-kyi Tay-cho* or king of *Japan*, on the following conditions: 1. That he should deliver up all his conquests in *Korea*. 2. That he should send no ambassy to *China*. And, 3. that he should swear never to enter into that peninsula [m].

Surrendered.

Ping-shyew-kyi made king of Japan.

THIS peace had like to have been broken both by the indiscretion of the *Chinese* ambassador, by whom *Van-lye* sent the imperial patent to the new *Tay-cho*, and much more by the contemptuous ambassy which the reinstated king of *Korea* sent to him on his being raised to the royal dignity. The first of these, a marquis of the first rank, but a person of a very lustful disposition, had been gratified in that favourite passion, on his arrival in *Japan*, by the governor of *Twima*, who sent three of the most beautiful women of that country to him one after another; but, the marquis being afterwards informed that the governor's wife was extremely beautiful, and having made no scruple to demand her of him, he resented the affront. About the same time a *Japanese* of quality, named *Long*, having disputed the way with the ambassador, had like to have been killed by him, but was happily rescued by his own retinue, so that the marquis had no way left to escape but by flight, and leaving every thing, even his very credentials, behind him. He wandered all the night, and at length in a fit of despair, hanged himself; but was cut down by some of his followers, and fled back to

[m] See REGIS ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 376.

China,

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China, where, by the emperor's orders, he was tried for his miſconduct, and another ambaſſador ſent in his room.

Ceremony of receiving the patent.

THE *Chineſe* tell us, that *Ping-ſhyew-kyi*, having faſted and bathed three days, went in great ceremony to meet the emperor's patent, before which he proſtrated himſelf fifteen times; after which he was created king in all the uſual formalities, and expreſſed the deepeſt gratitude to the *Chineſe* monarch for his new dignity. But ſoon after this, the king of *Korea*, being adviſed by one of his favourites to treat the *Tay-cho* with contempt, ſent his compliments to him only by a deputy-governor of a city of the ſecond order, and with a few ordinary preſents of ſilk. *Ping-ſyew-kyi* highly reſented the inſult; and ſaid to the ambaſſador, *Hath thy maſter ſo ſoon forgot that I conquered his kingdom, and have reſtored it to him out of mere regard to the emperor? What doth he imagine me to be, in ſending me ſuch a preſent by one of your rank? Whom doth he affront, me, or the emperor? but, ſince he treats me in ſo unworthy a manner, let him know that my forces ſhall not ſtir out of* Korea *till the emperor hath duly chaſtiſed him.* On the next day he ſent with his tribute, which was very rich, two remonſtrances, the one acknowleging his obligations to the emperor, and the other demanding juſtice againſt the *Korean* king. He waited for the latter till the 25th of that emperor's reign, for a ſatisfaction for the affront; but, finding him rather inclined to ſide with the *Korean* king, as the ſequel ſhews he did, he reſolved to renew the war; and accordingly invaded *Korea* afreſh with a fleet of 200 ſail, and a powerful army under the command of his two old generals *Tſing-ching* and *Hing-ching*. Theſe two, being thoroughly acquainted with the country, renewed the war with double vigour, and took *Ngan-ywen-fu*, the governor of which fled barefoot upon their firſt approach; and ſoon made themſelves maſters of many other conſiderable cities and paſſes on all ſides, inſomuch that the *Chineſe* capital was in a great meaſure blocked up. The former had already fixed his quarters at *Tun-ſin*, 600 li's, and the latter at *King-ſhang*, 400 li's, from it. The *Chineſe*, headed by *Han-quey*, laid ſiege to the latter with a numerous army; but, upon a report that the enemy had received freſh ſuccours, fled; whereupon his forces diſperſed themſelves, 20,000 of them were killed, and their general puniſhed for his cowardice.

Reſentment againſt the king of Korea;

and anſwer to his ambaſſador.

Renews the war againſt him.

The ſucceſs of his two generals:

The treachery of the Chineſe *general.*

IN the ninth month of the 26th year of *Van-lye*'s reign, *Lew-ting*, another *Chineſe* general, marched againſt *Hing-chang*; and propoſed to him a conference, wherein matters might be amicably adjuſted. To which the *Japaneſe* general agreed; and, on the next day, went to the place appointed, attended only by fifty horſe. But the treacherous *Lew-ting* had

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had laid an ambuscade for it; and, having appointed one of his officers to personate him, attended the meeting in the disguise of a common soldier. *Hing-chang* was received by the pretended general with the usual honours; and, as he sat at table, could not keep off his eyes from the disguised *Lew-ting*, and crying out, *Surely that soldier has been unfortunate*. *Lew-ting*, surprised at his speech, went immediately out, and gave the signal to the ambuscade by firing a gun; upon which *Hing-chang*, suspecting the treachery, mounted his horse in an instant, with his attendance, who formed themselves into a triangle, and, with a dreadful slaughter, forced their way through the treacherous *Chinese*, and escaped. On the next day the *Japanese* general sent to thank the *Chinese* one for his entertainment; who had no other way of excusing it, but by pretending, that the firing of the gun was altogether accidental. However, though his treachery had miscarried, it did not hinder his attacking him openly, and a fierce engagement ensued, in which the *Chinese* were every-where worsted. The war would in all likelihood have lasted much longer, and the *Koreans* have been severely chastised for their treachery by the highly incensed *Tay-cho*, had not his unexpected death, or, if we may believe the *Japan* history, some more cogent motives, induced him to recall his shattered forces; and put an end to all future hostilities, by laying them only under a tribute to him. What those motives were, will be better seen in the history of *Japan*; however, that brave hero died whilst his generals were on their way home; and *Ijejas*, whom he had appointed guardian over his son and successor, then but six years old, thought fit only to oblige them to send an embassy to him every three years, and to acknowlege him for their sovereign. And thus ended the *Korean* war, after it had lasted seven years; since which time they relapsed again, under the dominion of the *Chinese Tartars*, and drove out all the garrisons which the *Japanese* had left there, as far as the coasts of the province of *Tsiot-sijn*, which is the only place they have remaining of all their conquests in that country. The emperors of *Japan* seem to be satisfied with the possession of those eastern coasts, as a sufficient security to their own dominions; and keep some garrisons there to guard them, which are put under the government of the princes of *Iki* and *Tsusima*, two islands lying about the mid-way between *Korea* and *Japan*; whilst those *Koreans* are only obliged to send an ambassy to court, to take an oath of allegiance to every new emperor. This was the condition they were in *Anno* 1693, when *Kæmpfer* was in *Japan*. As for the rest of the *Koreans*, they have continued tributary to the *Chinese* ever since; and, to all appearance,

The Tay-cho's death occasions the end of the war.

Tay-cho recalls his forces, and dies.

Peace made with the Koreans.

Koreans drive out the Japanese garrisons to the coasts of Tsio-tsijn, the only part left, under Japan.

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Kept more strictly under the Tartarian *monarchs.*

pearance, been kept more strictly under them since the *Tartars* became masters of *China*. The prince that reigned there when our author wrote his account was called *Li-tun*, and was descended from the family of *Li*. In the year 1694 he presented a petition to the emperor *Kang-hi*, the contents and occasion of which being something curious, and confirming what we have just now hinted of their being under greater subjection than formerly, we shall give it to the reader in the sequel (L). Whenever any of them dies, the emperor immediately deputes two grandees to confer upon the successor the title of *Que-vang*, or king, who receives the investiture upon his knees, and makes certain presents to the commissioners, which are settled and specified, besides about 8000 taels in money. After that, he is obliged to send an ambassador to the *Chinese* court with the usual tribute and homage; which last is paid by prostration and knocking his forehead against the ground before the imperial throne. If the *Korean* king is apprehensive of any disputes arising after his death, about

Homage, how paid.

(L) This petition, for which we shall find a more proper place at the close of this appendix, was presented to the late famed emperor *Kang-hi*, lately mentioned, in order to obtain a permission from him for rectifying some wrong steps which he had taken with regard to his own private family, but such as one would have imagined were vastly below the cognizance of so great a monarch, and concerned only the restoring of a favourite barren queen, whom he had deposed, in favour of a concubine, who had brought him forth a son and heir. Yet this step, inconsiderable as it seems, was such as he dared not venture upon till he had previously obtained leave by a petition couched in the most abject and servile terms, and backed with the most earnest wishes and suffrages of all his *Korean* subjects.

Neither was this request received at court as a matter of a trivial nature, seeing the emperor was pleased to refer it to the consideration of one of his high tribunals of ceremonies; by whom it was no sooner approved, than a proper mandarin was dispatched to the *Korean* court, to reinstall the queen, and degrade the concubine. We shall have occasion, in the sequel, to add an instance or two more of this extreme subjection: in the mean time that which we have given above is sufficient to convince our readers, that the *Korean* monarchs are far enough from enjoying the same despotic sway under the *Tartar* which they did under the *Chinese* monarchs, when it was reckoned treason to controul their will in any case, provided they took care constantly to pay their homage and tribute to them. All that we shall add with relation to their present state, is, that they send yearly an ambassador to receive the almanack which is published at court the first day of the tenth month, for the ensuing year (7).

(7) *Regis, ubi sup. ad fin.*

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the ſucceſſion, he nominates an heir to the crown, and gets him confirmed by the emperor; nor dares the royal conſort aſſume the title of queen, before ſhe hath obtained it from him: all which ceremonials have been ſo exactly regulated, that diſputes can never ariſe; and to this is owing the peaceful ſtate they have ſo long enjoyed. We ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin the afore-mentioned inſtance of the extreme regard which the *Korean* kings pay to the *Chineſe* monarch; which will not only prove what we have ſaid, but ſhew likewiſe how much ſuperior the *Tartars* are to the *Chineſe*, in point of governing their tributary provinces, and keeping them under a due ſubjection and dependence.

Inſtances of the great ſubjection of the Korean kings.

IT happened in the 32d year of the emperor *Kang-hi*'s reign, in the year 1694, when the prince then on the *Korean* throne, being diſſatisfied at ſome changes he had made in his family, ſent him the following remarkable requeſt by his ambaſſador: "I, your majeſty's ſubject, am a moſt unfortunate "man. I had beheld myſelf a conſiderable time without an "heir, when one of my concubines was at length brought to "bed of a ſon, upon which account I thought myſelf obliged "to advance her to a higher rank; and, from this falſe ſtep, "hath ſprung all my misfortunes. I obliged my queen *Min-chi* to retire from my court, and raiſed the concubine "*Chang-chi* into her place, as I failed not then of informing "your majeſty: ſince which time, having duly conſidered "that *Min-chi* was created queen by your majeſty; that ſhe "hath had the government of my family a conſiderable "while, hath aſſiſted me in my uſual ſacrifices; that ſhe hath "paid her laſt duties to the queen my grandmother, and to "the queen my mother, and hath bewailed her ſeparation from "me theſe three years: I am now ſenſible that ſhe deſerved a "more honourable treatment from me, and am beyond meaſure concerned for my imprudent conduct towards her.

"IN order, therefore, to yield to the earneſt deſires of my "people, I am extremely willing to reinſtate my beloved *Min-chi* to her priſtine rank, and to reduce the other to her former "low ſtate of a concubine; by which means I ſhall again "reſtore my family to its antient regular order; and the reformation of my houſhold, begun there, will diffuſe itſelf "moſt happily through my whole kingdom.

"I YOUR ſubject, though I have had the misfortune, "through ignorance and ſtupidity, to ſtain the honour of "my anceſtors, have nevertheleſs ſerved your majeſty theſe "twenty years, and acknowlege myſelf indebted to your "goodneſs for all I am and enjoy, as to my only ſhield and "protector. I have no concerns, either public or private, "which I would wiſh to be concealed from your majeſty;

"and

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"and that is the chief motive which hath induced me to "take the liberty, more than once or twice, thus earnestly "to solicit your majesty upon this point. I blush, I must "confess, at my boldness in thus transgressing the bounds of "my duty; but, as it is a point which is of such concern to "the happiness of my family and kingdom, I thought I "might venture to lay this my humble request before you, "without wounding that respect with which I am," &c.

Korean ambassadors meanly treated in China.

THIS petition the emperor referred to the tribunal of rites, and it was approved by them: in pursuance of which, a commissary was dispatched to the *Korean* court, to reinstate the queen *Min-chi* to her pristine rank; but, in the year following, that imprudent prince, whether elated at the condescension of his imperial majesty, or from what other motive unknown to us, having presumed to send a fresh address to the court of *Pe-king*, in terms less respectful than those of the former, he was condemned to pay 10,000 ounces of silver as a fine. And this may suffice to shew the extreme subjection the *Korean* kings are kept under by the *Chinese*, or rather *Tartar*, emperors; which severity, besides the politic maxims of that warlike nation, may have been owing, in all probability, to that noble, though unsuccessful stand, which the *Koreans* made, soon after the reduction of *China*, to shake off the yoke, and regain their antient liberty, of which we have had occasion to speak more fully in a former part of this volume †. To which we shall only add one more instance of it; *viz.* that when the emperor sends an ambassador to *Korea*, the king is obliged to go in person, attended by all his guards, and a numerous retinue of his household, out of his capital, to receive him: whilst, on the other hand, those of the *Korean* prince to the court of *Pe-king* are scarce received with any ceremony, and are even obliged to give place to a mandarin of the first rank. They are lodged in some private house, and kept under a kind of honorary guard, which never leaves them, whether they go abroad, or stay at home; but are to watch over, and give an account of, all their actions, behaviour, and even of their words, to some proper officers of the court [n].

Emperor's ambassadors, how received in China.

† See before, p. 487.

[n] REGIS, ubi sup. p. 377, & seq. Histoire de Core, vol. i. p. 454, & seq. KÆMPFER, ubi sup. & al.

The END of the EIGHTH VOLUME.

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